

Handbook of Medieval Culture
Volume 2

Handbook of Medieval Culture

Fundamental Aspects and Conditions
of the European Middle Ages

Edited by
Albrecht Classen

Volume 2

DE GRUYTER

ISBN 978-3-11-037756-9
e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-037763-7
e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-3-11-038732-2
ISBN (Set Vol. 1–3) 978-3-11-037760-6

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A CIP catalog record for this book has been applied for at the Library of Congress.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2015 Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston
Cover image: Drachenleuchter, Veit Stoß, Nürnberg, 1522
© Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg, Germany.
Typesetting: jürgen ullrich typesatz, Nördlingen
Printing: Hubert & Co. GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
☺ Printed on acid-free paper
Printed in Germany

www.degruyter.com

Contents

Volume 1

Albrecht Classen

Medieval Culture—An Introduction to a New Handbook — 1

Christopher R. Clason

Animals, Birds, and Fish in the Middle Ages — 18

Charlotte A. Stanford

Architecture — 55

Frances Parton

Visual Arts — 80

Thomas Willard

Astrology, Alchemy and other Occult Sciences — 102

Romedio Schmitz-Esser

Astronomy — 120

Stephen Penn

The Bible and Biblical Exegesis — 134

Daniel Pigg

Children and Childhood in the Middle Ages — 149

Ken Mondschein

Chivalry and Knighthood — 159

Linda Rouillard

Church and the Clergy — 172

Johannes Bernwieser

Cities — 187

Lia Ross

Communication in the Middle Ages — 203

Mark T. Abate

***Convivencia: Conquest and Coexistence in Medieval Spain* — 232**

Nadia Pawelchak

Medieval Courts and Aristocracy — 278

Gerhard Jaritz

Daily Life — 301

Hiram Kümper

Death — 314

Jan Wehrle

Dreams and Dream Theory — 329

Werner Schäfke

Dwarves, Trolls, Ogres, and Giants — 347

David Sheffler

Education and Schooling — 384

Gerhard Jaritz

Excrement and Waste — 406

Emily J. Rozier

Fashion — 415

Jean N. Goodrich

Fairy, Elves and the Enchanted Otherworld — 431

Scott L. Taylor

Feudalism in Literature and Society — 465

Sarah Gordon

Food and Cookbooks — 477

Charles W. Connell

Foreigners and Fear — 489

Marilyn Sandidge

The Forest, the River, the Mountain, the Field, and the Meadow — 537

John M. Hill

Friendship in the Middle Ages — 565

Paul Milliman

Games and Pastimes — 582

Hans-Werner Goetz

God — 613

Kriszta Kotsis

The Greek Orthodox Church — 628

Eileen Gardiner

Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven — 653

Cynthia Jenéy

Horses and Equitation — 674

Volume 2

Jacqueline Stuhmiller

Hunting, Hawking, Fowling, and Fishing — 697

Charlotte A. Stanford

Illness and Death — 722

Mark T. Abate

Islamic Spain: Al-Andalus and the Three Cultures — 740

Miriamne Ara Krummel

Jewish Culture and Literature in England — 772

Oliver M. Traxel

Languages — 794

Scott L. Taylor
Law in Literature and Society — 836

Christian Bratu
Literature — 864

Albrecht Classen
Love, Sex, and Marriage — 901

Christa Agnes Tuczay
Magic and Divination — 937

Alain Touwaide
Medicine — 954

Scott Gwara
Medieval Manuscripts — 999

Kisha G. Tracy
Memory, Recollection, and Forgetting — 1020

Jeroen Puttevils
Medieval merchants — 1039

Werner Heinz
History of Medieval Metrology — 1057

Richard Landes
**Millenarianism/Millennialism, Eschatology, Apocalypticism,
Utopianism — 1093**

Ralf Lützel Schwab
Western Monasticism — 1113

Philipp Robinson Rössner
Money, Banking, Economy — 1137

Mary Kate Hurley
Monsters — 1167

Karl Kügle

**Conceptualizing and Experiencing Music in the Middle Ages
(ca. 500–1500) — 1184**

Moritz Wedell

Numbers — 1205

Rory Naismith

Numismatics — 1261

Sarah M. Anderson

Old Age — 1281

John A. Dempsey

The Papacy and the Pan-European Culture — 1324

Cristian Bratu

Patrons, Arts, and Audiences — 1381

Francis G. Gentry

Poverty — 1404

Charles W. Connell

Public Opinion and Popular Culture — 1419

John Sewell

Religious Conflict — 1454

Michael Sizer

Revolt and Revolution — 1486

Volume 3

Albrecht Classen

Roads, Streets, Bridges, and Travelers — 1511

Daniel F. Pigg

The Rural World and the Peasants — 1535

Christina Clever

Saints and Relics — 1543

Richard G. Newhauser

The Senses, the Medieval Sensorium, and Sensing (in) the Middle Ages — 1559

Charles W. Connell

The Sermon in the Middle Ages — 1576

Timothy Runyan

Ships and Seafaring — 1610

Ben Snook

Threats, Dangers, and Catastrophes — 1634

Ken Mondschein and Denis Casey

Time and Timekeeping — 1657

Romedio Schmitz-Esser

Travel and Exploration in the Middle Ages — 1680

Graeme Dunphy

The Medieval University — 1705

Ben Snook

War and Peace — 1735

Ken Mondschein

Weapons, Warfare, Siege Machinery, and Training in Arms — 1758

Christa Agnes Tuczay

Witchcraft and Superstition — 1786

Bibliography — 1813

Primary Literature — 1813

Secondary Literature — 1860

Index of Names — 2117

General Index — 2149

Index of Works — 2222

Jacqueline Stuhmiller

Hunting, Hawking, Fowling, and Fishing

A Overview

In *Genesis*, God commanded Adam and Eve: “Be fruitful and increase, fill the earth and subdue it, have dominion over the fish in the sea, the birds of the air, and every living thing that moves on the earth” (1:28). The medievals duly exercised dominion over the wild creatures of the seas, skies, and land. They used a variety of techniques to pursue, capture, and kill animals, and they did so for reasons that ranged from the mundane to the highly symbolic. This article will discuss the following activities, as they were practiced in Europe during the medieval period: hunting (which I will define rather arbitrarily as the pursuit and capture of wild mammals, either terrestrial or aquatic, and which I will also call “the chase”), fowling (the capture of wild birds), fishing, and falconry or hawking (hunting with raptors). Although the terms “falconry” and “hawking” are not truly synonymous, I will use them interchangeably. I will also use “hunting,” “the hunt,” and “field sports” to indicate all of these practices in a general sense.

Studies tend to focus on legal aristocratic sport hunting of the later Middle Ages, and particularly on falconry and the most elaborate form of the aristocratic chase, the hunt *a force*. Hunting for food, raw materials, profit, or pest control, as well as non-aristocratic and illicit hunting, has received much less attention. Much of this bias is due to the skewed distribution of the evidence: in general, the later the date and the more exclusive the type of hunt, the more numerous, and the more varied, are the extant cultural artifacts. Plebeian and subsistence hunting tend to be poorly documented, and poaching, for obvious reasons, often leaves no trace of itself behind. In addition, although both fishing and fowling were presumably ubiquitous wherever fish and birds could be easily caught, these practices are rarely depicted in art or literature.

On the other hand, the available evidence tells the story of late-medieval aristocratic sport hunting in exquisite detail. Over time, the aristocratic hunt became an increasingly complex and mannered art form, continually refined and elaborated in response to new influences. In a kind of perpetual cultural feedback loop, these sports informed the work of artists and writers, who created everything from cynegetical treatises to allegories of the chase to tapestries, ivory carvings, and manuscripts decorated with hunting motifs. These texts and artworks, in turn, seem to have further fueled the popular fascination with aristocratic field sports.

The hunt, whether plebian or aristocratic, necessary or frivolous, was never merely a form of recreation or a source of fresh meat. Depending on its context, it could be a gesture with legal, social, economic, political, cultural, ethical, aesthetic, ludic, erotic, supernatural, or religious ramifications. The medieval hunter himself was something of an ambiguous figure: he could be a hero or a madman; a gentleman or a barbarian; a righteous man, a sinner, Christ, Judas, or the Devil.

Not everyone approved of the hunt. In Book I of his *Policraticus* (ca. 1159), John of Salisbury complains that hunting is an extravagant and useless activity, a criticism that was familiar to his contemporaries. The hunter has no good qualities, he insists: he is a brute, intemperate, acquisitive, and violent; negligent of his duties and lacking any fear of God, he risks being punished for his insolence with divine wrath. John considers the falconer to be less reprehensible than the hunter only because hunting with birds is a more frivolous activity than hunting with dogs. He does not mention fishing or fowling at all, presumably because they were not common pastimes of the twelfth-century English aristocracy. It is impossible to take this hyperbolic and self-contradictory fulmination seriously, however. When he demands, “Can you name any man of distinction who has been an enthusiast in the sport of hunting?,” he must have known perfectly well that he was asking an outrageous question. Hunting was the pastime not merely of the courtiers he claimed to be criticizing but of the warrior aristocracy, the clergy, and the great heroes of literature and history. Many men of distinction were avid hunters, including Charlemagne, William the Conqueror, Thomas à Becket, Emperor Frederick II, Alfonso XI and Pedro the Cruel of Castile, Władysław II Jagiełło of Lithuania, James IV of Scotland, François I of France, Pope Leo X, and Emperor Maximilian I, to say nothing of literary figures such as Odysseus, Cú Chulainn, Tristan, and Siegfried.

B Methods and Types of Hunting

The weapons used for hunting were often identical with those used in war: swords, spears, lances, bows and arrows, and, rarely, crossbows. Other weapons might also be used: mattocks for badgers, cudgels for seals, bolts for furbearers, slingshots for birds, pronged forks for otters, and highly specialized equipment, including poisoned blades, for sea mammals. Firearms were introduced at the very end of our period, but they were unreliable and not particularly accurate, so their importance in this discussion is negligible.

Terrestrial animals were hunted in a number of different ways, depending on the species and the context. In general, if there was more than one way to catch an animal, the most inefficient, expensive, and labor-intensive method was

considered to be the most prestigious. In many cases, the non-aristocratic and aristocratic methods were almost indistinguishable, except for the greater expense of the latter. Larger and more aggressive quarry were usually more highly prized, but local culture and local ecology ultimately determined which animals were considered to be “noble” prey. For example, although the red deer was generally regarded as a royal animal, in Iberia, the boar and the bear were deemed nobler and worthier opponents; on the other hand, in the late-medieval Pyrenees, even peasants were allowed to hunt bears. According to Edward of Norwich (ca. 1373–1415), the hare was “king of venery” in England, a judgment that perhaps reflects the fact that many larger animals had already been extirpated from the island by the fifteenth century.

Hunting methods that minimized the danger and difficulty for the hunter were the most practical. Animals might be lured or chased into nets, traps, snares, deadfalls, or pitfalls, or they might be driven over precipices. Predators could be killed with bait laced with poison or needles. Wolf pups or bear cubs might be taken from their dens, and bears might be attacked while hibernating. Wolves were pursued into deep snow, where they tired and could be easily killed. However, aristocrats generally considered these relatively safe and efficient techniques to be worthy only of peasants, poachers, and the morally corrupt, at least wherever and whenever the elite could afford to do something different.

Many species can be stalked: that is, pursued stealthily on foot until they are within range of a projectile weapon. Disguises such as stalking cows (dummy animals behind or within which a hunter conceals himself), carts covered with foliage, and “costumes” made out of animal hide allowed the hunter to approach animals more closely. Although stalking is a great test of the hunter’s skill, it is necessarily a solitary and silent activity and is therefore better suited to poaching or subsistence hunting than to royal sport. Another method of getting close to one’s quarry was to lay out bait in order to attract animals or to stake out locations that animals were known to frequent.

More prestigious than any of the previous were aristocratic game drives in which beaters, with or without dogs, drove the prey into nets or into the sights of archers positioned at hunting stations; the latter method is sometimes known as “bow-and-stable hunting.” In fourteenth-century France, the sport of using hounds to drive boar into nets was known as the *deduit real*, or royal hunt. Although the game drive was the most important form of the chase in Scotland, in general, it was considered to be an inferior type of hunt because it offered little danger or physical challenge. Attitudes toward the game drive seem to have changed somewhat near the end of our period. Elaborate and enormous drives were staged as royal amusements, most notably in Germany, and depicted in the paintings of Lucas Cranach the Elder (ca. 1472–1553) and the Younger (1515–1586).

Various methods could be used to enclose and direct the movements of the quarry. Man-made hedges or walls or natural features of the terrain (or, in later centuries, fences or canvas screens) might be used to guide the animals toward an ambush or drive them into a corral where they could then be captured or slaughtered. Parks and preserves, sometimes designed to imitate the Garden of Eden, held both familiar and exotic game animals. The sport of shooting em-parked deer was fashionable among late-medieval English women, and Elizabeth I (1533–1603) was well known for her love of this pastime.

Coursing, or pursuing game with sighthounds, is an ancient sport: as early as the second century C.E., Flavius Arrian described how the Celts in the region of the Danube used hounds to run down hares. This hunt was most exciting when the dogs were pitted against fleet-footed game in an open environment in which the spectacle could be admired by an audience. Sometimes deer courses were constructed to make the chase easier to observe.

The most prestigious hunt of all was the aristocratic hunt *a force*, which achieved its most elaborate form in the late Middle Ages. In this hunt, mounted hunters, accompanied by hunt servants and several specialized types of dogs (including scent-hounds, sighthounds, and mastiffs), located the quarry and ran it down. The animal was often dispatched in a safe manner, though a hunter who dared to face a large and dangerous beast in single combat won great respect from his peers. This is the type of hunt that is widely celebrated in medieval art and literature, and the only one considered to be suitable for a warrior or hero.

Fowling using nets, snares, or lime was known in the classical world, and these methods were widely used to catch birds throughout the Middle Ages. The medieval fowler could set out poison or use bait, tame birds of prey, decoys, or bird calls in order to control the movements of wild birds so that they could be more easily captured or shot. The elite considered such practices to be ignoble: thus the brutish husband in Marie de France's *Laüstic* (ca. 1170) uses snares and lime to catch the nightingale that his wife claims to be admiring. Of course, in places where wildfowl were an essential part of the diet, such as Norse Greenland, there was no stigma in catching birds using any means necessary.

The differences between falconry and hawking are determined by avian biology. Falcons can attain great speed because of their long, slim wings and narrow, tapering tails; they kill their prey by diving down on it from above and knocking it out of the air. Hawks have shorter, broader wings and long tails that give them great maneuverability in close quarters; they seize their prey in mid-air and kill it with their talons. Eagles were rarely used to hunt in medieval Europe; although they could be potent symbols of royal power, they are too large to handle

comfortably and they tend to have difficult temperaments. All hunting birds were captured in the wild and tamed; they could not be bred in captivity. Raptors were usually used to catch birds, even other birds of prey, but might also be trained to take small mammals or to attack the heads of large animals so that hunters and dogs could bring them down. Like coursing, hawking and falconry were spectator sports that ideally took place in landscapes with sweeping vistas. They never commanded the same prestige as did the more strenuous types of hunting, however, because the birds of prey did all of the work.

Fish formed an important part of the medieval diet, especially during fast days when meat was prohibited. Single fish might be caught with spears, basket traps, hand nets, or baited hooks, or “tickled” (caught by hand). Schools of fish were caught with weirs and large nets. Herbal piscicides or quicklime-based explosives might also be used to kill or stupefy fish so that they could be easily collected. Fishermen attracted their quarry with bait, tied “flies,” phosphorescing rotten wood, or, probably less effectively, various magical devices.

Dogs, horses, and raptors were of course necessary partners in many kinds of hunting; dogs, in particular, were indispensable for hunting almost every kind of animal, from birds to bison. However, other animal auxiliaries could be used in the hunt, too. Ferrets might be used to drive rabbits out of their burrows and tamed polecats or weasels used to catch rodents. Cheetahs and caracals, the so-called “hunting leopards” and “hunting lynxes” of Asia and North Africa, were imported into Europe as early as the mid-eleventh century; they were particularly popular in Italy (Masseti 2009). Domestic animals were sometimes used as decoys, because a hunter can approach a herd of deer very closely if he hides behind a horse or cow. Tame wild beasts could serve the same purpose: to take one example, the Saami regularly used tamed reindeer to attract the wild herds on which their livelihoods depended. Even fishermen sometimes utilized animal help. Cormorant fishing, a fashionable practice that may have been imported from China, is the subject of Vittore Carpaccio’s painting *Hunting on the Lagoon* (ca. 1490) (Knauer 2003). In some parts of Europe, tame otters were used to catch fish in the early modern period, a practice that might have also been used during the Middle Ages (Gudger 1927, 208–18).

C

I A Brief History of European Hunting

In the early Middle Ages, hunting seems to have been generally unregulated and available to both rich and poor alike. Under both Roman and Germanic law, wild animals were *res nullius*, the property of no one, and they belonged to the person who captured them rather than to the person on whose property they were captured. Agricultural production was not sufficient to feed the population, and wild birds, animals, and fish filled in the gaps of the early medieval diet. However, terrestrial game was apparently never any more than a supplementary food source: the bones of wild animals comprise only a small percentage of total bone assemblages found in most settlement sites from this period. Fish, on the other hand, was probably an important dietary component in many areas, though this is often hard to verify because fish bones are fragile and poorly preserved in the archaeological record.

Little by little, hunting and fishing rights passed from communal ownership into private hands. By the latter half of the seventh century, the Merovingians had designated certain areas as *forests*: that is, areas that were governed by laws restricting how the land was to be used, and by whom. “Forest” is an administrative designation, not an ecological one, and a forest might include pastures, wetlands, and even fields and villages as well as wooded areas. The Carolingians continued to restrict the privilege of the chase and by 1100, such restrictions had become common in Western Europe. The wealthy tended to reserve for themselves the right to hunt the animals they considered to be “noble,” a category that might include the three kinds of deer (red, fallow, and roe), chamois, ibex, wild boar, bison (wisent), elk, aurochs, tarpan, wolf, lynx, bear, and large waterfowl. The laws regarding hunting rights became steadily more restrictive; in many places, commoners were not allowed to take any animals except small birds and vermin. The common people constantly protested against the loss of their usufruct rights, and their discontents helped spur such popular uprisings as the Norman revolt of 997, the English Peasant Rebellion of 1381, and the German Peasants’ War of 1525.

As the population grew and restrictions on hunting tightened, animal flesh became a luxury and a status symbol rather than an ancillary food source that was available to all. The rich hunted regularly, or paid someone to hunt for them, in order to put choice meats on the table. It seems reasonable to assume that the medieval poor also hunted whenever and wherever they could, taking small animals and birds that were easier to catch and less likely to be missed.

Over time, kings gave away forests and their associated hunting rights to members of the nobility and clergy in order to cement political alliances; this had the unintended consequence of transferring power into the hands of local rulers. At the same time, the enormous primeval forests diminished and fragmented as more and more land came under cultivation. Pastoral and agricultural practices that made use of natural areas (such as slash-and-burn agriculture and the pasturage of livestock in the forest) were replaced by other practices that clearly separated cultivated land from wild spaces. Non-agricultural land became less important for the honey, reeds, game, and other wild produce that could be harvested from it and more important as a source of timber, firewood, peat, and charcoal (Bechmann 1990).

At the same time that the wilderness grew less wild and wild animals became scarcer, the socioeconomic importance of hunting increased. The chase had always been a demonstration of virility and raw power, but now it was also a marker of *noblesse*, courtliness, wealth, and privilege. The more exclusive the hunt became, the more elaborate its rituals grew. Hunting reserves and parks were created in order to preserve game animals that could not survive in the dramatically altered landscape. These playgrounds of the wealthy often had more in common with factory farms than they did with modern-day nature preserves: especially in the smaller parks, animals were frequently stocked in such high densities that they had to be fed by hand and therefore became half-tame. Although the laws protecting precious game animals and their habitats were often draconian, not everyone observed them. Non-aristocratic poachers took game whenever they could, but illegal hunting was not restricted to the third estate. Both the clergy and the aristocracy, and even the nobility and royalty, were sometimes also guilty of poaching.

These general trends toward increasingly restrictive hunting regulations did not apply everywhere, however. Wherever the land was inhospitable to agriculture, fish and game were an indispensable part of the diets of people of all social classes. In Scandinavia, for instance, the wilderness was considered to be common property and fishing and hunting remained important parts of the rural economy throughout the medieval period. Even in societies in which hunting was tightly controlled by the upper classes, commoners might still have some rights to wild game. Although members of the Polish royalty retained the exclusive right to hunt certain animals, peasants were allowed to take smaller game in large tracts of the forest. French peasants were likewise allowed to catch small animals and birds outside of hunting reserves until their rights began to be curtailed in the mid-fourteenth century (Bechmann 1990, 32–34). Commoners were also generally allowed to hunt birds and animals considered to be harmful to humans, although they were usually forbidden to use the paramilitary techniques favored by aristocrats.

Falconry is an ancient practice: it originated in Western Asia in the fifth century B.C.E. and seems to have been imported into Europe via the Balkans. It was brought to Western Europe by the Celts or Goths in the first centuries of the Common Era and subsequently adopted by the Romanized ruling classes. The first references to hunting with birds of prey in Europe occur in writings from the mid-fifth century, and the Germanic *Lex Salica* (early sixth century) was the first law code to contain legislation regulating its practice. Falconry spread north to Scandinavia, where it is well attested in early Viking culture, and east to Byzantium (Allsen 2006, 59). Beginning in the eleventh century, falconry experienced a renaissance that began in the Norman kingdom of Sicily, which was a cultural crossroads between the East and the West. Hunting with raptors was a highly developed art form in the Muslim world, and aristocratic Europeans were quick to imitate the elegant foreign fashions.

Falconry and hawking do not seem to have been restricted in the same way as hunting was. Although it could be very costly to obtain, train, and keep the most prestigious and exotic species of hawks and falcons, anyone, in theory, could capture a wild bird and train it to hunt. In fact, hawking provided a important supplementary source of food for peasants in some parts of Europe.

Marine and freshwater fishing provided an important food source for both poor and rich medieval people. An intensive exploitation of marine fish began around the year 1000 because overexploited and degraded freshwater fisheries were no longer able to meet the needs of a growing population. Aquatic natural resources, like terrestrial ones, were gradually co-opted by private ownership. By 1200, fisheries on all but the largest rivers were under private, often monastic, control. The wealthy had their own fishponds, and intensive fish-rearing operations were in place by the end of the medieval period (Hoffmann 1996). Recreational fishing, particularly angling, was enjoyed by non-aristocrats in the later Middle Ages, and in some places (notably late-medieval Germany, Spain, and France), fly fishing seems to have been considered a suitable pastime for the aristocracy, as well. It was beloved by the Emperor Maximilian I (1459–1519) and was enjoyed by such literary heroes as William Wallace and Wolfram von Eschenbach's (ca. 1170–ca. 1220) Schionatulander (*Titarel*, ca. 1220) (Wolfram von Eschenbach 2003; Hoffmann 1985).

II Hunting and Religious Law

The Church disapproved of hunting and hawking by the clergy, especially the monastic clergy, for several reasons: it usually required the use of weapons; it favored the active life over the contemplative one; the expense of keeping hounds and hawks was immense; furthermore, hunting was thought to encourage lust and lack of self-restraint. However, the fact that religious leaders had to repeatedly issue laws forbidding hunting is proof that these laws were impossible to enforce. Many eminent clergymen came from the ranks of the aristocracy, and it was hard to keep them from practicing the aristocratic sports to which they had grown accustomed. So many exceptions were made to the rules against clerical hunting and hawking, and so many rules were broken by defiant clerics, that the proscriptions against field sports became increasingly lax (Thiébaux 1967, 264–65).

Although there is no legal prohibition against hunting in the Jewish scriptures, barring that which warns the faithful not to hunt on the Sabbath, there were a number of factors that prevented Jews from participating in the chase. The rabbis strongly disapproved of hunting because of its cruelty and its association with Gentile excess. Wild animals could not usually be ritually slaughtered, so their meat was inedible. In addition, Christian laws frequently barred Jews from bearing arms or hunting. Nevertheless, Jews did sometimes hunt for sport, for wages, and for food. For example, the Jews of France engaged in hawking (Jacobi 2013) and the English records show that that Jews occasionally were guilty of deer poaching (Birrell 1982, 19).

In the Islamic world, there were no strictures against hunting and falconry, which were widely practiced for both food and sport. Any wild animal or fish killed by a hunter was considered *halal*, except for wild pigs. However, pilgrims on the *hajj* were not allowed to consume game.

D Manuals of Hunting, Hawking, and Fishing

Medieval manuals of hunting, hawking, and fishing provide a rare view into the inner workings of these practices. However, it must be remembered that the information that they contain is necessarily biased and incomplete. There are few falconry and hunting treatises until late in the period, and they focus almost exclusively on sport hunting, as well as on the highest-prestige techniques and game animals. The earliest fishing treatises do not appear until the final years of the Middle Ages. The manuals are often hard for the modern layperson to decipher, at least in part because they were not necessarily intended to be

practical guides for the beginner. The art of capturing wild animals was taught by example, not by book-learning.

The earliest European hunting manual was Xenophon's *Cynegeticus* (fifth c. B.C.E.). Many of its elements would become *de rigeur* in later didactic texts. The author defends hunting against its detractors and exalts it as the sport of heroes, an invaluable tool for the training of the body and mind, the pastime of a virtuous and pious man. He describes the various types of hunting dogs, their ideal conformations, and their care and training; the natures of prey animals; and step-by-step descriptions of several types of hunts. Xenophon's work was followed by several others with the similar title of *Cynegetica*, as well as several fishing tracts titled *Haleutica* and at least one on bird-catching, *Ixeutika*.

After the fall of Rome, the genre of the hunting treatise disappears from Europe for several centuries. The earliest medieval hunting manuals seem to have been independently produced and include two anonymous manuals commissioned by Louis the German (mid-ninth century) (Goldberg 2013), Sancho the Wise's *Los paramientos de la caza* (Navarre, ca. 1180), Guicennas's *De arte bersandi* (the Sicilian court of Frederick II, early thirteenth century), the anonymous *La chace dou cerf* (France, ca. 1250), and William Twiti's *L'art de venerie* (England, before 1325).

When hunting with birds of prey became fashionable in the Kingdom of Sicily, falconry manuals began to appear in force. Several twelfth-century treatises were produced in Sicily and, in the next century, Frederick II ordered the translation into Latin of an Arabic manual on falconry and a Persian manual on hunting known collectively as *Moamin and Ghatrif*. It was Frederick II himself who wrote the earliest comprehensive manual of the sport, *De arte venandi cum avibus* (before 1250). The interest in hunting with birds of prey rapidly caught on in other parts of the continent, leading to the production of a number of falconing treatises in both Latin and the vernacular.

In the fourteenth century, hunting manuals experienced their own renaissance and quickly became even more popular than those on falconry. Although the earliest treatises had been produced in many different parts of Europe, France quickly came to set the bar for cynegetical fashion; indeed, French hunting terminology and ceremony have remained fashionable up until the present day. Best known and most influential of the French hunting manuals was Gaston Phébus's *Livre de chasse* (1387–1389), which was revolutionary for its straightforward approach to the subject. Each self-styled great hunter hurried to write his own manual, with the result that venatory texts were produced in many vernaculars.

Fishing manuals seem to have been unknown until the very end of the Middle Ages; the first was a German text published in Heidelberg in 1493. The fishing manuals are the most democratic and least pretentious of all, and seem to have been written by commoners for unapologetically common audiences.

Manuals of field sports borrow freely from each other, though their authors often adapt standard information to local conditions. In accordance with the medieval faith in *auctoritas*, authors sometimes claim that they have obtained their information from the teachings of legendary figures (“King Dancus,” “King Modus,” “Tristram”). Manuals often include a hodgepodge of material: information on the care and medical treatment of animal auxiliaries; the natural histories of wild animals; descriptions of various types of hunts; personal reminiscences; folklore and traditional wisdom; allegories; and snippets from other literary genres, such as bestiaries, encyclopedias, histories, and exempla. They may be in verse, prose, or a combination of the two. One popular form is a dialogue between a master or mistress and a pupil. Another oft-used form is a debate in which sportsmen argue the relative merits of their respective pursuits.

As the middle classes grew richer and more literate near the end of the medieval period, they began to imitate their social betters. As a result, hunting and falconry manuals were some of the first books in print.

E The Uses of Hunting

There were many practical reasons to hunt: to obtain meat and other animal products, whether for private consumption, gift-giving, trade, or sale; to destroy predators and competitors; to exercise the body and keep battlefield skills sharp. Many writers also claimed, though rather unconvincingly, that hunting built strong moral character and helped men avoid sin.

However, the symbolic importance of the hunt often far outweighed any practical benefits it was supposed to provide. Hunting sent strong messages to one’s peers, superiors, and inferiors. It could announce masculinity, socio-economic privilege, political or military power, and good breeding. It forged bonds between elites and proclaimed their mastery over other human beings and the natural world. It could be used as a weapon by the poor against the rich, the rich against the poor, or the rich against each other. It was an exquisite source of pleasure to both participants and viewers, an art form and a source of artistic inspiration, as well as a rich source of metaphor. Falconry served many of the same functions as did hunting, but fishing had very little social, cultural, or symbolic import.

Most obviously, hunting puts meat in the pot. Wild meats (gathered either from the wild or from special operations dedicated to raising undomesticated animals such as deer parks, fish ponds, swanneries, and heronries) were not only a source of protein and social prestige but could also be valuable items of trade or sale. In

late-medieval England, many wealthy houses surreptitiously bought venison from deer poachers (Birrell 1982). In the late Middle Ages, Scandinavian and Baltic fishermen supplied stockfish and other fish products to feed the rest of Europe, while private fisheries and warrens turned a tidy profit closer to home.

The hunt often provided other valuable animal products, as well: skins, furs, and hides; sinews, membranes, and organs; horns, antlers, and bones; teeth, claws, ivory, tusks, and baleen; feathers and down; blubber, fat, and oil; and body parts and blood used as amulets or in folk medicines, aphrodisiacs, magic rituals, perfumes, and cosmetics. Animal products might be used by the hunters themselves or sold, traded, or given as tribute or gifts.

The trade in animal products sometimes spanned vast distances. Beginning in the ninth century, the pelts of furbearing animals were harvested from the so-called "land of darkness" between Finland and Western Siberia and, by way of a complex trading system, were exported to all parts of the known world, including India and China (Martin 1986). The Basques hunted baleen whales in the Bay of Biscay at least as early as the eleventh century; they began moving northward up the coastline of Europe in pursuit of their quarry by the fifteenth century and crossed the Atlantic Ocean in order to exploit the coast of Labrador in the sixteenth century. The resulting whale products, from meat to baleen to dye, were sold in France, Spain, Flanders, and England (Proulx 1986).

The hunt was also a source of live animals, which could be valuable commodities in their own rights. Typically, captured wild animals were trained to be hunting auxiliaries or used to stock game parks or zoos. The latter had particular symbolic import, as exotic animals were signs of a ruler's power and great sphere of influence. Many rulers, including Charlemagne, Henry I, and Frederick II, kept menageries. Rare and unusual beasts were often given as gifts between rulers in order to establish or reaffirm important political relationships. In one show of goodwill, the Sultan Al-Kamil Muhammed presented Frederick II with a giraffe and in return received a polar bear and an albino peacock. Gyrfalcons, especially white ones, were particularly welcome gifts. Wild animals were not always associated with elite company, however. By the end of the Middle Ages, itinerant showmen exhibited creatures such as monkeys and bears throughout Europe; the latter were often used in blood sports.

Many wild animals either compete with livestock for forage or with humans for quarry, eat crops or wild produce that humans wish to keep for themselves, or prey on domestic animals or humans. Human-animal conflicts became increasingly common as the amount of land under cultivation expanded into areas that had been previously occupied by wild animals. Destroying noxious animals was a self-proclaimed aristocratic duty and a primary justification for the aristocratic chase, though one that became less and less credible over the course of the

medieval period. Although Charlemagne (late 740s–814) personally led hunting expeditions in order to protect cultivated lands from the ravages of wild beasts, by the end of the Middle Ages, vermin control was no longer the provenance of aristocrats. The systematic destruction of wolves in late-medieval France and England, for example, was largely achieved by the efforts of nonaristocratic huntsmen. In truth, the ruling classes in the later part of our period were usually more protective of their deer than of the crops that those deer often consumed. The animals that caused the most damage and were the hardest to control—crows, mice, moles, locusts—were naturally far beneath the notice of aristocratic hunters.

An ancient justification for hunting, made by Xenophon and still being expressed by Niccolò Machiavelli in the sixteenth century, is that it readies men for battle: it hardens them to combat, accustoms their bodies and minds to the deprivations and stresses of campaigning, familiarizes them with the local terrain, and teaches them how to read the landscape and the weather. As has previously been noted, aristocratic hunting used many of the same thrusting and projectile weapons, and some of the same techniques, that were used against human adversaries; it also taught men to work together as a military unit. The boar hunt was particularly lauded as excellent preparation for battle because, at least in theory, the final confrontation was a single combat against a worthy adversary in which a moment of hesitation or misjudgment might cost a man his life. In addition, armies on campaign often turned to hunting to feed themselves when provisions ran low. Falconry, fowling, and fishing, which were not martial pursuits, naturally did not offer the same benefits.

The chase *a force* was touted as a healthy pastime. Not only did it keep the body in excellent condition, but the sweat induced by strenuous exercise expelled poisons from the system. Hunting was also supposed to provide moral benefits to its practitioners. According to the authors of many cynegetical treatises, it ennobled men and made them immune to all of the sins, particularly sloth, gluttony, and lechery. Some believed that hunting could not change a bad man into a virtuous one and that only someone who was already morally upright could be a good hunter or falconer. Fishermen similarly touted the psychological and spiritual benefits of their sport; fishing manuals claim that angling makes a man happy, moderate, contemplative, and peaceful.

It should be noted that some people, such as John of Salisbury, who was mentioned at the beginning of this article, expressed the opposite opinion, that hunting was physically and morally harmful. The chase could be dangerous and a hunting accident could suddenly deprive a people of their leader. Indeed, many rulers died from hunt-related injuries, including Carloman II; Basil I; Fulk, Count of Anjou and King of Jerusalem; and Mary of Burgundy. The moral issues

surrounding hunting were not, of course, the same as they are today: with very few exceptions, the medievals were not concerned about the pain and suffering of animals, but about the potentially deleterious impacts that hunting might have on human beings. Some worried that it was a waste of money, disrupted agricultural activities, made men cruel, and inflamed their passions. There were also worries that it kept men from their proper duties to their households, their lands, their communities, and their God. Hunting was considered to be particularly harmful for peasants, who might become too engrossed in it and thereby be distracted from their agricultural labors. Many rulers who were passionate hunters, including Giorgi II of Georgia and Elizabeth I, were accused of overindulging themselves in field sports, to the detriments of their states. Likewise, clerics were often accused of paying more attention to their falcons or dogs than they did to their flocks.

All claims for the practical value of field sports aside, most aristocrats probably pursued wild animals first and foremost for pleasure. Every aspect of the hunt was aesthetically pleasing: the beauty of the forest at dawn, the music of the hounds and horns, the graceful lines of a greyhound, the spectacle of dogs running down a hare or a noble beast turning at bay, the precision and deftness with which a skilled huntsman dismembered the carcass. There were many other pleasures for the huntsman, too: the satisfaction of physical mastery and mental challenge; the thrills of great speeds and mortal dangers; the joys of male companionship and female admiration; the delight of a lavish dinner whose meats were furnished by one's own efforts; and, last but not least, the pleasant feeling of exhaustion at the end of the day, made only more delicious by a hot bath and a bed with clean sheets. Because the heroes of literature were often superlative hunters, the chase offered a further pleasure: it allowed the hunter to imagine himself as the protagonist of an epic or romance.

Falconry and hawking, in the aristocratic context, were also sources of much pleasure. The falcon knocks her prey out of the sky with a single, dramatic swoop. Exciting aerial duels ensued when a hawk was released upon a heron or crane. Hawking parties offered not only aesthetic delights but also the pleasures of social interaction with members of the opposite sex.

Most importantly, aristocratic hunting, in all of its forms, provided "a relief from the tedium of free time," as one Spanish hunting manual puts it (Alfonso XI 1983, xii).

Recreational fishing was not so stimulating to the senses as hunting with dogs or raptors, but the angler surely enjoyed the mental challenges and peaceful contemplation of his sport, as well as the thrill of mastering wild animals.

It is hard to know how non-aristocratic hunters and subsistence hunters perceived their own activities, but there is no reason to think that they did not feel

many of the same pleasures as their social betters. Certainly, the extant records suggest that poachers of all social classes reveled in the thrill of breaking the law and (if all went smoothly) felt the immense satisfaction of getting away with their crimes.

The chase was not merely a source of tangible benefits, however; it was also a highly symbolic performance. It was, first and foremost, an unparalleled display of masculinity. Odysseus, sexual and military conqueror of the Mediterranean, is marked by a scar gouged into his thigh by a boar's tusk. The Germanic hero Siegfried in the *Nibelungenlied* (ca. 1200) kills a giant boar and a bear in single combat. On the other hand, a refusal or an inability to hunt could be an indelible mark of impotence: in the anonymous *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (late fourteenth century), Gawain does not participate in the daily hunts; instead, he is sexually dominated and thoroughly humiliated.

Particularly in the later Middle Ages, the aristocratic hunt was a way to display not only prowess and courage but the other chivalric virtues, as well. Courtliness was foremost: a man demonstrated his good breeding by using the correct terminology and demonstrating that he knew the nuances of venatic ceremony. In Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan* (ca. 1210), the hero so impresses the hunting party from Tintagel with his knowledge of cynegetical vocabulary and ritual that he wins for himself a place at Mark's court. The hunt was additionally a way of demonstrating loyalty and largesse: the meat was often given away to favored associates or served at a banquet. Subduing the animal kingdom was additionally an act of piety, insofar as it symbolically returned the world to its prelapsarian state (Stuhmiller 2012).

As Thomas Allsen has elegantly demonstrated in *The Royal Hunt in Eurasian History*, the aristocratic hunt was also a political tool. The ability to marshal a grand hunt, or to hold and protect exclusive game preserves, was a potent demonstration of command over vast monetary, human, and natural resources. Since cynegetical and military prowess were in some sense synonymous, ostentatious hunts were an effective way of intimidating one's enemies. The hunt demonstrated a man's virility and, by extension, his inherent right to rule; the more dangerous the hunt, the greater the symbolic weight. According to Notker Balbulus (ca. 840–912), Charlemagne took the ambassadors of the Abbasid caliphate on a hunting trip. They ran away at the sight of the bison and aurochs, but the Frankish king killed the animals easily, making a subtle but powerful political statement in the process. Although Charlemagne made it look natural, in truth, every aspect of the aristocratic hunt was staged so as to show off the prowess of the leader and his allies to best advantage (Allsen 2006).

Like the modern-day golf course, the medieval hunting-field was the site of some of the most important political deals. The aristocratic hunt was a ritual

means of cementing alliances—there is no stronger proclamation of one man's trust in another than his willingness to go into the forest with a group of armed men—but for the same reason, it was also the perfect venue for an untraceable assassination. In literature, both Siegfried (*The Nibelungenlied* 2004) and Bevis of Hampton in the eponymous narrative are betrayed during hunts, and a number of real-life rulers died in suspicious hunting-related accidents, including William II of England and the Byzantine Emperor John II Komnenos. The Franks seem to have had a special fondness for committing political murders in this way.

Since hunting has such strong political implications, it is unsurprising that it is an important element in a number of European founding myths. In Hungarian mythology, a stag leads the brothers Hunor and Magor into the land of Levedia, where they found the Huns and Magyars. The Lithuanian King Gediminas (ca. 1275–1341) founded Vilnius based on a dream he had after hunting aurochs.

The aristocratic hunt was also a very effective form of socioeconomic display, a public demonstration of privilege and leisure. The famous illuminations of the Labors of the Months in the *Très Riches Heures* of Jean, Duke of Berry (1340–1416) include two hunting scenes. August is an image of an aristocratic hawking party, with the castle of Étampes in the background; November depicts the final moments of a boar hunt, presumably by non-aristocratic huntsmen who are procuring meat for the duke's table. These hunting scenes are placed alongside numerous other visual representations of Jean's great wealth in which his peasants work his lands, shear his sheep, feed his pigs in his forests, or serve him in his sumptuous hall.

Men used hunting to ingratiate themselves with others. An aristocratic hunt might be staged to entertain visiting dignitaries or honor important guests. Gifts of game might be given in order to create or strengthen alliances. The wealthy might try to curry favor with their superiors by allowing them to hunt in their private preserves; superiors, in their turn, might demonstrate their superiority by curtailing the hunting rights of others. Naturally, the chase also demonstrated aristocratic power over social inferiors. As it moved across the landscape, not infrequently leaving ruined fields and mauled domestic animals in its wake, it served as a tangible reminder that the lord had absolute power over the land and its denizens.

Although the aristocratic hunt reinforced social hierarchies, it was also a remarkably inclusive activity that could involve people from almost all social classes. Members of the warrior aristocracy and the clergy were at its head. Sometimes a high-ranking aristocrat might hold an honorary cynegetical title: Edward of Norwich, for example, was Master of Game to Henry IV. However, it was the professional huntsmen who did most of the real work and cared for the animal auxiliaries. Forest officials guarded game preserves and judicial courts

passed judgment on trespassers. Craftsmen were needed to make the hunting equipment, household servants cooked and served the game, and peasants were often pressed into service as beaters. The hunt could also be a source of social mobility, and it was even possible for a non-aristocratic huntsman to achieve knighthood by working his way up the ranks of the cynegetical hierarchy (Cummins 2003, 173).

Because hunting and hawking were so intimately bound up with socioeconomic privilege, they were essential aspects of an aristocratic education. At least in theory, high-born boys began to learn the art of hunting at the age of seven, as did commoners who were destined to be hunt servants in wealthy houses. Between the ages of seven and fourteen, Gottfried's *Tristan* learns all of the arts that are appropriate for a young male of his station: languages, reading, music, riding, arms, hunting, and falconry. Girls might also be schooled in venery, though it was not a standard part of their training for adulthood.

Even illicit hunting had strong symbolic import. Like legal hunting, it could demonstrate prowess and masculinity. It was often used to send a message to the game owner: peasants might havock a preserve in order to protest unjust treatment, or an aristocrat might poach on a subordinate's land in order to assert his dominance. It could be a challenge, an act of vengeance or punishment, a means of intimidation, or a jubilant expression of defiance.

F Symbolism of Hunting and the Hunter

In classical mythology and literature, the hunt is paradoxical. On the one hand, it is associated with a number of heroes and heroines (Odysseus, Meleager, Orion, Heracles, Atalanta, Camilla, Penthesilea, Hippolyta). On the other hand, it takes place in liminal spaces and is often associated with madness, revelation, and death. The hunter Actaeon is turned into a stag and ripped apart by his own dogs; Pentheus is killed by his mother and aunts, who are in the throes of a Bacchic frenzy and mistake him for a wild animal. The goddess of hunting, Artemis/Diana, is a virgin, yet the hunt is often associated with erotic activity. Diana is herself associated with both birth (in her aspect of *Lucina*) and death.

The cynegetical arts are likewise portrayed both positively and negatively in the Hebrew Scriptures. Neither Nimrod nor Esau, both specifically identified as hunters, received favor from God, though their sinfulness is never attributed to their hunting, either. The many metaphors of hunting, fishing, and fowling are likewise ambivalent. The wicked may hunt or trap the good (e.g. Psalm 118:110). On the other hand, sinners may themselves be hunted or fished by God, or by divine agency (Jeremiah 16:16, Amos 4:2). The evil man may in turn be caught in

his own net (Psalm 9:16–17, 34:7–8). The wicked may be lions who hunt men (Psalm 9), but God is also a lion hunting the wicked (Job 10:16), and the princes of Israel are lions who hunt men and are in turn hunted by them (Ezekiel 19). In addition, diverse agents, including death (Ecclesiastes 9:12), flatterers (Proverbs 29:5), unwanted obligations (Proverbs 6:2–5), and adulterous women (Proverbs 7:22–27) may be fishers, fowlers, or hunters. In contrast, in the New Testament, fishing is an unequivocal metaphor for salvation. Jesus promised to make his disciples “fishers of men” (Matthew 4:19), and the Kingdom of Heaven is likened to a net cast into the sea, full of fish (Matthew 13:47). Nets have a particularly large range of meanings in the Bible: they can represent the snares of the wicked, the toils of divine justice, or the community of the saved.

In the medieval context, the symbolism of the hunt is similarly multivalent and ambivalent. Falconry and fishing were less symbolically charged than hunting though they, too, could carry a variety of meanings.

Hunting is often associated with positive attributes. In medieval literature, hunting and hawking can establish the natural nobility, good breeding, or socio-economic privilege of a character. Hawking (and, to a lesser extent, hunting) can represent youth, high spirits, and a sanguine temperament. In addition, hunting can be used to show the heroism, chastity, and honor of the hero or (if the hunt is interrupted by an ambush) the cravenness of the villain. The chase is a handy plot device that can be used to isolate characters, kill them, bring them into conflict with each other, or keep them occupied while an event occurs elsewhere (Rooney 1993, 56–101). Since it necessitates a journey into the wilderness, the chase often serves as a starting point for secular adventures and spiritual awakenings.

But field sports could have negative connotations, too: in particular, they could be signifiers of worldly vanity and impermanence. In a Jewish context, a depiction of the chase might symbolize the pursuit of Israel by her enemies (Epstein 1997).

I The Religious Hunt

Because hunting is a sign of human control over the natural world, it is not surprising that deities often use the hunt to reward, punish, or communicate with their constituents—in other words, to remind them that humans are not the most powerful beings on earth. The pre-Christian pantheons of Europe included many deities, often female ones, associated with wild animals, hunting, and fishing, though we cannot discount the possibility that the apparently large number of native hunting goddesses might be at least in part due to statistical skewing caused by the Roman influence on indigenous religions. As Christianity spread

over the continent, these pagan huntresses were replaced by the male patron saints of field sports (Almond 2009).

In saints' legends, hunting is generally depicted as a worldly activity, sometimes harmful and sometimes benign, that must be nevertheless be relinquished before a man can turn to God. Eustace was converted to Christianity when a hunted stag, bearing a cross between its antlers, spoke to him in Christ's voice, a scene that is the subject of Pisanello's painting *The Vision of Saint Eustace* (ca. 1440); the same story was also later associated with St. Hubert. While he was hunting, Julian (later St. Julian the Hospitaller) was tricked by Satan into believing that his wife was cheating on him; when he returned home, he saw a man and woman sleeping in his bed and killed them. They turned out to be his long-lost parents and, in order to atone for his crime, he built many hospitals for travelers and the poor. As a young man, St. Germain hung the trophies of his hunts on a tree associated with pagan worship until the tree was cut down, the trophies were burnt, and he was rather forcibly inducted into the clergy. St. Giles (who is not a patron saint of hunting, unlike the other saints mentioned here) was wounded by hunters while protecting the hind who was his companion and wet nurse.

Christians pictured Satan as a hunter, influenced by such verses as Psalm 90:3, "He will rescue you from the fowler's snare and from deadly pestilence." In a letter to the English clergy, St. Boniface (ca. 675–754) refers to "the snares of Satan, the fowler." Paradoxically, hunting could also have positive religious associations: Christ could be depicted as a hunter of men's souls, or hunting scenes could indicate victory over evil. In addition, a man could even be the hunter of his own sins: in *Livre de seyntz medecins* (1354), Henry of Lancaster compares the cleansing of sins by means of confession with the removal of foxes from a den.

The hunts of two animals in particular, the stag and the unicorn, were often associated with the Passion. According to popular belief, the unicorn can only be captured when it willingly lays its horn in the lap of a maiden, a gesture that was seen as symbolic of the way that Christ was brought into the world through the Virgin Mary. In the final panel of the Unicorn Tapestries (1495–1505, The Cloister, NY), the unicorn seems to come back to life after being slain, which is presumably an allusion to the resurrection of Christ.

The stag had even stronger associations with the sacred than did the unicorn, though the symbolism was often tangled and contradictory. In Psalm 41, the stag searches for running water in the same way that the faithful heart searches for God. According to medieval lore, the stag was essentially immortal, as it could rejuvenate itself with snake venom. Like Christ, the animal was meek, but a formidable enemy; the dogs and huntsmen that pursued it might represent Jews,

Judas, or the devil. On the other hand, the deer might also symbolize the soul of the pious man, pursued either by Christ or by sin and evil.

Ungodly as the hunt could sometimes be, it was nevertheless a common locus for miracles. King Mirian of Iberia was stricken blind while hunting and only regained his sight when he prayed to God. The Virgin saved King Denis of Portugal from being killed by a bear. In addition, according to legend, several religious houses were founded in response to miraculous events that took place during hunts. King David I of Scotland is supposed to have founded Holyrood Abbey (1128) after he was saved from being gored by a stag when it was startled by the sudden appearance of a cross. Duke Tassilo III of Bavaria founded the monastery of Polling in southern Germany (ca. 750) after the hind that he was pursuing stopped suddenly, scraped away the earth, and revealed the Holy Cross.

Although they had generally positive secular associations, hawks and falcons in religious contexts were frequently symbols of sin, bad character, worldliness, vanity, luxury, or clerical misbehavior, particularly in the Parisian “Bibles moralisées” (thirteenth–fifteenth centuries). However, there were also a great many saints associated with hawking and falconry. In some cases, a bird symbolizes the saint’s prior worldliness or corruption, and the act of giving it away signifies conversion or reform. St. Bavo, a patron saint of falconry, was a dissolute nobleman until he converted to Christianity and became a hermit; he is often depicted holding a falcon and sword, symbols of his early life. When St. Hugo decided to join the Cistercian order, he symbolically released his falcon to the wild. There are also many saints who are incidentally associated with falcons, often because they were either known to be hunters (St. Julian the Hospitaller, St. Hubert, St. Eustace) or because they were of noble or royal birth (Oggins 2004, 128–34).

Fishermen did not seem to be tainted by worldliness, as hunters and falconers sometimes were. The patron saints of fishing, including Andrew the Apostle, Peter the Apostle, and Nicholas of Myra, seem to have been righteous men from the beginnings of their lives. However—and this is surprising, given its overwhelmingly positive associations in the New Testament—fishing does not seem to have been a particularly holy activity, either. St. Zeno of Verona is often depicted with fish and tackle, but this is probably a reference to his success in converting pagans to Christianity; St. Benno’s association with fish is quite incidental. The Fisher King has some relationship to the Holy Grail, though he does not seem to enjoy divine favor *because* he is a fisherman.

II The Supernatural Hunt

White animals, particularly white stags and boars, could lead a hunter to the Otherworld, fairyland, or the realm of the dead; or, alternately, white hunting dogs or horses might accompany visitors from those other worlds. These encounters are especially prevalent in the Celtic tradition. The Welsh heroes Manawydan and Pryderi, as well as the Breton hero Guingamor, follow white animals out of our world and into the next. Pwyll, Lord of Dyfed, drives white-coated, red-eared hounds from a stag carcass, an arrogant gesture that angers the dogs' owner, the lord of the Otherworld. The close association of hunting and the numinous finds another expression in the motif of "The Three Living and the Three Dead" (or "The Three Dead Kings"), which was commonly depicted in church frescoes: three kings who have been hunting or hawking are accosted by three corpses who warn them that death will soon take them from earthly pleasures.

Sometimes, the hunt is not a portal to or from the Otherworld but a manifestation of it. In the so-called Wild Hunt, stories of which are found in many parts of Europe, otherworldly hunters are seen or heard pursuing their quarry, which may be an animal, a mythological creature, or an unfortunate human (Lecouteux 1999). One of the best-known Wild Hunts of medieval literature is that described in Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron* (ca. 1348–1353) (Day 5, Novella 8; Boccaccio 2003). The nobleman Nastagio degli Onesti witnesses a spectral hunt in which a spurned lover repeatedly chases and kills his cruel mistress; he cynically uses this apparition to his own advantage.

III The Inverted Hunt

There is a special kind of symbolic hunt, often seen in the margins of manuscripts, in which wild animals, wearing clothes and walking upright, hunt other animals or humans. Such topsy-turvy hunts are a symbol of the *mundus inversus*, the "world upside-down," an often playful, but sometimes diabolical, imagined inversion of world order. In the Hell panel of Hieronymous Bosch's triptych *The Garden of Earthly Delights* (1490–1510), a hare, carrying the gutted body of a young woman slung over a pole, blows a hunting horn. In Jewish manuscripts, such inverted images could symbolize the desire to turn the tables on one's oppressors (Epstein 1997, 29–31).

IV The Gendered Hunt

The aristocratic chase was, as has been shown, an almost exclusively masculine sport. However, women might be present as spectators during certain aristocratic hunts and were regular participants in the before-hunt picnics and after-hunt banquets. There were a few women famed for their skill at the chase, though they were considered very unusual: Ol'ga, princess of Kiev, T'amar of Georgia, Mary of Burgundy, Diane de Poitiers, and Elizabeth I, to mention some of the most prominent. Nonaristocratic hunting and illegal hunting seem to have also been primarily male pursuits as well, though the extant records mention at least a few female poachers.

Although there are a number of female hunters in classical mythology, there are very few in medieval literature. In the cynegetical treatise *Les livres du Roy Modus et de la Royne Ratio* (1379), women debate the relative merits of hawking and hunting, though they eventually bow to the judgment of the Count of Tancarville. In Jacques de Brézé's *Chasse* (1481), the stag hunt is directed by a woman who is identifiable as Princess Anne de Beaujeu, daughter of Louis XI. Such literary depictions of huntresses are few and far between, however, and it is hard to know to what extent they reflect historical reality.

Hawking, on the other hand, was enjoyed by many aristocratic women. Artistic depictions of hawking parties from the later Middle Ages usually include members of both sexes (see Fietze 2005, 59–63; Fietze also mentions a hunting manual by a woman, Juliana Berners, b. 1388, her *Boke of St. Alban*, from the early fifteenth century, and her *The Art of Fyshyng*, first printed in 1496).

Despite the fact that fishing seems to have been a male-dominated activity, there was perhaps something a bit emasculating about it. In Chrétien de Troyes's *Perceval* (ca. 1190), the Fisher King is so named because his wounded thighs make it impossible to ride and therefore to hunt or hawk, so he must angle for pleasure. In Boccaccio's *Decameron* (Day 2, Novella 10; Boccaccio 2003), the impotent and ineffectual Messer Ricciardo takes his beautiful wife on a fishing trip and ends up losing her to a virile pirate.

V The Erotic Hunt

Whatever else they may have signified, field sports, especially hunting and hawking, had very strong erotic connotations.

In classical myth and literature, the hunt is frequently associated with erotic love. Hunting is sometimes a prelude to sexual passion: after hunting, Narcissus stops to refresh himself at a pool, sees himself reflected in the water, and becomes

infatuated with his own image. It is sometimes retribution for illicit lust: Actaeon catches a glimpse of the naked Diana while he is hunting and his punishment is to be hunted by his own dogs. At other times, hunting is more obliquely associated with love: Meleager chooses his beloved, Atalanta, to take part in the hunt of the Calydonian boar, with disastrous consequences; Cephalus kills his jealous wife Procris when he mistakes her for a wild animal; Venus's lover Adonis is killed by a boar.

Connections between sexual passion and the chase occur in several places in the Hebrew Scriptures, as well. In the Song of Songs, both the bride and bridegroom are hunters (the man is literally a hunter and the woman is a metaphorical hunter of her beloved); however, at the same time, both are also compared to prey animals (gazelle, stag, or fawn). Similar imagery is found in Proverbs 5, in which the listener is abjured to find his joy in a wife, who is likened to a doe. In Proverbs 7, however, it is the adulteress who is a hunter and the man drawn into her embraces will be destroyed like a wild animal that walks unwittingly into a snare.

In the Middle Ages, male prowess at hunting was an irresistible attractant to the opposite sex. The heightened emotional state created by the chase (or by watching it or hearing about it) was a powerful aphrodisiac. Hawking and falconry were not particularly sexy sports in and of themselves, but the mixed company and enforced idleness provided opportunities for flirtation and courtship. The fecund month of May is thus often represented by an image of a hawking party or a lone austringer or falconer.

The medievals, always inveterate lovers of punning, enjoyed playing with the similarities between *venari*, "to hunt," and *venereus*, "pertaining to Venus," two words that, incidentally, come from a common Indo-European root. Suggestive hunting and hawking scenes were popular subjects for privately consumed visual art. Many illuminations in the famed *Codex Manesse* (ca. 1304–1340) depict couples hawking while engaged in amorous play, and erotically charged images of the aristocratic hunt were popular motifs for personal items carved out of ivory such as mirror cases and trinket boxes.

Romantic love and the hunt are especially closely connected in late-medieval *lais* and romances. Both Guingamor and Partenope de Blois are hunting boar before they meet their otherworldly lovers; Guigemar is wounded in his thigh during the hunt of a white, hermaphroditic deer and can only be cured by the woman who will become his lover. The hunt could also be an adjunct to love, or more ambiguously connected with it. Chrétien's *Erec and Enide* (ca. 1170) describes a contest in which men fight to give their ladies the privilege of removing a sparrowhawk from a silver perch. After being banished from Mark's court, Gottfried von Strassburg's Tristan and Isolde in this eponymous romance (ca. 1210) live idyllically in the forest, hunting not for food but for pleasure.

The trope of the love-chase is the most explicit linkage between eroticism and the hunt. It seems to be fully developed first in Virgil's *Aeneid*: Dido, in her love-sickness for Aeneas, is compared to a hind that has been pierced by an arrow, and their relationship is soon afterward consummated during a royal hunt. In his *Ars Amatoria*, Ovid elaborates on the theme, likening the search for and seduction of a partner to hunting boar, deer and rabbit; catching birds with snares and lime; and fishing. Andreas Capellanus (late twelfth century) claims that the word *amor* comes from *amus*, "hook," because the lover has both been caught by, and also wishes to catch, the object of his affections. The love-chase can take many forms but commonly depicts the lover as a hunter and the beloved as a hunted animal, usually a deer or stag. However, it can also be associated with falconry and, in the satirical mid-fifteenth-century English poem *Piers of Fulham*, the pursuit of the lover is likened to fishing and fowling. Although the love in question is usually courtly, it can also be more lowly or dishonorable. Geoffrey Chaucer (ca. 1343–1400) compares Troilus's rape-cum-seduction of Criseyde to the capture of a lark by a sparrowhawk; Pandarus, the orchestrator of their relationship, is the austringer.

The love-chase metaphor is always, on some level, disturbing and problematic, because sexual consummation—even if it is mutually desired—must necessarily "kill" the "prey." Hadamar von Laber's Middle High German *Die Jagd* (mid-fourteenth century) is unusual in acknowledging the double-edged sword of sexual passion: the hunter greatly desires the stag but does not want to kill it, as that would be dishonorable.

Although it is rarer, the lover can also take the role of the hunted beast. The dreamer of the *Roman de la rose* (Guillaume de Lorris, ca. 1230–1240) is stalked and shot by the god of love. In Jean Acart's *L'Amoureuse Prise* (1332), the lover is hunted by Amours and his dogs, and his body is savaged; only the pity of his beloved can save him.

According to another, contradictory tradition, the hunt is a way to avoid the pitfalls of romance. In the *Remedia Amoris*, Ovid counsels the unhappy lover to turn his attention to hunting, fishing, or fowling in order to take his mind off of a failed love affair. This tongue-in-cheek advice is later echoed, apparently in all seriousness, by some of the late-medieval cynegetical manuals, which assure the hunter that he will be kept too busy during the day, and be too tired at night, to bother with romantic entanglements.

G The Environmental Impacts of Medieval Hunting

During the Middle Ages, many wild animals disappeared locally or regionally. A few species, such as the Eurasian beaver, were hunted mercilessly for the

products that could be made from their carcasses. Bears, venerated by pagan cults, were slaughtered from France to the eastern and northern edges of Europe in an attempt to uproot the old religions (Pastoureau 2011). In the later Middle Ages, the wolf was methodically eradicated from many areas. Most animals were not the victims of focused pogroms, however; they simply disappeared due to a combination of habitat loss and overhunting.

In some cases, however, hunting had an unexpectedly salubrious effect on native wildlife. As is true today, many medieval hunters, such as the Emperor Maximilian I (1459–1519), were also game conservationists. The now-extinct aurochs and the bison were extirpated from most of Europe by the end of the Middle Ages, but managed to hold on for as long as they did because they were jealously guarded by the Polish monarchs. The Eurasian elk was protected by the late-medieval Scandinavian kings, and populations of red deer were carefully husbanded wherever aristocratic hunting *a force* was a popular pastime. Boar, which had previously been eradicated from England, was re-introduced in order to provide sport for aristocrats.

Hunting even helped some species spread far beyond their natural ranges. Fallow deer, native to Asia Minor, and rabbits, native to the Iberian peninsula, were imported to many parts of Europe by the Romans and, later, the Normans.

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Charlotte A. Stanford

Illness and Death

A Concepts and Treatments of Illness

Modern scientific analysis has much to tell us about the presence and causes of disease, a culturally neutral approach that archaeologists label “etic.” At the same time, another strongly important dialogue is provided in “emic” scholarship, that is, viewpoints within the culture that try to reconstruct the medieval worldview from contemporary accounts (Green 2013). Both discourses have much to contribute, and cross-disciplinary work is beginning to flourish, although different training, vocabulary and points of view can make it difficult to break down the barriers between specializations. In the following paper on illness and death, the greatest focus is on the reconstructive “emic” approach that is a historian’s strength, but while this is a valuable approach with much to offer, it does not form the only path possible for discussing these universally significant phenomena.

Illness, as with most events in the medieval period, was understood to have a strong spiritual dimension that overlapped its physical realities. Illness was often seen as a punishment for sins, curable through God’s grace, the intercession of the saints, or clerical cleansing through the sacrament of confession. Illness could also be sent to try virtue and patience, following the biblical example of Job; in the later medieval period especially, numerous saints (like Catherine of Siena, 1347–1380) and mystics (like Julian of Norwich, 1342–ca. 1416) prayed to have bodily illness or infirmities granted them for the mortification of their flesh. Those who suffered from extreme and prolonged illnesses, such as leprosy, were often considered to be serving their sentence of Purgatory while in the mortal world, and therefore these suffering poor were seen as meritorious in some degree. Their prayers would speedily reach the ear of the Most High, and caring for them was seen as equivalent with caring for Christ himself (Saunier 1993).

There were several overlapping theories as to the physical cause of illness. Bad smells were thought to spread disease, and it was observed by experience that touching the sick, or coming into close contact with belongings such as bedding or clothing, also made people ill. But illness could strike from afar, motivated by a malignant gaze or prompted by astral influences.

Within the body, imbalance was the greatest danger: the four humors (as taught by the ancient medical doctor Galen, or Claudius Galenus of Pergamon [129–ca. 200]), needed to maintain their proper proportions or else one’s health suffered. Blood, which had hot and moist properties, was the most abundant in a

healthy body. Phlegm, cold, and moist, would be present at a ratio of one fourth as much as blood. Yellow bile, which was hot and dry, should be one sixteenth, while black bile, which was considered cold and dry, should only be present as one sixty-fourth of the body's venous fluids. This ideal balance was in fact acknowledged to be rarely if ever achieved, as every individual body had its own complexion, based on its predominant humor. The cheerful sanguine complexion, based on a predominance of blood, was the most desirable. Phlegmatic individuals were considered to be slow and sluggish; choleric people, who had more yellow bile, were considered to be quick to anger; while the most dangerous perhaps was the melancholic, suffering from too much black bile. Beyond dictating personality, the humors also decreed a person's vulnerability to certain diseases, and more generally one's total state of health.

To balance the humors was to help the body heal itself; this was commonly done through both bloodletting and purging. The practice of bloodletting (phlebotomy) was carefully aligned to humoral theory and was designed to remove excess of certain humors ("bad blood"), as well as old "stagnant" blood that was thought to decay within the body. Bloodletting could be done from arms or legs, head, hands, or feet, depending on a person's ailments, age, and the season of the year. By the late medieval period, for example, many monastic communities routinely incorporated preventative bloodletting several times a year, followed by a few days' recuperation in the infirmary. Purging could take the forms of an emetic (vomiting), a laxative (evacuating bowels), or a diuretic (passing of urine). Cupping was also used to draw humors away from areas of dangerous concentration by applying suction to small areas of the body, such as by means of heated glass.

Balancing the humors was more complex than keeping the blood in order, however. A person's entire environment affected the body. The manipulation of the six non-naturals was also important. These consisted of air, food and drink, sleep and watch, motion and rest, evacuation (including sex) and repletion, and passions of the soul. All of these were significant, though perhaps the most carefully monitored of all was food and drink, especially by the late medieval period. Foods that were similar to healthy humors could nourish a body while foods of opposite complexion were corrective (Albala 2002, 86). Spices such as pepper, ginger, and cinnamon were thought to be extremely hot and dry, and thus their addition to food could be medicinal as well as pleasurable. White bread, meat, and wine were all thought to be hot and moist in complexion, making them ideal foods for the sick, whose blood needed strengthening. By the late Middle Ages in particular, hospitals spent a significant portion of their budget on meat for their patients; the well-known Florentine hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, for example produced an especially nourishing chicken soup as a kind of signature dish (Henderson 2006, 366).

Hospitals also attempted to provide ideal environments for recovery with warm, clean beds, plenty of rest, and good air circulation (Henderson 2006, 159). They did not necessarily provide what we today would expect as “medical” treatment; skillful management of the non-naturals was thought to be as important, or possibly more so, than drugs or surgeries (Horden 2007). Moreover, many hospitals refused to take in ill people whom that they found too difficult or troublesome to treat. Leprosy was the most noted among these, but hospitals also could reject persons suffering from plague, mental illness, wounds, or pregnant women (Orme and Webster 1995, 58). The latter two often required the expert help of surgeons or midwives, who most hospitals did not employ on a regular basis, although some cities in Italy did keep public physicians on retainer (Nutton 1981).

In the earlier medieval period, hospitals were linked primarily with the monastic tradition and their ideals of hospitality: the ideal monastery plan of St. Gall, Switzerland (early ninth century) included an infirmary complete with its own cloister, kitchen, refectory, bathhouse, and warming room; the plan also included a separate structure used purely for bloodletting. Monasteries could also provide care of sick laity, especially in the case of pilgrims, although the ill were not necessarily separated from their healthier companions. For example, the hospital of St. Thomas Eastbridge in Canterbury (founded ca. 1176) housed both sick and well pilgrims who came to visit the shrine of the city’s namesake saint.

This twelfth-century English foundation, patronized by the archbishops of Canterbury, was indicative of the growth of urban hospitals affiliated with cathedrals, and the increasing shift of health care into the hands of secular clergy and lay patrons. Bishops, canons, and wealthy lay individuals began to take up responsibility for founding and supporting non-monastic establishments for the poor and sick, although the two categories were not necessarily separated. The distinction between hospitality and health care was not often clearly made. The staff in such establishments fell into three rough groups. The first was the clergy who performed divine services and offered spiritual comfort. The second was the service staff, such as porters, grooms, and cooks. The third was the nursing staff that tended the sick. Sometimes the latter two categories could overlap, as those who nursed might also cook and clean. While these nurses were charged with administering medicines and doubtless received apprenticeship training from their older colleagues, they were not university-trained physicians. Some establishments employed older laywomen of good reputation, preferably those who were at least 50 years of age, as menstruating females were thought to have an adverse effect on the sick (Rawcliffe 1999, 150). Many preferred to have the nursing brothers or sisters adhere to a religious rule, even if they were but tertiary members of an order.



Fig. 1: Interior of the hospital at Tonnerre, France, founded 1291 by Duchess Margaret of Burgundy (1250–1308). The hospital was a convent-style complex, but its main building combined a chapel with a large ward for the sick, a long and lofty hall well ventilated by large windows, with post holes to contain the frames for bed curtains. The chapel at the far end also contains the tomb of the foundress; altar and tomb would both be partially visible to the bed-bound sick even past the intervening choir screen. Photo by author.

The Augustinians were particularly popular in hospitals as their rule permitted more flexibility in providing time for nursing care. Examples of prominent hospitals run by Augustinian sisters include the Paris Hotel-Dieu, founded in 651, and St. Mary Spital in London, founded 1197 (Craemer 1963, 70). In others, nursing brothers took charge, as at the large hospital of Tonnerre (1293), staffed by the brothers of the Holy Ghost (Craemer 1963, 62) (Fig. 1). A late medieval manuscript treatise written for the Paris Hotel-Dieu, *Le livre de vie active* by Jehan Henry (d. 1483), describes the work of Augustinian nuns in restoring poor sufferers to health both physically and spiritually. The sick are to be treated through contrition, confession, and satisfaction; the first two are linked to the administration of purgative medicines through the mouth, while the third is likened to restorative and comforting electuaries (medicinal pastes or pastilles, often sweetened) (Candille 1964, 23). Within the allegorical imagery are embedded descriptions of the



Fig. 2: Illustration from *La vie active* of Jehan Henry, 1484. This treatise for the Augustinian sisters of the Paris Hôtel-Dieu is both practical and allegorical. In this miniature, novices are instructed how to care for the sick, by figures such as Justice and Prudence. Patients lie two to a bed within the hospital ward. Photo courtesy of the Archives de l'Assistance Publique-Hôpitaux de Paris.

sisters' hard physical work day and night caring for their patients, feeding, washing, and attending (Fig. 2). Not least of their labors was the enormous amount of laundry they had to do, washing some 800 to 900 sheets each week. Despite these efforts, Henry noted, no-one in the neighborhood could completely escape the odors caused by patients suffering from bowel complaints, a prosaic note not quite covered by textual effusions of the sisters' charity and mercy.

Caring for the sick was hard, difficult, and odorous work, and the large wards of hospitals were compounded with additional adjustments necessarily for treating large groups. A light burned day and night so that the staff on call could come to tend the sick at any hour, and also so that patients could get up to use the privy (or be helped to use a chamberpot if they could not walk.) The use of curtains around the bed could provide some degree of privacy, but most patients shared a bed with at least one fellow sufferer (Fig. 2). In some hospitals (especially the women's wards, which often received less funding and donor attention) the patients could be crammed six or more in a bed, particularly in times of epidemic

(Henderson 2006, 156). Even a patient lucky enough to have a bed to himself, as in the particularly spacious and luxurious Savoy Hospital in London (founded ca. 1509), would still have been roused by the sound of morning prayers in the chapel adjoining the hall (Fig. 1; also see the contribution on “Architecture,” by Charlotte A. Stanford in this *Handbook*).

Some hospitals did have private rooms for the wealthy, though these tended to be retirement residences rather than care centers per se for the sick. Such rental arrangements or *corrodies* entitled a person or couple to room, board, and often nursing care as needed, in exchange for cash or property bequests (Cullum 1991). For those with sufficient resources, however, the most common nursing care was to be found at home, where one could be served by familiar faces and in more pleasant surroundings. If family members did not have the leisure or aptitude for nursing, one could hire help. *Beguines*, the quasi-religious women who lived communally and chastely but without professing vows or following a specific rule, often earned their living by undertaking such home health care (as well as the corollary of spiritual remembrance in praying for the dead). They, like the clergy who visited the sick and dying, performed the role of health care professional as much as a physician, surgeon, or apothecary, for they ministered to the soul. Their role was not limited to helping recovery during this life, but in guiding patients through a peaceful and hopeful passage to the next.

I Medical Practitioners and Medicines

Health care practitioners were not always professionals, and their roles—and training—could vary greatly. Generally speaking, a healer would be known as a *medicus* or *medica*, but differentiation is noted through changing terminology, beginning about the twelfth century. A physician (*physicus*) diagnosed and advised, a surgeon (*chirurgus*) performed manual operations that involved cutting or letting blood, and an apothecary (*apothecarius*) primarily made and sold medicines. The highest on the social and economic scale was usually the *physicus*, who was usually at least literate (possibly able to read and write in Latin as well), and, especially by the later medieval period, had usually attended university (Jacquart 1981). The term *doctore* meant, literally, someone who could teach, and did not necessarily have anything to do with medicine.

University training for medicine in the medieval west began possibly as early as the eleventh century in Salerno, and spread to other centers like Montpellier and Paris, though not every university offered courses in medicine. Clients' interest in university medicine expanded after the twelfth century, and licensing began to appear under the influence of powerful patrons such as the crown of

Aragon (McVaugh 1993, 69). Licensing, like university training, was not a professional self-regulated process, but rather a concept forged through a larger social context of clients' expectations and legal ramifications. Competing theories and approaches were common, both within the developing realm of specialized practitioner groups as well as within the general sphere of medical practice.

Much of the university course of study was spurred by the rediscovery of ancient thought as transmitted by the Islamic world, though texts and ideas carried inevitable glosses and changes; when medical writers of the medieval period discussed classical texts, they were not seeking a historicized viewpoint but rather using an established authority to answer their own questions and prompt their own ideas. Nevertheless, the humoral theory made its way from translations of Galen, to the works of key medical writers such as Rhazes or Al-Razi (854–925), and Avicenna or Ibn-Sinā (ca. 960–1037) (Pormann and Savage-Smith 2007, 15). The translation movement from Greek to Arabic flourished about the ninth century and in mediated form was then introduced into the Latin West through encyclopedic authors like Constantine the African (1017–1087), a medical practitioner at Salerno and later a monk at Monte Cassino who translated at least two dozen Arabic medical texts, and Gerard of Cremona (ca. 1114–1187) who worked in Toledo translating medical and other scientific texts. The latter is credited (though not with certainty) with translating Avicenna's vast Canon of Medicine (1025), which remained in use as a textbook at the medical school of Montpellier up through the Renaissance.

Generally speaking, the textual tradition embraced by Western Europe tended to focus on theoretical models, and university education tended to prefer the weight of authority over empirical studies. In the field of surgery manuals, for example, the *Chirurgia Magna* of Guy de Chauliac (ca. 1300–1368) which adhered closely to textual sources was more popular and more widely consulted than the pragmatic *Surgery* of Henry de Mondville (ca. 1260–1316) that dealt with personal case studies (Pouchelle 1990). The eagerness with which university trained physicians were embraced by wealthier patrons, especially in the later Middle Ages and into the Renaissance, may well have been due to the logical coherence of their system of care. The expectation of cure was not what it is today; only God (or Nature) could fully cure, but a physician could at least provide a coherent framework in which to place the frightening and painful phenomena of disease.

Such comfort was available primarily for the well-to-do. Persons of limited means had to remain content with practitioners whose theoretical models were less well developed, although they might have acquired considerable skills through apprenticeship training. Increasing criticism was leveled against such practitioners by university trained physicians who felt that an appropriate and logical system of illness and health theory was essential for responsible care.

Women, who were barred from attending the universities, were particularly vulnerable to such criticism. Bruno of Longobucco (d. 1286), in his *Surgery* of 1253, condemned the “vile and presumptuous women [who] usurp and abuse this art [of surgery], who, although they have faith [in what they are doing], have neither art nor understanding ... they do not practice wisely or from a sure foundation [of knowledge] but they do so casually, not knowing at all the causes or the names of the infirmities they claim to be able to cure” (Green 2008, 118). In other words, empirical training was seen as inadequate by those who held to the value of the medical theoretical framework as taught at the universities.

By the late medieval period, the gulf had widened between those who diagnosed, and those who worked with their hands, such as midwives and surgeons. Some of this was no doubt due to economic rivalry, as physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries often competed for the same patients’ money. Economic rivalry seems to have particularly hurt female practitioners, who were often limited by the development of male-controlled guilds (Green 2008, 121). Guild rivalry led to restrictions and prohibitions, often in favor of the physicians; apothecaries, for example, could be prohibited from making diagnoses (Jacquart 1981).

Diagnosis frequently took the form of uroscopy. Given a container of a patient’s urine, the physician was expected to be able to determine the balance of humors and thus arrive at a recommended course of treatment, even if the patient was not actually present. It was a process open to considerable error, as contemporary satirists recognized, but the flask of urine remained emblematic of a physician’s trade, although the term *physicus* was as much a social marker as it was a trade description; many physicians also practiced other professions. Personal consultation from such a learned individual was expensive, and asking him to tailor specific treatment for an individual was also costly. Until the end of the medieval period, there is little or no evidence of physicians serving as permanent hospital staff (Orme and Webster 1995, 59). The poor were usually given general, not customized, care, though there were notable exceptions, such as Florence’s Santa Maria Nuova, and the Savoy Hospital in London, which followed the former institution as a model (Orme and Webster 1995, 148–50).

Neither were surgeons regularly affiliated with most medieval hospitals. The violent nature of a surgeon’s trade, which involved amputations and cauterizations, was often the province of wounds, breaks, and damage by foreign objects. It was not always related to disease per se, which was thought to be caused by the body’s imbalance or impalpable forces like vapors, rather than an arrow, sword, or fall from a ladder. While surgeons might gain great practical skill from treating battlefield wounds, this was not likely to connect them to hospital practice, as most such institutions excluded the wounded. Surgeons might be hired to per-

form bloodletting, but this was more expensive than general nursing therapy, and there is little or no evidence that this kind of treatment was provided to the poor in charity wards, although some establishments like monastic houses routinely provided this kind of health service for their residents. Bloodletting, after 1215, had to be performed by lay practitioners, as the Fourth Lateran Council forbade clergy to shed blood, even in a medical context (Siraisi 1990, 26). Some women held surgeons' licenses, and though their training was usually of the empirical rather than university kind, even critics acknowledged their skills in performing operations in areas that men felt they should not decently handle—such as female lithotomy (Green 2008). Other surgical practices, beyond bone setting and wound treatment, included performing amputations and removing ills like fistulae and cataracts. The risks of such procedures and their relatively low level of success were well known. Al-Razi, who had written a treatise on cataract surgery, refused to undergo such a process himself, preferring to lose his sight rather than risk probable complications and certain pain (Savage-Smith 2000, 320). Success in such matters often remained uncertain even up to the modern era; the noted diarist Samuel Pepys (1633–1703), who survived being “cut for the stone” (a lithotomy), was so relieved that he celebrated the anniversary of his surgery every year by holding a dinner party (Diary entry of 26 March 1660, see Pepys 1970, 97).

Apothecaries sold drugs and other medicinal substances, but they faced stiff competition from many other markets, as spice-sellers and small goods-dealers often traded in various preparations more or less medicinal in nature. Many remedies were in fact home grown and the well-educated housewife was expected to know how to prepare and administer them. The dividing line between culinary and nursing arts could be very blurred, and overseeing the creation of socially proper, healthy food was a large part of a housewife's responsibilities. *Le Ménagier de Paris* (1393) illustrates this, mixing spiritual advice, kitchen recipes, health admonishments, and moral tales into a compendium addressed to a young bride. Garden simples or single-substance remedies abounded, and most households and hospitals had gardens in which to grow herbs for tisanes, poultices, or balancing the humors in food.

Recipes for compounds also abounded. Many of these were easily made at home, like the recipe for a beverage for an invalid that mixes barley water with licorice, figs, and rock sugar (*Le Ménagier de Paris* 2009, 325). Complex medicines, however, could contain dozens of substances, none of which might be made up exactly the same, depending on its maker. Theriac was one such compound, widely respected as a panacea since the days of Galen. Though recipes varied, theriac contained literally dozens of herbs, roots, spices, and oils, as well as viper's flesh (thought to keep poison at bay), all pulverized and mixed with honey into an electuary or used as a salve. Exotic ingredients (such as

cinnamon, myrrh, pepper, cloves, and opium) drove up the price in this and other medicines. In some compounds, substitutes for rare and expensive ingredients were sometimes used to make a “poor man’s version” which was often thought to be more violent in its effects, and thus less desirable than the more expensive but gentler and long-term “refined” treatment (Saunier 1993, 156–57). Though modern readers are highly skeptical of ingredients like gold leaf and powdered human mummy, their place in the framework of humoral theory made them acceptable to many consumers—and their very price may well have encouraged some patients by the knowledge that they were getting the “best” the market had to offer.

The question over whether medieval medicine really “worked” is one that has created a great deal of debate both inside academic literature and out. A substance like opium, which is now known to be effective when used in modern clinical settings, was not understood according to the same rationale as we would now apply (Schalick 2003). The same is true of numerous substances seen as nauseating then and now. The logic of the system is often ignored in favor of a focus on individual ingredients and their potential effectiveness or lack thereof. As a result, medieval medicine has been caricatured, as in Karen Cushman’s Newberry Award winning novel *Catherine, Called Birdy* (Cushman 1994) where an angry teenager mixes up extra dog dung in a medicinal compound for the father with whom she is at odds. Other authors have vigorously defended it: the image of mystery fiction writer Ellis Peters’ tolerant Benedictine Brother Cadfael (Peters 1977; 1994), creating enlightened remedies from his twelfth-century herb garden, has also cast a long shadow in popular consciousness.

Remedies based on faith and magic have received even less credence in contemporary opinion, but there is no doubt that these too were important in promoting health and healing. Prayer and pilgrimage were common resorts for those suffering from chronic conditions. The flourishing genre of hagiography celebrated miraculous healings by saints or those whose biographers wished them to be acclaimed saints. Beyond official church sanction, various forms of magic were practiced. Charms were mingled with prayers to drive away ills such as toothache, and amulets employing blessed images like a wax agnus dei or a medal of a saint might be employed as talismans to drive away evil influences, including disease (Duffy 1992). The church had an uneasy relationship with such items, as such use could easily slip from pious veneration to superstition (see the contribution on “Magic and Divination” by Christa Tuczay in this *Handbook*).

II Pestilences and Plagues

Medieval individuals dealt with numerous ailments that modern individuals would find appalling: toothache, rheumatism, arthritis, the high risk of death in childbirth and early infancy. Diseases were a constant threat, although social awareness of them could rise or fall. Social awareness of leprosy, which responded strongly with charitable reactions through the eleventh and twelfth century, altered significantly in later times, although we do not fully understand why. Leprosy indeed troubled populations long before the fashionable increase in leper houses foundations in the eleventh century. Leper houses (or lazar houses) were separate communities, usually founded on the edges of towns where the lepers could ask passers-by for alms, had their own chapels, burial sites, residences and rules. The popularity of leper houses among donors meant that most, if not all, lepers had separate dwellings and a community of their own, so that they did not have to mix too freely with the general populace. The disease was cruelly disfiguring, with deformed extremities, nasal collapse and unsightly sores that smelled terribly. Lepers wrapped themselves up and kept apart to avoid offense as well as to prevent infection. The clappers or bells that they carried, however, were not just to warn healthy persons away but also to solicit alms, as the disease made voices hoarse (Touati 2000, 185). Awareness of lepers swung from loathing to near-veneration; some individuals even felt both reactions in their lifetimes, like St. Francis of Assisi (1181–1226). Leprosy was popularly thought to be caused by excessive sexual sin (Gilchrist 1995, 114) but others saw Christ's image in the suffering of lepers and showed extreme compassion to them following Jesus' declaration that "inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me" (Matt 25:40, King James Version).

Though there were at least three hundred leper houses founded in medieval England alone (Rawcliffe 2006, 11) by the later medieval period such foundations declined and many of them closed altogether, as did other smaller hospital establishments that suffered economically (Orme and Webster 1995, 139–41). Yet though donors began to focus instead on small almshouses and other institutions, the disease was far from eradicated. Diagnosis of leprosy still meant lingering suffering and social ostracism far past the medieval period (Demaître 2007).

Since medicine's ability to alleviate only a relative few of the chronic conditions that troubled much of the population was limited in any case, the logic of humoral theory rarely met severe challenge. It came under greater strain when massive mortality and suffering swept through. The most striking instance of this was of course the pandemic of the great pestilence of 1347–1349, later known as the Black Death. This dreadful disease struck down at least a third of the population of Europe, though estimates vary, and some communities were wiped out

altogether. It was universally considered to be a scourge from God to punish the manifold sins of humanity, but other explanations were sought as well. Many of them attempted to fit into the scientific models of disease available at the time. The medical faculty at the university of Paris declared that planetary configurations had corrupted the air, and the resultant evil vapors, intensified by winds and unseasonable weather, penetrated to the lungs and heart very quickly (Horrox, ed. and trans., 1994, 158–63). Others saw the cause as human malice, accusing communities of Jews of poisoning the wells, thus sparking both judicial torture and mob violence. The social upheavals that followed in the wake of pogrom and plague were varied in the extreme. Jews were not the only scapegoats; beggars and Catalans also formed convenient targets. Communities reacted with hysteria and blame, or religious frenzy in the form of outpoured devotion, and even public self-flagellation, although the most extreme reactions, like the flagellant movement, died away within a year or two. After the first great outbreak, the plague did return in subsequent waves up through the early modern period. But in later epidemics communities tended to redirect the accompanying social violence away from the poor and outcast, instead taking the form of tradesmen, artisans and even peasants organized against those in power (Cohn 2007, 11).

Individual reaction to the plague also varied widely, even in the first and deadliest wave. The prologue of Boccaccio's *Decameron* (1350–1351) claims that in Florence “this scourge had implanted so great a terror in the hearts of men and women that brothers abandoned brothers, uncles nephews, sisters their brothers, and in many cases wives deserted their husbands. But even worse, and almost incredible, was the fact that fathers and mothers refused to nurse and assist their own children, as though they did not belong to them” (Horrox, ed. and trans., 1994, 30). Similar language is used by numerous chroniclers, but other evidence indicates that though the terror was no doubt very real, much of this language was in fact formulaic, and other social pressures still applied. From a range of motives, many healers did stay with clients, servants with masters, hospital staff with patients. Many evidently felt compassion (Wray 2004). Surgeon Guy de Chauliac confessed that he did not dare to flee Avignon lest he lost his good name; he survived not only the first great outbreak but also a repeat wave of epidemic in 1360 (Wallis 2010, 421). Servants stayed with noble masters as well. The sudden death from plague of the bishop of Tournai terrified his household, but they still carried his body to the episcopal palace and buried him honorably a week later (Horrox, ed. and trans., 1994, 51). Recent evidence from plague cemeteries in England indicates that graves were laid neatly and bodies treated with care even in times of epidemic, although cemeteries were often required to employ mass burial pits, or open new sites altogether (Connell et al., 2012, 217;

231; Gilchrist and Sloane 2005). And if many clergy fled, others arranged for the consecration of additional cemeteries, organized penitential processions, and reminded their flocks that in extreme need, laity and even women could hear confessions—and thus the sick did not have to die without the sacrament of penance (Horrox, ed. and trans., 1994, 271–72).

There was as little consensus for treatment as for cause, as the noxious vapors that the medical community had diagnosed were believed so strong that remedies were chancy. The medical authorities candidly recommended flight. For those who could not or would not, purifying the air was important, either through fire or sweet-smelling substances. The rich were advised to use costly perfumes like musk or ambergris; the poor would have to make do with less expensive aromatics (Wallis, ed., 2010, 424). Purges were often administered, including blood-letting, done according to careful calculations so as to draw off the corrupt matter from an appropriate vein. Electuaries were common, especially the highly regarded theriac, while sharp-smelling substances were thought to resist decay. Contemporaries recognized two forms of the plague: one with continuous fever and coughing blood, which was swifter acting and claimed more lives, the other also suffering fever but characterized by swellings in groin and armpits, termed “buboes” or “apostemes.” It was noted that those whose swellings “ripened” had a greater chance at recovery, as Guy de Chauliac noted in his own case: “The external apostemes were brought to a head with figs and cooked onions mixed with yeast and butter; then they were opened and treated as ulcers. The tumors were cupped, scarified, and cauterized ... I was ill for six weeks, in such great danger that all my friends believed I would die; but ... by God’s will I survived” (Wallis, ed., 2010, 421). In the end, the deciding factor was divine favor—or divine wrath.

Modern scholars have been strongly divided as to how to understand plague, especially its causes. Much evidence has been unearthed in favor of *Yersinia pestis*, the culprit for the 1894 Asian plague pandemic. Though the symptoms seem to agree with many of the descriptions of fourteenth-century plague (notably sudden onset, highly virulent, buboes forming in lymph nodes, fever, and chills), it is impossible to be precise about disease conditions more than six hundred years ago, using only written evidence compounded from a very different world view than that of modern scholars. Scientific and archaeological advances in aDNA (ancient DNA) testing have made it possible to identify the presence of *Y. pestis* in numerous different deposits of skeletal remains (Haensch et al. 2010). Nevertheless, this “etic” approach has not yet settled all the questions that still arise: were all plague victims sufferers of *Y. pestis*? Has *Y. pestis* altered significantly over the centuries, and what changes might it have undergone? How exactly did it spread? Why did it hit some populations harder than others? These

and other questions still deserve exploration (Little 2011). The continuing work by the scientific community will no doubt prompt many new viewpoints and avenues for discussion on the subject.

As to medieval understanding of the plague or any other ailment, medical theory was not discredited so much as helpless in the face of overwhelming odds. As a logical system it still had the power to comfort and cure as much as any human endeavor might do. But religious consolation was more powerful, and ultimately more important. Death was inevitable in any case (see the contribution on “Death” by Hiram Kümper in this *Handbook*). The trauma of so much death in times of epidemic reinforced and promoted the desire of the faithful Christian to make a good end.

B Dying

The unprepared death was the death most to be feared (Ariès 1981, 11). Hell loomed for those with unconfessed sins, and to die suddenly was to risk damnation. The intense focus on spiritual care given to the sick was thus linked not only to the belief that sin’s effects were often manifest in physical ailments. Hospitals admitting patients would require them to attend confession, a spiritual cleansing as important as a physical one (Saunier 1993). Those who were ill risked not only earthly torment, but eternal, unless they were shriven.

A good death, therefore, was one for which the dying person, and the community, had time to prepare. Such an ideal death for the late medieval period is specified by the popular text of the *Ars Moriendi* (ca. 1450). This anonymously authored fifteenth-century tract, originally in Latin, survives in both a long and a short version. The latter, usually illustrated by a cycle of eleven woodcuts, survives in hundreds of manuscripts and early printed copies in multiple languages. These include two English translation print runs made by William Caxton (ca. 1422–1492) in 1490 and 1491, with the title *Arte & Crafte to Knowe Well to Dye*. The deathbed is a battlefield, and the powers of good and evil struggle over the soul (Fig. 3). The dying man or woman (*Moriens*) is presented with five temptations: unbelief, despair, impatience, vainglory, and avarice for worldly possessions (O’Connor 1942, 7). He must overcome each in turn, and focus on the cross for consolation. Moving through these stages of temptation is not unlike the experiencing the stages of mourning diagnosed by modern grief counselors, although the focus here is primarily on the experience of *Moriens* himself.

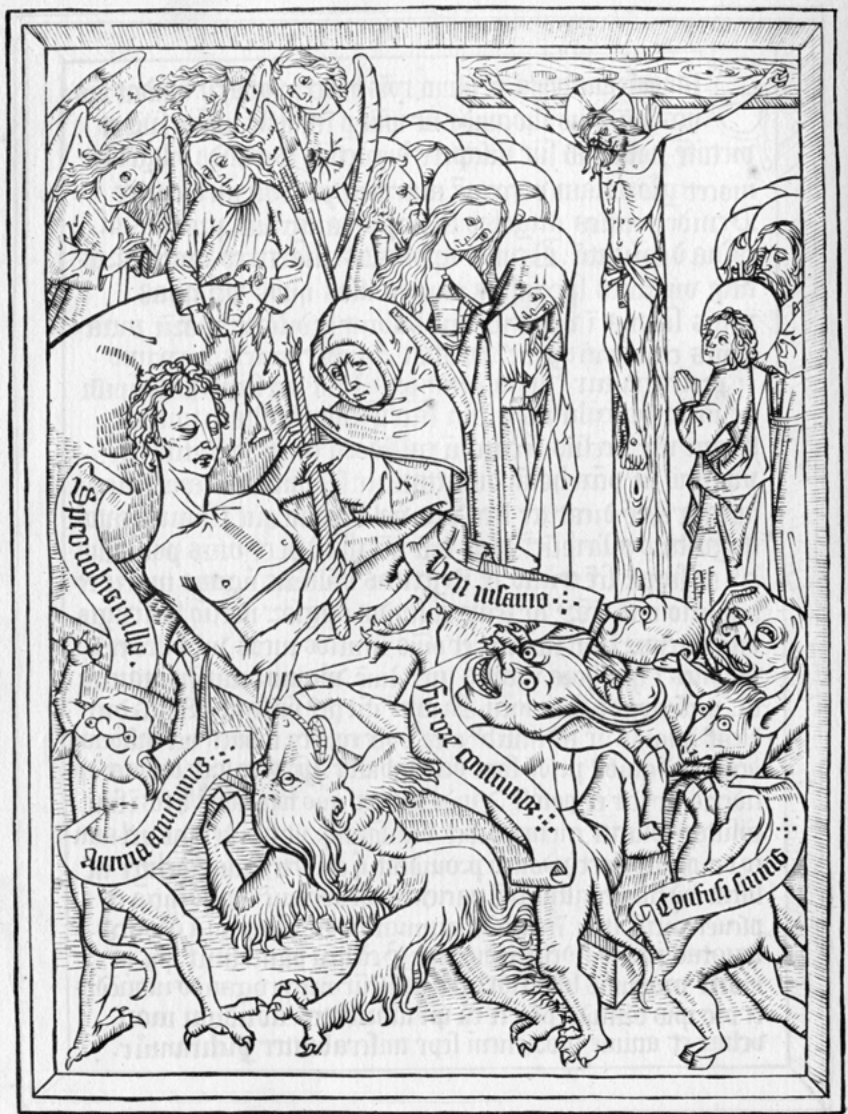


Fig. 3: Deathbed scene from the *Ars Moriendi*, ca. 1450. This woodcut is one of a series depicting the battle for the dying soul. In this eleventh and final scene the dying man is comforted by a monk, and looking toward the crucified Christ, breathes his last. His soul, in the form of a little naked figure, is caught up by angels, while the conquered demons around the bedside exhibit text scrolls describing their dismay. Reproduced from *The Ars moriendi* (editio princeps, circa 1450): a reproduction of the copy in the British Museum, edited by W. Harry Rylands; with an introduction by George Bullen. Printed for the Holbein Society by Wyman & Sons (London 1881). Photo courtesy of Brigham Young University Special Collections.

But *Moriens* does not die alone. Besides the struggling angels and devils, the dying man's neighbors, friends, and family are expected to gather around the deathbed, encouraging him, acting appropriately and saying prayers for his soul. At the deathbed of Alice Gysbye in 1538, her neighbors arrived to find her already unconscious, yet they "'dydd cry and call meny tymes unto the seid Alice to loke upon the sacrament then standing by hir, and knocked hir upon the breste but [she] did nother looke upon the sacrament nother dydd make any knowledge or countynounce to yt.' Women standing by called out "What wyll ye dye lyke a hellhound and a best/ not remembering your maker' and later that day one of her friends pleaded at her bedside "Alice I am here, I pray you speke to me and remember the passhion of Christ and speke for your soule helth'" (Duffy 1992, 322).

Also attendant at a deathbed would be a priest to catechize the dying individual by asking a series of seven questions: did the dying person believe in correct doctrine and reject heresy? Did he recognize he had offended God? Was he sorry for his sins? Did he desire to amend his life if God permitted him to life? Did he forgive all his enemies? Would he make all satisfaction? Did he believe fully that Christ had died for him? The searching nature of these questions was meant to ensure that no sin remained unconfessed, and that there was no possibility for the attendant demons to snatch the soul away at the last moment (Daniell 1997, 36). After the dying man or woman's responses-or, if unable to respond, then with favorable responses assumed-the sacrament and extreme unction were given. Extreme unction (or the last rites) consisted of anointing parts of the body with holy oil blessed by the bishop. Typically eyes, ears, nostrils, lips, hands, and feet are anointed, though in cases of haste just one might be applied, on temples or forehead. In the early middle ages, this sacrament was performed for the sick as well as the dying, but by the twelfth century it had come to be used almost exclusively on deathbeds. Indeed it was popularly supposed that if someone so anointed were to recover, they were already as dead, and could not engage in marital relations, eat meat, or make a will (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1907–1912).

The last of these prohibitions indicates another common custom of the deathbed. Wills were frequently made or amended within final hours. For persons who had considerable property to bestow, it was possible to write a will years in advance, yet the details could be refined down until nearly the last breath. Henry VII's will, which is the longest will of any medieval English monarch, shows long term careful planning and also last minute adjustments made shortly before his death on 21 April 1509, as the final copy still contains errors (Condon 2003, 106). At the other extreme, those who had little property might bequeath their goods orally to executors present at the deathbed. Even with the communal nature of deathbeds and large numbers of witnesses to the details, oral contracts were more

vulnerable to fraud or neglect (Daniell 1997, 33). Wills also dealt with burial and funeral arrangements, sometimes in exhaustive detail.

When the last breath came, there was still the danger that the soul could slip into sins of rage, despair, or disbelief. Until the very end, a crucifix was often held up to keep the mind of the dying one on meek resignation and Christian acceptance (Fig. 3). Julian of Norwich recounts such an experience, how her body grew cold and stiff and she could see only the figure of the crucified Christ, before she returned to life (Julian of Norwich 1998, 5; 16). In a monastic community or for persons who wished to adopt monastic virtues in their last moments, the body would often be taken out of bed and placed on straw or ashes. Onlookers made sure of death by placing a feather or straw over the lips to detect movement, or a polished metal surface to check for mist.

If there was no sign of life, the body was to be prepared for burial. Usually the body was washed and sewn into a shroud, or, if of high rank, dressed in appropriate clothing and laid out for a short period of mourning and preparation. For most this ceremony took place at home and was limited by practicalities, to avoid the stink of decomposition. For great nobility, the need to gather large numbers of people from far away meant that embalming might be practiced. There might be a significant journey to bring the body to the site of burial as well, and the body would have to rest in state overnight if the journey was long. French and English monarchs created full size effigies of the body that could be displayed for weeks, often as long as a month after the actual funeral (Harvey and Mortimer, ed., 1994, 6). Royalty also sometimes practiced excoriation, and burial of the heart and entrails in a separate church from the one which would receive the rest of the body. This had the benefit of allowing multiple religious communities to carry out commemorative rites in the presence of (at least part of) the actual individual (Stanford 2007, 666). Such a practice required papal dispensation after 1300, as it violated bodily integrity and might interfere with the process of resurrection (Brown 1990, 805).

Ordinary persons, however, were conveyed to a nearby church for funeral services within a day of death. A priest would be placed in the church chancel or choir, a lay person in the nave, and a vigil held. The next morning, a funeral mass would be said, and possibly a sermon. Under most circumstances the body itself would no longer be visible. Wrapped in a shroud, placed in a coffin, draped by a pall, it would nevertheless be the focus of the ceremony, surrounded by candles and heralded by tolling bells. The declaration of John Mirk (fl. 1403) that here was “a myrroure to us alle: a corse browth to the chyrch” was meant as a powerful reminder of the frailness of mortality and the inevitable end of all life (Mirk, 1905, 294.). The Christian example of a good death, however, could reflect hope, for salvation was more important than earthly life. Nor did death exclude one from

the community. The final step of burial, which took place either in or near the church, underscores this point. The larger community of Christian souls encompassed both the living and the dead; all were gathered in worship together within the embrace of the Church which healed the ills of sin.

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Mark T. Abate

Islamic Spain: Al-Andalus and the Three Cultures

Spain and Portugal are unique among all Western European states in that Islamic civilization played a crucial role in the historical development of their cultures. Iberia was ruled by Muslims and constituted a part of Dar al-Islam (the “House of Islam” or Islamic world) for several centuries. Although Muslim raiding parties reached southern France and Rome, they maintained no long-term presence and exerted no cultural influence. The only other inhabitants of Western Europe ever to live under Islamic rule were Sicilians. Islamic rule in Sicily, however, was much shorter in duration than in Iberia (approximately one-hundred-fifty-years as opposed to seven centuries) and left few cultural traces. This article focuses on the crucial role of the Islamic period in the cultural creation of Spain. The Christian period that emerged from the *Reconquista* was quite distinct and will be treated in a separate article: “*Convivencia*: Conquest and Coexistence in Medieval Spain.”

Islamic Spain or al-Andalus (the “Land of the Vandals”) is a subject in which history and myth have become so intertwined that disambiguating fact from fiction has proven to be a fairly difficult task (Cohen 1991; M. R. Cohen 1994; Glick 2005; Lewis 1984; Stillman 1991; Ye’or 1985). As the land of the “three cultures”—where Jews, Christians, and Muslims coexisted for centuries—Islamic Spain has carried a heavy burden as the preeminent example of a functional pluralistic society and emblem for “tolerance” itself in the European Middle Ages. Before the twentieth century Islamic Spain was not a mainstream subject for scholars of medieval Europe; it was an anomaly primarily of interest to Arabists and liberal Jewish scholars. For the latter, Islamic Spain came to be seen as a “Golden Age” for European Jewry, a counter-experience to the anti-Semitic persecution and discrimination that dominated other areas in Europe. Jewish astronomers, mathematicians, physicians, poets, ambassadors, government administrators—even a military commander and virtual head of state—flourished and experienced relatively few cross-confessional obstacles. Jewish Liberals in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were searching for a “golden age” of their own in Europe, a Liberal “golden age” that would be characterized by emancipation and full equality for European Jewry. Islamic Spain seemed to have an almost proto-Liberal dimension to it and, most importantly, demonstrated what Jews could achieve—and what they could contribute to the societies they lived in—if given the opportunity to become vested cultural partners. This proto-Liberal inter-faith utopia died with the last remnants of al-Andalus itself in the late fifteenth century.

The “land of the three cultures” became a land of one culture ... a culture focused on a new and almost diametrically opposed anti-Liberal concept: “purity of blood” (note by the ed.: see the contributions to *Revisiting Convivencia in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*, ed. Connie Scarborough, 2014).

Following the Holocaust, Jewish history would never be written or read in the same way (Nirenberg 1994). Anti-Semitism, intolerance, and persecution came to be viewed as symptoms of a civilization-wide sickness that needed a diagnosis. The history of European Jewry was no longer just of interest to Jews and Protestant historians critiquing the historical record of Catholicism; it had a wider significance for the development of Western Civilization itself (Nirenberg 1994). As more non-Jews took interest in Jewish history and as more scholars began focusing on tolerance and intolerance as historical problems, Spain’s historical transition from a land of three cultures to one based on bloodline bigotry gained increasing attention. Liberal Jewish scholars had long since claimed that Jews in Islamic lands overall fared much better historically than Jews in Christian lands. Living under the “crescent” was by no means perfect but there Jews experienced higher levels of toleration and deeper levels of integration than those living under the “cross.” Ironically, the “Golden Age” construct was taken up by anti-Zionist Arab scholars who used al-Andalus as an excellent example of the peace and harmony that existed between Arab and Jew before the “disruptive” influence of Zionism poisoned relations. Al-Andalus meant many things to many people; the idea of the interfaith utopia could (and still can) transcend what the evidence has to offer.

Currently, the main cultural and ideological context for the debate on coexistence between the “three cultures” of al-Andalus is multiculturalism. Specialists in the field today see the “interfaith utopia” as a myth although they generally agree that an interesting *modus vivendi* emerged among the three cultures, one which practiced coexistence as a pragmatic necessity. Coexistence, however, is not multiculturalism (at least not in the sense that the term is generally used today) and any attempt to depict al-Andalus as a “multicultural” society would be anachronistic. Medieval people—whether Jew, Christian, or Muslim—had no sense of cultural relativism and certainly would not understand, much less appreciate, concepts such as the “celebration of diversity” or equal respect for differing lifestyles. Co-existence in al-Andalus was grudgingly practiced rather than altruistically embraced and its roots were in pragmatism and personal benefit rather than mutual goodwill. Like its Christian counterparts that began emerging in the eleventh century, coexistence in al-Andalus was based on a system of segregation that resembles Jim Crow and Apartheid far more than melting pots and multicultural beliefs. Distasteful as coexistence based on segregation may seem to modern sensibilities, it created a functional pluralism in al-Andalus that lasted for centuries.

A Islamic Law and Dhimma Status

I Legal Identity

The status of Muslims, Jews, and Christians in al-Andalus was an integral part of Islamic law so their treatment was defined and regulated by divine command rather than human whim or expedience (Tritton 1930; Dennett 1950; Schacht 1964; Ye'or 1985; M.R. Cohen 1994; Stillman 1998; Kennedy 2004). Pre-Islamic and early-Islamic Arabia experienced a reasonable coexistence among pagan, Jewish, and Christian tribes. The Medina of Muhammad—the first and most perfect Islamic state—was a religiously pluralistic community itself (though not without conflict) and early Arab expansion following the Prophet's death resulted in the rapid absorption of mass populations of non-Muslims. The conquerors, although in power and in control, quickly found themselves to be a minority in their own now extensive realm. The Islamic state was not yet one which emphasized proselytizing in any way. If anything, conversion to Islam by the conquered was discouraged or at the very least energetically ignored. Part of the reason was simply the Arab chauvinism of the Umayyad period. God was indeed the only God and the message of Islam was one of uncompromising divine unity; the human community, however, was seen as polyglot and suspicion existed regarding the viability of non-Arabs becoming full, “true” Muslims.

Suspicion was further fueled by (or originally generated from) economic considerations. Muslim conquerors seized public lands belonging to the Persian or Roman state but left private property largely undisturbed in exchange for the population's submission to Islamic political hegemony. The *jizya* poll tax was collected from the non-Muslim population to finance the support of the new Arab ruling classes. Arab masters were paid a state pension from the *jizya* that appears to have been pro-rated to reflect how early one converted, with the largest salaries going to the earliest Arab members of the *umma*. Conversions to Islam of conquered indigenous, inevitably, would lead to a relentless erosion of the tax base needed to support relocated or immigrant Bedouin. In economic history almost every problem has a solution and in this case it was the emergence of Muwallad status. Muwallads, non-Arab converts to Islam, were what can be adequately described as probationary Muslims or Muslims-in-training. They were ostensibly “adopted” into an Arab clan and lineage, were subject to all the religious strictures of Islam, and in every way except one were considered Muslims. They were still required to pay the *jizya* poll tax although, supposedly after sufficient Arabization, pure Islam would be realized along with an end to the financial liability. Fiscal expediency and Arab chauvinism found common ground in creating a class of non-Arab Muslims who were still effectively not Muslims in terms of

taxation. The status became hereditary; and the expected end to it, along with dreams of fiscal equality, disappeared on a seemingly multi-generational horizon. The long term result was the eventual Abbasid overthrow of the Umayyad dynasty with discontented Muwallads, by then the undisputed majority of the population, being the real weight in the coup's glove. Among the many things granted in the "Abbasid Compromise" was the end of Arab chauvinism and the Muwallad fiscal handicap it justified and supported.

Christians and Jews not wishing to convert to Islam were "People of the Book" and thus "Protected People" Muwallads were by and large a socio-economic category with religious implications; dhimmi were a religious category with socio-economic dictates. Jews and Christians were flawed Muslims. Moses and Jesus were both Muslims, despite the opinions of Jews and Christians, and somehow their understandings of the message revealed to Abraham became twisted into the beliefs of Islam's two ugly cousins. Prophetic precedent and Quranic roots were crucial in that they fixed the treatment of Jews and Christians in the sphere of divine rather than human discretion. Muhammad's Medina was a pluralistic state in which religious autonomy was granted in exchange for civic loyalty and service. Jews were undeniably members of the first Islamic state. Muhammad's relations with Jewish and Christian regional powers were defined by the *jizya*: submission to hegemony in exchange for protection and continued religious freedom.

II The Dhimmi

Quranic roots for dhimma status are beyond question although the shape it took in practice had flexibility. The first problem was the occasional confusion of Quranic Arabic in some instances for latter generations (M.R. Cohen 1994). *Jizya* was quite clear but the four words that followed were not and stymied generations. The roots lay in the phrase to "make small" so it was understandable that many subsequent jurists, particularly in light of some *hadith*, interpreted it in terms of modesty requirements, sumptuary laws, humility regulations, or occasionally worse. Possible interpretations of Quranic injunctions crystallized in the so-called Pact of Umar. Ostensibly a letter from newly conquered Christian subjects to the Caliph Umar the document is most likely the product of numerous conquest negotiations and treaties combined with aspects of Byzantine/Roman legislation regarding Jews which most likely played a significant role in the emergence of Islamic policy toward religious minorities. Although the document itself represents no specific treaty it provided a conceptual framework for the regulation of Christian and Jewish subjects.

The *jizya* was an act of financial and political submission that symbolized the acceptance of the new order by the conquered. Beyond being an important source of revenue, its yearly payment served as an annual reminder of power relationships. The *jizya* was the means by which Christians and Jews essentially purchased basic religious freedom and the right to group semi-autonomy. Both of these were predicated on creating and maintaining a degree of separation between the religions. The entire system itself was created on the foundation of segregation. Dhimmi communities, in their own urban quarters (in many respects rural regions are terra incognita), lived under the authority of their own representatives who regulated internal affairs, followed their own religious laws, assembled in their own houses of worship, and even had their own civil (but not criminal) courts with their own judges presiding. The modern saying “fences make the best neighbors” comes to mind. Segregation, far from being seen as a social anathema, was one of the most important things that medieval majorities and minorities wanted and agreed upon. Arguably such segregation minimized potential conflict. What we today call mainstreaming would be considered unpalatable and dangerous. Segregation allowed minorities to preserve better their cultural traditions and distinctiveness and protected majorities from what was seen as religious contamination.

III Dominance and Submissiveness

Muslim jurists themselves were divided on whether the *jizya* was technically a form of punishment or a fee for services rendered. The totality of the dhimma arrangement and its historical implementations seem to have combined both. Relative religious freedom and limited self-rule, along with the provision of municipal services and defense, was about as good as tolerance could get in the Middle Ages. The dhimma contract, however, contained several stipulations that were discriminatory and guarded against the potential emergence of any sort of complete equality. Dhimmi were citizens but they needed to remain second class ones (which is of course better than not being a citizen at all). Dhimmi paid twice the commercial taxes that Muslims did. They were prohibited from state service, from employing Muslim servants, and implicitly from any activity that would put them in a position of authority over Muslims. Dhimmi homes had to be at a lower elevation than Muslim homes and churches or synagogues could not be higher or more ornate than local mosques. New dhimmi places of worship could not be built and technically old ones could not be repaired. Dhimmi could not ride horses, carry arms, or convert to any religion except Islam (i.e., Jews could not become Christians and Christians could not become Jews). Dhimmi were required

to wear distinctive clothing that identified their religious affiliation. They could not add honorifics to their name, had to stand in the presence of Muslims, and sometimes were subjected to ritualized humiliation such as receiving a slap on the nape of the neck when paying the *jizya*—which some quipped served as their receipt.

Naturally these “stipulations” were designed to reinforce, symbolically, the dominant-submissive power relationship and reaffirm Muslim superiority ritually even if they happened to be a numerical minority (surely a concern in the immediate aftermath of conquest). Some of this discriminatory legislation had economic dimensions: tax differences created extra sources of revenue for the state and distinctive clothing prevented dhimmi from “passing” as Muslims and receiving unwarranted fiscal discounts. Certainly the fiscal difference would provide an incentive for conversion to Islam if the Muwallad tax disability were removed. Some of the discriminatory stipulations in the dhimma arrangement, however, seem to be rooted in something different, maybe deeper, than just the symbolism of power and economic status.

Public displays of religiosity serve as the best window through which to view this deeper dynamic. Unfortunately, at least for our purposes, the window provides an almost panoramic view for Islamic-Christian relations but an obstructed if not blocked one for Islamic-Jewish relations. From the Islamic perspective, Jews were religiously wrong on several important points of religious truth; Christians, however, were not only equally wrong in their own way but were also considered to be flagrant idolaters. Crosses, in particular, were a powerful affront to Muslim eyes that had no equivalent for Judaism. Jewish communal rites and rituals were mostly conducted indoors while many medieval Christian rituals were held outside, making the latter far more visible, irksome, and in need of more regulation than the former. It is also worth remembering that regarding ritual, Islam and Judaism are far more similar to one another than either is to Christianity (Peters 2006). Christian expressions of religiosity, then, were much more high profile sources of potential conflict than those of Judaism and provoked more responses (M.R. Cohen 1994).

Religious icons of any sort were not to be present in the greater public area as they would be offensive to Muslim sensibilities. Their presence in the semi-autonomous Christian precinct and behind the closed doors of churches could be ignored. Funeral processions could cause problems as public displays of religiosity and hence ostentatious reminders of difference. Church bells were a particular problem as their ringing could obviously not be contained within a Christian neighborhood. This audible reminder of difference would naturally spill into public and Islamic space, remind Muslims of the idolatry taking place out of sight, and possibly drown out the muezzin’s call to prayer. At times, for special occa-

sions such as Easter celebrations, Christians could apply for a permit to use bells but this often resulted in antagonizing local Muslim populations and generating popular protest. A rough, imperfect, but somewhat useful analogy could be the “don’t ask don’t tell” policy in the United States military regarding homosexuality (though that policy still contained a firm don’t do dimension that dhimmi status did not). Dhimmi expressions of religiosity were considered offensive if within public sight or hearing but, if discretely tucked away in “the closet,” so to speak, could be grudgingly tolerated by ignoring them. Economic concerns are completely absent from this dynamic. Symbolism of power, to the extent it can be detected, is minimal. The dynamic is rooted in emotion. The differences were clearly seen as offensive, could produce spontaneous outbreaks of resentment, and were handled accordingly.

These policies were certainly discriminatory especially by modern standards. But they were not solely or even primarily punitive. Essentially they were expressions of the Islamic sense of “modesty.” Public display of potential sources of conflict—ostentatious displays of wealth, an unveiled woman, or religious symbols seen as idolatry—were frowned upon. Concealing such potential sources for conflict was a way to reduce the social friction that could lead to outbursts. Dhimmi were considered guests in Islamic society, guests with clearly defined legal rights but guests nonetheless. “Politeness” and modesty toward the host was expected. Violating this sense of modesty would result in inevitable conflict and, ultimately, in the necessary revocation of the invitation. It should be noted, however, that the degree of enforcement of these stipulations varied widely over time and place. Sometimes they were rigorously and even excessively enforced, such as under Almoravid and particularly under Almohad rule. At other times many stipulations were ignored as new churches and synagogues were constructed and Christians and Jews rose up in the ranks of state service.

B Converts to Islam

I Berbers and the Ethnic Issue

Dhimmi status, with the notable exception of the martyrs of Cordoba movement discussed below, was not an explosive issue. Normally it was simply accepted. In light of what could be the results of conquest by a foreign power the terms were clearly quite good: retaining the possession of private property, retaining the right to practice one’s religion, and semi-autonomy in the regulation of day to day life were obviously preferable to such possibilities as death, despoilment, enslavement, or expulsion. Although the structure of medieval Islamic society seems

completely fashioned around religion as the sole source of communal identity, this was not the case, particularly in Islamic Spain, and there was a sharp divide here between theory and reality. Ethnic distinctions and differentiation not only existed but were the primary source of conflict, violence, and instability in al-Andalus for the first three centuries of its existence. Umayyad Iberia had a decent grip on handling the differences between religious groups but never quite solved the problems presented by ethnicity.

Muwallad status, mentioned above, was the greatest source of contention for Umayyad rule both in the East and in Iberia. Converts to Islam who were stigmatized and discriminated against simply for not being Arab was a problem that increased in intensity proportional to the demographics of conversion. The Abbasids in the East rode this wave of discontent into a revolution that overthrew the Umayyads of Damascus (Kennedy 2004). Wisely, one of the earliest major orders of business for the new Abbasid Caliphate was to abolish the Muwallad distinction. The Muwallad distinction, however, had a longer life in Umayyad Iberia where it wreaked havoc and eventually became a major cause in the collapse of the Cordoban Caliphate (Makki 1992).

The Islamic conquest of Iberia was the natural extension of the conquest of North Africa. Particularly in the early period, separating the North African and Iberian ventures can only cause confusion and misunderstanding. Conquest of the Maghrib brought about the conversion of numerous Berbers who, naturally for the Umayyads, were accorded the status of second-class Muslims. The original invasion force that began the conquest of Iberia in 711 was composed almost entirely of Berbers with a sprinkling of Arabs in positions of leadership. Only seven of the 12,000 men in Tariq's army were Arabs. Some of the Berbers, moreover, were actually Christians. The second contingent was mostly Arabs from the East with Muwallads. Arabs themselves were a minority. In the conquest Berbers tended to get less valuable land than Arabs; whether this was due to discriminatory practices or Berbers choosing mountain land because it was similar to their North African homeland is uncertain as is what role, if any, this played in the future Berber revolts. Perceptions of discrimination, however, undoubtedly were the driving force (Glick 1978; Scales 1994; Glick 2005).

Islamic Spain, during the first decades of its existence, experienced a curious balancing act of ethnicities and interests. Arabs, demographically insignificant but culturally dominant, were the ruling class and the purveyors of "true" Islamic culture. Subsequent Arab immigration, which increased but was never truly significant, succeeded in installing more Arabs in the upper ranks of the state and the cultural elite but accomplished little in terms of getting any demographic momentum. Berbers were by far much larger in numbers than Arabs and, militarily speaking, they were by far the most powerful group in al-Andalus. Like the

Arabs they had divisions along clan lines and certainly saw themselves as less homogenous than most modern observers would. Religiously speaking they had some diversity as well: most were Muwallads but there still were Christian and pagan members in their ranks.

Transforming the Berber population were the related yet significantly distinct twin processes of Islamization and Arabization. Islamization, the conversion of non-Muslims to Islam, was the earlier and easier process (Glick 2005). In Islam the means for conversion is simple: one recites the *shahada*, the profession of faith, and conversion is complete (though after talking the talk the convert is expected to walk the walk). As we have seen in the previous discussion of Muwallads, however, those who read into Islam a universal message for an egalitarian community were to be disappointed with the Umayyad interpretation of the religion. Conversion opened doors but, in this early period, it did not open all of them. Arabization, the acculturation of non-Arabs and their adoption of the Arabic language and associated lifestyle, was a slower and more cumbersome process. Imitating the cultural elite and adapting to the language and mores of political power, Arabization would have appeared to be a solid means for advancement. Certainly there were many Berbers who Arabized quickly, particularly the older and the urban communities. Arabized Berbers spoke and wrote Arabic; some even forged false Arab genealogies to hide their ethnic origins which, all things being considered, is the most compelling proof of desired assimilation. Some were partially Arabized, being bilingual, while still others, particularly the numerous herders in the countryside and in the mountains, were not Arabized at all.

The failure of Islamization to produce equality for Berbers resulted in a revolt that began in North Africa and quickly spread to al-Andalus in 740–741. Kharijism was a strain of Islam that vehemently rejected the Arab chauvinism of the Umayyads and trumpeted the universal message of Islam and the equality of all believers. Non-Arabs, Kharijites claimed, should face no barrier and could even become caliphs. This message of ethnic egalitarianism found a receptive and well armed audience among Berbers in the Maghrib who found in it an ideological weapon with which to fight Arab snobbery. In response to the revolt an estimated 12,000 troops were sent from Syria. The Kharijite Berber revolt in Africa scored several initial victories against Arab troops and incited Berbers in al-Andalus to revolt. This Berber revolt, the first but not the last, was difficult to suppress. It was finally put down by the Syrian troops who, although suffering defeats in North Africa, eventually succeeded in Iberia and in the end settled there.

Arabization, though it certainly helped the careers of many successful Berbers, did not have a profound impact on lessening the social distance between Arab and Berber. Many Arabs expressed fear of “Berberization,” that the language

and culture of these rubes and herders would inevitably infect Arab culture. The wide Arab-Berber gap remained and produced a string of Berber revolts against the Arab state from the eighth century through the tenth century. There also existed steady streams of Berber immigration from North Africa that essentially never ended. Degrees of Arabization varied greatly among the Berber population which was itself in almost perpetual flux. The need to confront Christian expansion from the north, moreover, led to the increasing recruitment of Berber troops from Africa, creating another large and fresh Berber bloc that would heavily impact the fate of al-Andalus and, eventually, play a significant role in its fragmentation. The eleventh century was cataclysmic regarding Arab-Berber hostility. The Berber Revolt of 1008–1031 was a major part of the *fitna*—the chaos—that ended the caliphate and ushered in the division of al-Andalus into petty states. The collapse of central authority and order was, almost predictably, punctuated with Arab-Berber and Berber-Arab ethnic slaughters.

II Muwallads/Neo-Muslims of Christian Origin

Eventually the largest group of Muslims in al-Andalus would be the converted Hispano-Roman-Visigothic population itself. This created an enormous Muwallad or “Neo-Muslim” population. Their conversion was one of the most important transformations, if not the most important transformation, in the evolution of Islamic Spain. It is also one of the least documented. Sources are surprisingly silent on the religious conversion of this estimated seven million conquered people. Most but not all Neo-Muslims came from Hispano-Roman stock. There were exceptions. The *saqaliba* (Slavs), for example, were freed slaves, and free foreign Christians migrated from across the Pyrenees to the north and from Africa to the south in search of a better life, eventually converted to Islam as well. Contemporary chroniclers spent much more time describing the Arab-Berber conflicts than dealing with the religious conversion of Christians, at least until the Muwallads themselves became participants in significant revolts and shoved their way into the historical record. Rates and dates regarding Hispano-Roman conversion to Islam have been the subject of great debate but a convincing picture has emerged placing most of the activity happening before 1000 (Bulliet 1979; Epalza 1992; Fletcher 1992; Glick 2005).

Muslim conquerors did not solicit conversions by exerting direct pressure on the Hispano-Roman population. They observed the Quranic dictate that there was “no compulsion in religion” and the combination of the Arab chauvinism of the Umayyad period with the existence of the *dhimma* arrangement produced a marked disinterest in converting the native population. Fiscal complications were

also certainly a major concern as they were everywhere in the Islamic world. Conversions would have negative effects on tax revenues. Muslim rulers might not have been blatantly obstructing conversion but they were not pushing it either. Occasionally they invited it, as was sometimes the case in the pardoning of Christians convicted of capital crimes if they converted to Islam.

Initiative regarding conversion, then, was in the hands of the conquered themselves. There were several benefits to be gained by conversion. Tax liabilities would be reduced. In cities and towns, providing a degree of Arabization accompanied conversion, advancement and better access to power would seem possible. Regarding the rural hinterlands we know little. We are not even sure how really Christianized the rural Hispano-Roman population was in the first place; if Christianity was already weak in the hinterlands conversion would be much less complicated (Epálza 1992). Economically it seems that terms for Muslim sharecroppers and tenant farmers were better than those for Christians; so conversion to better one's condition might not have been a solely urban phenomenon. Possible motives, however suggestive they might be, provide little in terms of direct evidence for determining how—and particularly when—significant conversions happened.

Richard Bulliet, in his *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period*, transformed the discussion with the use of onomastic evidence (quantitative analysis of name changes), along with available genealogical information in biographical dictionaries (a common enough literary genre in medieval Islam), to chart a logarithmic curve in conversion rates in the wake of Islamic conquests (Bulliet 1979). His approach in short: when examining a series of names within a given family the first transition in the sequence from an indigenous name to an Islamic name indicates the first convert to Islam. Available onomastic data is then pooled and statistical samples graphed. Although the statistical sample in al-Andalus is small enough to make its statistical viability questionable it is consistent enough with larger available samples in other regions to make it compelling. Conversion phases are categorized as follows: early adopters, early majority, late majority, and laggards. The process is cumulative with increasing conversion producing more momentum for yet more conversion. According to this schematic conversion rates were sluggish into the ninth century and then began exponential growth in the tenth century. By the beginning of the ninth century approximately 8% of the Hispano-Roman population had converted; by the middle of the ninth century it had risen to about 12–13%; it then doubled within the next 50 years to 25% before doubling again to 50% within another 50 years; during the next 50 years it increased by about another 25% bringing it to 75% of the population; and at the turn of the century, around 1100, the process was basically complete closing at approximately 80%. Interestingly and significantly, the pattern of

construction and expansion for the Grand Mosque in Cordoba for the ninth and tenth centuries dovetails nicely with Bulliet's curve (Fletcher 1992). Architectural embellishments to project better the power of the state were certainly part of the equation but so, too, obviously was the need to accommodate incrementally more people.

Conversion could have happened more rapidly than the onomastic evidence and curve suggests. Tax registers for the province of Cordoba in the mid ninth century, when the numbers are crunched, put the conversion rate a bit ahead of Bulliet's curve, with the Christian population already down to about 28% at the time (Barcelo 1984–1985). Mikel de Epalza posited an interesting “judicial” theory regarding conversion in a two-tiered system suggesting dual but early dates for “conversion.” From the Islamic perspective, Christians were able to retain their religious status if they so chose *and* if they were organizationally able to support and maintain it. This required a religious hierarchy capable of reproducing itself. Bishops in a Christian sense can reproduce in the hierarchy by ordaining priests and, although priests can conduct baptisms and essential functions of a parish, they cannot reproduce by ordaining subsequent priests. A bishop shortage would create a priest shortage that, in turn, inevitably resulted in a collapse of baptisms. From both the Christian and Islamic perspective baptism was essential to Christian status. Unable to maintain the essential prerequisite for Christian identity populations, particularly the rural ones, would “convert” to Islam and become legal Muslims by default. This change in legal status would have been rapid and widespread, an eight-century phenomenon that would have been concluded within a few generations. Major urban centers would naturally be better equipped to provide required religious services and resist such collapse and religious forfeiture. Rural regions, however, might have been organizationally and hence legally doomed. The second tier in the process, a true rather than judicial Islamization, is hard to describe qualitatively much less quantitatively. Certainly it would have been a much slower process but there is little means to calculate its depth much less generate a rough timetable (Epalza 1992).

Another important factor to consider in the religious transformation of al-Andalus is the segmented agnatic kinship structure practiced by both Arabs and Berbers. Familial importance was defined through male relationships. The structure favored endogamous marriages as they keep power concentrated within the kin group. Exogamous marriage primarily occurred through powerful groups attracting women from weaker ones. The stronger the group was the fewer women it would lose, the more external women it would attract, and the more endogamous it would become. Islamic law, moreover, privileged the male in inter-religious marriage. Muslim men could take Christian or Jewish wives in a mixed marriage—with any children produced by the marriage being born Muslim—but

Muslim women marrying non-Muslim men was prohibited. When Arab Muslims assumed the positions of power throughout the peninsula it created a quandary for local Christian elites. Intermarriages would seem to be the best strategy for integration into the new power structure but all Christian elites could do was to offer their daughters in marriage, daughters who in turn would produce Muslim children. The only alternative power-minded Christians had were pursuing positions in the church that, due to celibacy, would result in no offspring at all. It was a zero-sum game (Guichard 1976; Glick 2005).

Muwallads, presumably ones from well to do backgrounds in particular, had opportunities for advancement. They could serve in the state bureaucracy as well as be scholars in residence at court. Based on name patterns it would seem that second and third generation Muwallad converts existed in scholarly court life in Cordoba, such as the courtier-physician Yahya ibn Ishaq in the court of Abd al-Rahman III and pharmacologist and physician ibn Juljul shortly thereafter (Glick 2005). The evidence, however, as is unfortunately so often the case for such matters in Islamic Spain, is anecdotal and insufficient to draw any substantive conclusions.

III Muwallad Revolts

Muwallad Neo-Muslims, however, were generally held in disdain by the Arab ruling class and experienced significant discrimination. They were criticized for their “stammering” pronunciation of Arabic, derided for cowardice, and chastised for a lack of gratitude to Arabs who raised them out of the mire. Racial epithets like “sons of white women” (and many more) were hurled at them (Glick 2005). Averroes, himself of Muwallad lineage but living just as that distinction was fading, still felt the need to address ethnicity. Old Andalusian families, he wrote, had straighter hair and lighter skin than Arabs to the east because of the temperate climate in Iberia; its natural effect was to make Andalusians physically resemble natives over time (and since it was similar to Greece apparently gave them a special aptitude for philosophy). Like the Berbers, Muwallads of Hispano-Roman descent, they were greatly dissatisfied with the failed promise of Islamic egalitarianism at the hands of Arab ethnocentrism. Like the Berbers, some of them revolted. These revolts could be quite serious, with several of them even creating virtually independent territories of varying size (Guichard 1976; Fletcher 1992; Scales 1994; Glick 2005).

The Muwallad revolt of Umar ibn Hafsun to the south, which lasted about forty years (879–918), was the greatest and most serious. The family supposedly stretched back to a Visigothic count and its Muwallad status began in the early

ninth century. Umar ibn Hafsun himself cuts a colorful character. As a young man he apparently killed a neighbor in a dispute, was disowned by his family, fled to Morocco, then returned to the mountains of Ronda to begin a career as a bandit. Defeated by the state in 883 he was pressed into service for the emirate army and, ironically, was deployed to fight against the Banu Qasi. As a soldier in the emir's ranks he served with distinction. His experience in the Cordoban army, however, was not a pleasant one. He was harassed about his Muwallad background by Arabs and so he eventually deserted. Returning to his previous mountain base he developed a following as the protector of the regional peasantry against the abuses of the state. Guerilla tactics were used against the state with impressive results, succeeding enough to disrupt the stability of the road to Cordoba. A contingent dispatched from Cordoba captured one of ibn Hafsun's fellow-Muwallad commanders and publicly crucified him between a dog and a pig. This public atrocity, rather than dampening enthusiasm, seems to have had the opposite effect; ibn Hafsun's following and sphere of influence grew. Eventually he was conducting negotiations with Christians to the north, Maghrebis to the south, and even with the Abbasid caliphate itself.

Countless Muwallads throughout al-Andalus rallied in support as did many Mozarabs (Arabized Christians discussed below). Contemporary testimony claimed that he controlled land from Algeciras to Murcia. Muwallad revolts sprang up throughout the peninsula. Certainly at the time it appeared to be possible that the rebellion could bring the Umayyad state down. In 899 ibn Hafsun dramatically announced his conversion to Christianity. The move surely endeared him further to the remaining Christian population and might have given him more traction with Christian states to the north (carrying favor and support from Leon certainly being a major consideration in his conversion announcement). Apparently, however, it sucked much of the wind from the sails of his Muwallad base of support. Restoration of Christianity to the peninsula was *not* one of their goals. Dissent or at the very least confusion set in among the ranks. Enthusiasm waned. Ibn Hafsun's forces, although they had experienced defeats before at the hands of emirate troops, took a real beating in 904. The rebellion was truncated, maybe crippled, but by no means done. Ibn Hafsun, in his base at Bobastro, lived his life out as a rebel leader until 917. In the following years discord and quibbling among his sons resulted in Bobastro being a much easier mark for Cordoba. In 927 Bobastro was taken. Ibn Hafsun's bodily remains were exhumed and shipped to Cordoba for public crucifixion. The revolt of ibn Hafsun takes on additional significance when measured alongside Bulliet's curve. Revolts of old elites—frequently *converted* old elites—against the new order are almost standard historical features that accompany the conversion curve at a specific point. Chronologically, the revolt of ibn Hafsun and other Muwallad

rebels is later than parallel revolts in the east but, more importantly, they appear at the *same stage* on the conversion curve graphs.

The Muwallad distinction disappeared during the taifa period. Chronologically this was later than the fading of the distinction in the East but in terms of measurable demographic trends it was consistent. The Muwallad distinction and handicap could not be maintained once Muwallads themselves were a clear majority. At that point, the cusp of which Averroes himself lived, Muwallads became fully vested Muslims that were for all intents and purposes indistinguishable from old, Arab Muslims.

C Mozarabs

I Mozarab Identities

Mozarab is the general term that modern historians use for Christians who had lived under Islamic rule in Spain, both those who were direct subjects of al-Andalus itself and those who were later absorbed by the Catholic states from the north through conquest. Mozarab is a useful and necessary term for describing this Christian population but it can be too blunt a tool when discussing specific details about or significant differences among them. Not all Mozarabs shared the same experience. Nor did they even all come from the same ethnic lineage. Majority of the Mozarabs descended from the Hispano-Roman-Visigothic population that resisted the forces of Islamization (religious assimilation) although not Arabization (a process of acculturation). These Arabized Hispano-Roman-Visigothic peoples can, in a sense, be seen as “original” Mozarabs. Some of the Christians of al-Andalus, certainly a much smaller amount, hailing from the far north of the peninsula or immigrating from North Africa or even the Near East, are labeled “Neo-Mozarabs.” Not only were they ethnically different but they could have significant differences in terms of rites and liturgy. A third type of Mozarab that emerged later in Spanish history were Muslims who converted to Christianity in large numbers during the initial Christian conquests from the north. Their experiences were so strikingly different that they need an additional label of their own. Although it makes for a confusing typology, it has been suggested they be labeled “New-Mozarabs” (which would cause hopeless confusion with Neo-Mozarabs) or “Converted Mozarabs” which, unwieldy as it might be, seems better than other more bulky possibilities. Experiences certainly varied for all Mozarabs inclusively according to when and where in the peninsula they lived, whether they were sharecroppers, monks, or urban artisans, and numerous other possible factors that defy enumeration (Guichard 1985; Epalza 1992; Burman 1994; Glick 2005).

Muslims did not refer to their Christian dhimmi population as Mozarabs. Instead they used a wide array of other terms: “Nazarenes,” “Keepers of the Covenant,” “Romans,” or “Protected People.” The word itself, although it probably comes from the Arabic word for “Arabized,” was used in Christian sources not Arab ones. It originated a pejorative and polemical term used by Christian purists, ferociously resisting acculturation, to describe with disgust their co-religionists who were adapting the conquerors’ language and culture. Mozarabs lived in major urban centers, with Cordoba and Toledo having very large populations, where they could more easily perpetuate church structure around bishoprics. Mozarabs existed in significant numbers in rural agricultural communities as well. We know that there were frequent uprisings of Mozarab peasants lasting into the tenth century and it seems that many Mozarab migrants settling in Leon were wheat farmers.

To what extent Mozarabs were truly “Arabized,” ironically, is a source of debate (Glick 2005). Surely trying to answer such a question adequately would entail sensitivity to differences in time, place, and possible degrees of Arabization. Common sense would seem to imply some degree of linguistic adaptation particularly in urban environments. From navigating markets on a daily basis to the possibility of accessing better employment opportunities in pluralistic urban settings, particularly over generations, there would be sufficient motivation for many to learn the new language and probably some of the cultural customs that went along with it. The countryside is always an enigma. In rural, mostly homogenous agricultural villages there probably would have been less incentive. Naming patterns among early Mozarab immigrants to Leon, many of whom seem to have been agricultural workers, are particularly interesting and suggestive. The picture that emerges is one in which husbands had Arabic names and wives Romance names. This gendered cleavage regarding names, although it could have other explanations, suggests bilingual Mozarabic men capable of speaking Arabic in public and monolingual women who, not needing to negotiate their way through an Arabic speaking public sphere, spoke the Romance language of the household and the immediate Christian community. In any case centuries later, when Toledo was conquered by Christians from the north, the large Mozarabic population of the city was almost entirely monolingual and spoke only Arabic.

II Martyrs of Cordoba and Arabization

As is the case with Berbers and Hispano-Roman Muwallads, a major source for our information about the early Mozarabs comes from an explosive confrontation. The “martyrs of Cordoba” movement began, unassumingly enough, on June 3,

851 when a Christian man named Isaac in Cordoba requested an audience with the qadi to receive instruction in Islam. As the qadi began discussing Islam Isaac began to shout curses about the Prophet Muhammad. Dumbfounded and outraged, no doubt, the qadi's first reaction was to jump up and punch Isaac in the face. The qadi's advisors intervened and he settled down. The assumption in the court came to be that Isaac was either drunk or had some sort of mental breakdown. Isaac responded that neither was true and, knowing that such blasphemy against the prophet was a capital crime, was zealously seeking martyrdom for his religion. Confused, the qadi had Isaac confined to a cell while the case was referred directly to the amir. Shortly after, no doubt realizing what they had on their hands, the state obliged Isaac and executed him, completely unaware that this was not a singular event but the opening salvo of an organized movement (Colbert 1962; Wolf 1988; Coope 1995).

Isaac is a very revealing figure. A good place to begin in contemplating his significance is by starting with his very name. Isaac (Ishaq) is not a normative European Christian name. It is, however, common enough among Muslims, Jews, and Arab Christians at the time and, thus, would be as unobtrusive and unremarkable a name as possible in going about his daily life. Just the sort of name one would give a boy if they wanted him to blend. Isaac came from a Cordoban Christian family of wealth and status. He undoubtedly had a good education with excellent instruction in the Arabic language. Isaac was a state employee, only three years before his martyrdom, who had risen to the rank of secretary—which was no mean position in the Islamic state, particularly in the city of Cordoba. We can detect in the making of Isaac the traces of a family plan, a way of charting a career path, a strategy for making a horizontal move from the old power structure into the new one. The plan was working well until Isaac had some sort of religious experience that resulted in his quitting the post of secretary and retreating to the monastery of Tabanos to the north of the city. There the bureaucrat became the radical.

Over the rest of the decade many martyrs came forward in protest, publicly insulted Muhammad, and were duly executed for blasphemy or, for those who were technically and legally born Muslim, executed for apostasy. Several of the martyrs came from the organizational center at Tabanos itself. Life details of the martyrs speak volumes regarding the cultural change that had been taking place in the society. Many, particularly among the women martyrs, came from mixed Muslim-Christian marriages. Since these particular members were legally Muslims they did not need to defame the Prophet to achieve martyrdom as their embracing of Christianity was apostasy, itself a capital crime, and some were executed on this charge. Religious fervor, in these cases, often fused with family conflicts. Columba, for example, originally fled to the monastery to escape from

an arranged marriage. In the case of Leocritja, a girl who ran off to live with Christians and disrupted the whole household, she certainly knew she was playing with fire but does not seem to have been necessarily aware of the fact that she would eventually be executed. She had an aunt who was a nun and a brother who was ferociously observant in his Islamic faith. Leocritja intentionally and enthusiastically flaunted her Christianity to her brother. It had a bad end. The martyrdom movement reveals a wide spectrum of various interfaith dynamics taking place both in society and within families. We only know about them because, like the end of Leocritja's life, they all came to a public bad end and found their way into the historical or hagiographic record. We can only imagine how widespread these types of dynamics were in families that had no problems that would result in executions and lived silently ever after.

Two well-known masterminds behind this movement—and it was an organized movement—were a priest, Eulogius, and a pious and learned layman named Paul Alvarus (Sage 1943). Both were rabidly radical in their complete and utter rejection of the processes of Islamization and Arabization taking place about them. Somewhat surprisingly, a disproportionate amount of their attention was focused on the latter. The leadership shares some resemblance to today's terrorists who recruit and form young people, often with their very own families unaware of the activity, into martyrs to be used as high profile political weapons. Also like today's terrorists, Eulogius and Alvarus were a radical minority that not only did not represent the views of the majority of the population but were scorned by it as trouble makers, rabble rousers, and fanatics who made everyone's lives more difficult by prompting state crackdowns. Differences certainly could even exist within the same family: Eulogius's brother worked for the Islamic state until he was fired for his family connection during the martyrdom movement. At least, however, in the end Eulogius practiced what he preached; he sought out and achieved martyrdom himself rather than just wastefully hurling the youth against the enemy.

Eulogius and Alvarus were not alone in the general nature of their views. Their stance was exceptionally extreme and most rejected their martyrdom method for solving the problem. They seem, however, to have had some clerical community support in their rejection of the religious and cultural changes taking place, particularly in their claim that official church leaders had become collaborators. A new manifestation of Donatism, gilded with accusations of simony, emerged at the time and seems to have split the Cordoban church. Collaborationist church leaders, the argument went, defaulted on their spiritual charge and were therefore no longer worthy of office, the duties of which they were not performing properly anyway. They were given their offices by the Muslim state in exchange for money or favors which clearly made them spiritually unfit to

execute their duties. This put Saul, the poor bishop of Cordoba, in a vice: Christian radicals attacked him from one side as a collaborationist while on the other side the Islamic state jailed him in the mass arrests trying to round up dissenters. Eventually he made what may have seemed to be the only rational choice: he fled the city. Of particular interest is Eulogius's confrontation with the Archbishop Reccafred: Eulogius refused to conduct mass on his behalf, an obvious challenge to his authority in light of this neo-Donatist debate and accusations of simony. What is even more interesting is that while Eulogius eventually backed down from the confrontation with the Archbishop some other members of the Cordoban clergy did not.

Archbishop Reccafred condemned the movement for what can only be obvious reasons. Radical priests, including Eulogius, were rounded up and jailed. Although those already martyred were not condemned, Christians in the community were now prohibited from courting martyrdom. The move had little impact on either potential martyrs or the Islamic state; if anything it just intensified the clash within the Christian community. Radicals continued as planned and martyrs trotted themselves out for execution. The emir ordered the dismissal of all Christian state employees unless they converted to Islam (which some did). His subsequent decisions, to destroy all recently constructed churches, to execute all Christian males, and reduce all Christian females to prostitution were not enforced as, in the light of the following new day, they were recognized visceral reactions and a recipe for disaster. The most important results of Reccafred's condemnation was that it pushed Eulogius and Alvarus to write apologetic defenses of the movement which have become our main sources for the entire subject. In these works we have a great amount of details and an extensive roster of cultural complaints both of which, when treated judiciously, help flesh out the Cordoban Mozarab community.

Discussing the radicals' view toward and rejection of Islamization is hardly worth the effort; of course they opposed religious apostasy and for reasons that are not difficult to discern. Arabization, however, is a different story, more complicated and interesting, and one about which the radicals had much to say in their writings. There was, of course, some overlap in that it was to be feared that Arabization might lead to Islamization. The radicals were very upset with those co-religionists who claimed that the differences between Christianity and Islam were only cosmetic or at the very least minimal. Such a view could make those holding it more susceptible to apostasy eventually and, perhaps just as significantly, to heterodox beliefs. Cassians, those curious Cordoban Christians who adhered to halal dietary restrictions, rejected relics, and were iconoclasts is a case in point. More grave still was the Adoptionism held by some Mozarabs. Adoptionism can be explained just as well as being a form of syncretism between

Christianity and Islam as it can be as being a variant of Arianism (and it could very well have been a blending of residual Visigothic Arianism, Catholicism, and Islam). Proposing that Jesus was born fully human and then was subsequently spiritually “adopted” by God would pose fewer problems than pure Catholic Christology when in Muslim company. Arabization for extremely career-minded but spiritually tepid Christians could result in the end with religious treason. When the emir of Cordoba, in the upheaval of the martyrdom movement, ordered the firing of all Christians in government administration unless they converted, it did not take much soul searching for Gomez, a Mozarab tax collector, to renege on his baptism and recite the shahada. Eulogius and Alvarus might have been fanatics but they were not wrong in their assessment of the changes taking place.

The picture of Cordoba’s Mozarab community that emerges is one of significant Arabization particularly, but not only, among the youth. Qualitatively we can learn much but quantitatively—with the exception of Bulliet’s curve—we are in the dark. According to Alvarus, Cordoban youth were “highly regarded” for their fluency in Arabic but were completely losing their knowledge of Latin. They collected, discussed, and praised Arabic works of literature while showing a disturbing indifference to their Christian traditions. Alvarus had a particular dislike for Christians who tried to blend in (*simulatio*) with Arab Muslims in markets and at court. Most outrageous and offensive to the radicals were Christian men who chose to be circumcised to assimilate and gain political benefit. Disturbing accounts accompanied condemnations; for example, descriptions of the unseemly, matted mounds of grey pubic hair and how difficult it was for the knife to cut through the thick, toughened foreskins of elderly Christians wanting to further their careers. Significantly circumcision, so important to both Arabs and Christians in Cordoba, was really, for both, much more a cultural than religious issue whether they realized it or not. The Quran does not require (or mention) it and Paul considered it irrelevant. There were, however, Muslims in the state bureaucracy who refused to work with anyone who was not circumcised and the radicals themselves saw circumcision as a sort of high treason regarding identity (Coope 1995). Loss of culture rather than loss of religion seems to have been the primary fear lurking behind the polemic.

In an ironic postscript to the movement, we should note that Hafs ibn Albar al-Quti, Paul Alvarus’s son (Hafs son of Alvarus the Goth), demonstrated that the youth of Cordoba could master Arabic and Arabic literature and still remain staunch Christians. Hafs created a verse translation of the Vulgate Psalms that followed the rules of proper Arabic poetry, possibly a response to his father’s criticism that Cordoba’s youth was losing its Latin. He also wrote the first Arabic defense of Christianity against Islam by a western Christian. In the early tenth century we find bishops such as Bishop Rabi ibn Zayd and Bishop Abu al-Harith

studying Arabic philosophy with no conception at all that it might skew their leadership of their flocks. Arabization could lead to Islamization but it need not and often did not (Burman 1994).

III Mozarab Status

How were Mozarabs generally treated during the Umayyad period? Criticism from the radicals again provides a valuable source of details. It seems that cultural assimilation could go far in transcending any religious handicap regarding state service. As was the case with Isaac fluency in Arabic and a good education opened doors. Cultural issues rather than religious identity seemed to be the greatest source for possible friction. Culturally speaking, the more Christians imitated Arab behavioral norms, even while maintaining their religious practices, the better their prospects were regarding professional advancement. Muslims refusing to work with uncircumcised men, as noted above, is an excellent example. Differences in hygienic habits were a source of such cross-cultural conflict. Consumption of pork, frequently a cause of particularly deep disgust for Muslims, complicated interactions especially close ones. An obvious strategy for ambitious Christians wanting both opportunities for advancement and desiring to remain Christian would be to live as close as possible to Arab behavior norms—to become Arabized—while keeping their faith a more private matter and resist Islamization. Arabization to some might have seemed to be skirting along the border of Islam while to others, such as the radicals, it would be proof of pushing straight through it. The emergence of the Cassians, Christians in Cordoba who adhered to Islamic dietary laws, makes perfect sense regarding what it was and where it emerged. In many ways it appears to have been an “Arabized” approach to Christianity in which the religious core was maintained while practices that would disgust the Arab elite (such as eating pork) or offend (idolatry) have been shaved away.

Although the state bureaucracy seemed to be remarkably flexible regarding Mozarab employment this was not necessarily reflective of the position of Mozarabs overall as a population. Again, accommodations must always be made for differences (which could have been substantive) deriving from such variables as urban versus rural, location in the peninsula, and of course dates. Mozarab integration into society certainly differed in regard to acceptance at court and the state elite as opposed to the general population. Eulogius, for example, revealed that the state evidently permitted Christians in Cordoba to use bells on occasion but it prompted “insults and curses” from the local populations at large. Revolts by Mozarab peasants in the countryside indicate existing tensions that a Mozarab courtier might never understand as does Mozarabic support for Muwallad revolts.

Mozarabs from Toledo and Merida revolted during the reign of abd al-Rahman II and the latter community even wrote an appeal to Louis the Pious for assistance. Mass migrations of Mozarabs from al-Andalus to the newly emerging Christian states in the north indicate that many Mozarabs believed their lot would be much better under Christian rule and voted with their feet. To what extent these examples represent a religious divide is, and probably always will be, open to debate. They could be symptomatic of genuine religious clashes or they could simply be normative class tensions, the type that also existed in homogenous societies, which acquired a somewhat stronger flavor due to the religious pluralism that so happened to exist.

D Jews

I Jews in Islamic Spain

Jews, although resident in Iberia since the Roman period, left barely any trace in the historical record of early al-Andalus. Under the Emirate we know hardly anything. During the Caliphate we can begin to paint a few portraits of Jewish courtiers. In the taifa kingdoms the evidence grows and gets very interesting regarding Jewish courtiers and the upper class but is still completely unsatisfying regarding the majority of Jews or anything about their experiences (Ashtor 1973–1984; Lewis 1983; Scheindlin 1992a).

Despite the paucity of sources some provisional statements can be made regarding Spanish Jewry and their relationship to early Islamic society. Spanish Jews were severely traumatized by Visigothic anti-Judaism (though claims that Jews assisted Muslim conquerors in overthrowing the Visigoths have absolutely no credible historical evidence). They were of course dhimmi so the rough contours of their status can be understood through these terms. Numerically they were a minority and compared to Muwallads or Mozarabs they were a fraction of the population. Their small numbers here is important: the state never had any fear of a “Jewish revolt” of that they would be a fifth column for an invasion force of co-religionists. Many lived in the countryside but much more were associated with an urban environment. Most importantly Jewish communities, due to Diaspora experience as well as linguistic similarity, were excellent cultural adaptors in Arab lands. Literacy rates were high and bilingualism or multilingualism was not rare. Jewish communities thrived in North Africa and the Near East at the time in comparison to Christian Europe and, though disaster could strike the communities particularly during times of economic or political crisis, they developed a symbiotic relationship with Arab states that was rela-

tively stable. It is also worth noting that Jews had been accustomed to many forms of second-class citizen status for generations; they were, so to speak, experienced in living with and through legal inferiority in a way that Iberian Christians were not before 711.

Al-Andalus did, however, see the rise of some Jews to political power in a way that exceeded that of other Arab states, both in their numbers and in the heights of office, enough for many scholars to dub Islamic Spain as a “Golden Age” for Jews (Ashtor 1973–1984; Scheindlin 1992a; Lewis 1983; Stillman 1998). Much of what we know about the Jews of al-Andalus, in fact, comes by way of the lives of prominent Jewish courtiers. The picture that emerges is narrow, one dimensional, and certainly tells us nothing about the majority of Jews. Many Jews living in al-Andalus may have seen nothing “golden” about it at all. Still what evidence we have is interesting and paints a remarkable portrait.

II Hasdai ibn Shaprut

Hasdai ibn Shaprut begins the real chain of evidence. He is the first of the great rabbi-courtier-intellectuals to achieve great contemporary and historical importance in Islamic Spain. Abd al-Rahman III’s approach to dhimmi, probably to make relations more efficient and hopefully amiable, worked through single representatives for a religious community. Selection seems to have been based on connections to the court and trustworthiness in the eyes of the state rather than on any sort of dhimmi stamp of approval. Hacks from powerful families were surely common. Hasdai ibn Shaprut, however, was a scion but no hack. Born in Jaen in 910 to a wealthy Jewish family, he developed just the sort of pedigree needed to climb the ranks of political power. A physician fluent in Hebrew, Arabic, and (somewhat surprisingly) Latin, Hasdai first joined the caliphal court in a medical capacity. The trust he earned from caliph and court is evident in the diplomatic and fiscal functions he came to serve. He was trusted with important tasks requiring excellent interpersonal skills, intelligence, and tact. He could be trusted with state money. As Abd al-Rahman’s personal physician he was trusted with the very life of the caliph. Court trust was the primary prerequisite, from the state’s perspective, for formal leadership and representation of a dhimmi community. The state wanted collaborators it could trust. Hasdai’s respected position within the Jewish community itself was a valuable bonus (Ashtor 1973–1984; Glick 1992; Scheindlin 1992a; Scheindlin 1992b; Glick 2005).

Hasdai was capable of serving two masters at the same time and serving them both very well. His service to the caliph and state was distinguished. One could not ask for a more capable, loyal, honest, or dedicated civil servant. His service to

the Jewish community was fascinating in that he not only served as a good steward for the interest of Andalusian Jewry but assumed the role of advocate for foreign Jewish communities, using his position of power in the Cordoban court to put some weight in the glove of his personal pleas for tolerance toward Jews. He wrote a letter to the wife of the Byzantine emperor asking for intervention in the persecution of Jews in their realm. He was heavily Arabized but still a faithful Jew loyal to the community; he used his position to benefit his co-religionists without violating the trust his Arab employers placed in him. He wielded great power but was certainly no capo.

High culture and scholarly pursuits are the most fascinating areas that Hasdai's life and career reveal. Jewish intellectual life's vitality and vibrancy often synchronized with the trends in host civilizations. The interface between Jewish and Arab high culture was exceptionally pronounced and the Andalusí experience was a major beneficiary. Hasdai ibn Shaprut was both a product and perpetuator of a fascinating transformative process for Jews in Spain. His own education was that of the penultimate aristocratic Arabized Jew. He had a traditional education in Biblical and Talmudic studies. He also had, with the exception of Islamic studies, the education of a contemporary Arab aristocrat. He was trained in *adab*—the Arab humanities—which emphasized proper behavior and etiquette, conversance in and respect for scholarship, and a mastery of Arabic poetry and its conventions, poetry itself being in so many respects the mirror of the Arab soul and an important component part of Arab political culture. Fluency in Arabs philosophy was also part of Hasdai's curriculum as was, obviously, the sciences which molded him into an excellent physician, a physician of sufficient ability to be recruited into the caliphal court.

Philosophy, science, and poetry were important parts of Arab court life. Many rulers like Abd al-Rahman III were great patrons of scholarship and supported intellectual circles into which gifted Jews could be seamlessly integrated. The breadth and depth that a scholarly project could reach can be seen in the work done on Dioscorides's *Materia Medica* at Abd al-Rahman III's court. The Byzantine emperor sent a Greek copy of the text to Abd al-Rahman as a gift. The *Materia Medica* was already known to the court through an earlier Arabic translation but acquisition of this Greek copy provided opportunities for better adaptations of its pharmacological information for use in Spain. The goal of the project was to synchronize the terms for flora, as mentioned in the text, with native species and the Andalusí vernacular words for them. Nicholas, a Byzantine monk, was sent to the caliph by the emperor to assist and was joined by a Greek speaking Arab from Sicily. Hasdai ibn Shaprut was a member of the group, with other members presumably selected for linguistic skill, botanical knowledge, or a combination of both. This pharmacological and naturalist school outlived the caliph himself and

continued to expound and expand upon the original group's efforts and continued to attract young new scholars (Glick 1992; Glick 2005).

Hasdai ibn Sharput's greatest achievement and most historically significant contribution to Andalusí Jewish life was the absorption, assimilation, reconstruction, and transmutation of Arab *adab* into a Hebrew counterpart. While a member of the Arab scholarly circle at the caliphal court, Hasdai ibn Sharput created his own parallel Jewish circle of scholars, his own Jewish intellectual court, that modeled a new approach to Judaism and Jewish culture based on the Arab tradition that was as sharp a break as possible from the previously existing traditions of rabbinic literature and synagogue poetry. Furthermore, just as he saw himself as an advocate for the protection of Mediterranean-wide Jewry, he recruited foreign Jews in furthering the aims of his new Jewish scholarly circle to supplement native Jewish talent. The emblematic example of such international recruitment was Dunash ben Labrat from Baghdad. While in Iraq he was already experimenting with adapting the rules of classical Arabic poetry to Hebrew and his arrival at Sharput's "court" had revolutionary effects.

III The Arab Influence on Jewish Intellectual and Religious Life

Arab approaches to and uses of poetry were extremely sophisticated, possibly more so than that of any other culture of the time. Poetry was extremely political. Odes could emphasize the importance of the lineage of families or celebrate and magnify the stature and achievements of a paying patron. Opponents could be lampooned and degraded in a powerful way that struck deep roots in the minds of all. The pre- and early-Islamic origins of this can be seen in the fact that Muhammad himself, after the surrender of Mecca, offered a general amnesty to all his opponents except those who attacked him through poetry—they were to be given no quarter and were duly executed. Poetry was also at the very heart of Islam as a religion. In the Quran God had chosen to give his direct verbatim commands to the faithful through perfect Mudari Arabic. What was proffered as the most significant proofs of the divine origins of the Quran was that it was the most beautiful and perfect poetry that anyone had ever heard and that it could not be matched or imitated. For later generations, proper understanding of the Quran was inextricably linked to an understanding of classical Arabic, its poetic conventions, its rules, and particularly its grammar. The firm belief that the Quran was the literal, verbatim speech of God understandably created an obsession with and extremely well defined approach to lexicography and grammar of the language, the language of revelation, which increasingly became more distant and more "classical" in proportion to the passage of time. Arab Muslims, needless to

say, were exceptionally vested in both secular and religious poetry for cultural, political, and spiritual reasons.

Arabiyya, the study and perfection of classical Arabic and its ancillary subjects, important to both the construction and interpretation of sharia as well as daily political life in court, was Hebraized in Shaprut's circle. This laid the foundation for a substantive transformation of Spanish Judaism that paved the way for the Golden and Silver Ages in Andalusian Jewish literature. Biblical Hebrew became the subject of intensive study and use and, like the Mudari Arabic of the Quran, it began to eclipse the current form of Hebrew in rabbinical literature and synagogue poetry, itself produced over the course of centuries of exile. In a way it was similar to Renaissance Europe's privileging of classical over ecclesiastical Latin. Talmudic studies, which Shaprut promoted tirelessly, came to have a family resemblance with hadith scholarship. Halaka, if not receiving an Arabic makeover, was at the very least absorbing some critically important concepts and techniques from the Hebraized *arabiyya* his school was creating. In this Jewish version of *Arabiyya* and *adab*, biblical Hebrew became the analogical equivalent to Mudari Arabic and the Bible the equivalent to the Quran. Beyond this swapping of particulars the general structure appears to have remained basically the same. Any feelings of inferiority in comparison to the dominant Arab culture, at least for the Jewish elite, would be cured through the process. Judaism would be just as rigorous, just as dynamic, and just as respectable as the religion and culture of the Arabs; this fact would now be observable and measurable (Roth 1983; Scheindlin 1992a; Scheindlin 1992b).

Biblical Hebrew for this new generation of Jewish intellectuals, like the Mudari Arabic of their Muslim models, was a classical language that was studied and glorified by the elite but not used for every day purposes. Jews still spoke and wrote in the colloquial Arabic that was all around them. Linguistically on a daily basis there would have been little that distinguished them. In Arab speaking lands not only was normal business written in Arabic but even Jewish theological works and the *responsa* of rabbis. Still some degree of Hebrew was required for religious purposes even if those requirements did not play a large role in higher religious thought or in administration. Judeo-Arabic was the interesting product of this situation. Within the Jewish community the Hebrew alphabet was much better known overall or at the very least better known at an earlier age. So the emergence and use of Judeo-Arabic for internal community use, Arabic written in Hebrew characters, not only is not surprising but given the intercultural logic of the community was almost predictable.

Although this Hebraized *arabiyya* and *adab* undoubtedly transformed Jewish intellectual and religious life among the elite, historically speaking the whole venture's greatest point of interest could be in the fact that it began the first post-

biblical movement in secular Hebrew poetry (itself without doubt a response to the Arabic impetus), a trend that resulted in the majestic Golden and Silver Ages in poetry for Spanish Jewry that has no true contemporary equal.

IV Two Jewish Grand Viziers

Samuel ha-Nagid (Ismail ibn Naghrila) was the personification and zenith of the Jewish achievement in al-Andalus. Born in Cordoba in 993, Samuel, like Hasdai, came from an aristocratic family that provided him with the best Arabic and Jewish educations possible. He had a firm grounding in the Arab humanities, in Talmudic studies and rabbinic literature, and his education was rooted in the very synthesis, the Hebraized arabiyya, which emerged from ibn Shaprut's circle. Samuel was multilingual: in addition to being fluent in Arabic and Hebrew (in both cases classical and colloquial) he also spoke a Berber dialect, a Romance dialect, and knew Latin. As a young man of twenty he experienced the collapsing of the caliphate first hand by living through the Berber sack of Cordoba, his home city, in 1013. Fleeing the fitna, the family migrated to Malaga, which was then absorbed into the emergent Zarid taifa kingdom of Granada. Samuel rose quite high in state service and became part of the court of the Granadan King Hubbus. In the power struggle for succession between Hubbus's sons, Samuel backed the right candidate. When the new king Badis victoriously assumed the throne of Granada in 1038 Samuel became the chief vizier and an army general. From that year until his death in 1056, Samuel was the second most powerful man in the Kingdom of Granada (Ashtor 1973–1984; Scheindlin 1992a; Scheindlin 1992b).

Samuel called himself “the New David” and if this self-given moniker seems presumptuous it does so only at first glance. It had been a long time indeed since a Jewish warrior poet led thousands of troops into battle and then returned home to run the state. Solomon ibn Gabirol, one of the great Golden Age poets and admittedly part of Samuel's entourage, composed a panegyric poem to Samuel that compares him to his namesake the prophet Samuel: both gathered together exiles, both led them into a new land, both sought out understanding, and both made use of the treasure seized from the unbeliever. One can scan the entire panorama of medieval Jewry and find nothing quite like him. Vizier, warrior, diplomat, poet, rabbi, Talmudic scholar, patron of Jewish scholarship, and Nagid (head of the Jewish community), he had risen to the pinnacle of power in his society. Through his poetry he celebrated and lamented clashes on the battlefield and jabbed at his political at court. As a patron of Jewish scholarship his generosity extended beyond Spain and into the Jewish communities of the east. He had more than his fair share of detractors and opponents both among fellow Jews and

among Muslims. Jews whose ultra-pious religious scruples could not endure collaborationism and Arabization criticized his fraternization with and service to the Muslim elite along with his composition of secular and love poetry. Muslim rulers of rival taifa states, some of whom faced Samuel on the battlefield, attacked Badis for placing a Jew in the highest position of power in his kingdom. Jealousy and political competition were surely the main motives for Samuel's Muslim opponents within court but, given the anti-Judaism that existed in Granada, his Jewish identity would have been an appealing target in political intrigues. His poetry is a valuable source for interesting details about the functioning of the Zarid court and for understanding how many enemies Samuel himself had.

The strength of this anti-Jewish sentiment in Granada, and the extent to which it could be manipulated and used, can be seen in the horrific events surrounding the fall of Samuel's son Joseph. Samuel took great care in molding Joseph into a suitable successor in what was most likely an attempt at dynasty building. Joseph was twenty-one when, following the death of his father, he assumed the position of grand vizier to Badis. Ten years later he was murdered and the Jewish community of Granada was massacred by angry mobs.

The match strike that produced the murder of Joseph and the massacre of the Jewish community was an accusation of poisoning the crown prince at dinner. The powder keg was the Muslim jurist-courtier Abu Ishaq. Using the death of the prince as a pretext (the prince died after a dinner at Joseph's home) Abu Ishaq went on the offensive. Through vitriolic anti-Jewish polemic and poetry, Abu Ishaq impeached the authority of Joseph and riled up commoners against the vizier and his community. Granada and Badis, Abu Ishaq stated, raised Jews up to positions of great power while other Muslim rulers and states treated them like dogs. In Granada, Jews divided the city and countryside among themselves and grew fat on the taxes. In Granada, Jews wore magnificent robes while Muslims went about in rags. In Granada, Jews had been puffed up with pride and, though they should be lowly, become exceedingly arrogant. In Granada, the faithful were forced to humbly obey apes. In Granada, Jews were as wealthy as King Badis himself. In Granada, Jews had become the well-fattened ram and it was time to slaughter it as a sacrifice to earn God's favor. Slaughter was exactly what Abu Ishaq achieved. Pogroms were rare in the Arab world but they could happen and the massacre of Granadan Jews was an unfortunate example. It should also be kept in mind that both in court and on the streets, anti-Jewish sentiment must have been running fairly high. Abu Ishaq was able to magnify and manipulate anti-Judaism but he surely could not have created it whole cloth, at least not the murderous type of anti-Judaism that would lead to massacre in such a short period of time.

Jewish courtiers were not a rarity in the taifa period (Ashtor 1973–1984; Wasserstein 1985; Scheindlin 1992a; Scheindlin 1992b). The rabbi-courtier became

a common enough figure in taifa courts. Jews in positions of power could naturally help their communities but there was always a personal risk involved. Latent anti-Judaism always had the potential to explode. Jews being in positions of power was a technical violation of the dhimma contract and, given the right variables in court or on the ground, this could be used against them. Abu Ishaq was the most notable and certainly the most tragic example of this but he was by no means unique. Dhimmi officials were valuable and trusted partly because their vulnerability forced certain degrees of loyalty. Without the protection of the state the dhimmi courtier could experience a brutal fall. Rulers appeasing angry populations by sacrificing dhimmi officials, although not common, were not unheard of occurrences in the medieval Arab world.

Jewish courtiers might fall but the new tradition of Arabized Hebrew and Hebraized *arabiyya*, and the fundamental transformation of Jewish poetry, did not. Solomon ibn Gabirol, a beneficiary of Samuel ha-Nagid's patronage, gave us a taste of each. Ibn Gabirol's original patron, the Zaragoza Jewish courtier Yekuti'el ibn Hassan, was killed after finding himself on the wrong end of palace intrigues; this prompted Gabirol's migration to Granada. A poet with an exceptionally strong philosophical bent, western Europeans reading him in Latin translation of his major philosophical work *The Fountain of Life* were completely unaware of the fact that he was a Jew (Scheindlin 1992b; Loewe 1989). This is ironic as ibn Gabirol was one of the earliest and most influential poets applying Arab techniques to synagogue poetry. Moses ibn Ezra (ca. 1055–ca. 1135) was an accomplished poet in both liturgical and secular venues and perfected the Arab structure for odes in the new Spanish Hebrew poetry. He wrote two works on the composition and criticism of poetry in Arabic. That one of his theoretical masterpieces on Hebrew poetry, *The Book of Discussion and Conversation*, was actually composed in Arabic almost provides a conceptual synopsis of the transformation taking place (Ashtor 1973–1984; Scheindlin 1992a; Scheindlin 1992b).

Judah Halevi is the most appropriate note on which to end discussion of the new Spanish Hebrew poetry as well as the taifa Jewish courtier. Examination of his early career reveals Halevi to be the consummate rabbi-courtier-poet-physician. Regarding poetry he might have had the best ear in all of Spanish Jewry living under Islam. He was a successful physician, served as an admirable state official, and was an overall person of note. Yet in the end he rejected everything about his life and respectable career and set out for redemption in Jerusalem. Whether or not he ever made it to Jerusalem is unknown (Ashtor 1973–1984; Scheindlin 1992b).

E Coexistence Among the Three Cultures of al-Andalus

Samuel ha-Nagid, in one of his more than 1,000 poems, pointed out that he was who he was, and achieved what he achieved because he was of use to someone powerful and that if he lost that usefulness he would lose everything. His son Joseph, who quickly went from asset to liability, was the unfortunate proof of his father's poetic prophecy. Coexistence in al-Andalus sprang not from lofty ideas of tolerance but from pragmatism and cross-confessional usefulness which led to an imperfect but very real cultural symbiosis.

Muslims, Christians, and Jews in al-Andalus led largely segregated lives. The basis for this segregation was cultural, social, and legal. The social structure that regulated interfaith relations, in almost all respects, was geared toward maintaining a degree of separateness and religio-cultural distance. It was a form of religious apartheid rather than some sort of medieval melting pot. Our modern sense of multi-culturalism would be as understandable to medieval Andalusians as the color green would be to someone blind from birth. This was what, in general, *all parties desired*. Stability based on segregation is offensive to our current sensibility but that does not mean it could not have been the foundation for a reasonable *modus vivendi* among a people of the past—particularly the people and the past that constitute our subject.

Co-mingling certainly took place with fascinating and fruitful results. This was a concession that ideals had to make to reality. When rules were bent, laws and conventions overlooked, and cultural borders crossed, it was due to a calculus of cost-benefit analysis made by particular individuals or groups in particular circumstances. When families like those of Isaac (the first Cordoban martyr) and Hasdai ibn Shaprut provided their sons with an Arab education, for example, it was surely calculated to achieve an advantage. When rulers such as Badis technically violated the dhimma arrangement and made Jews or Christians courtiers and state bureaucrats, they did so because they would gain from it. When an urban Mozarab chose to have two names, an Arabic one and a Romance/Latin one, or a rural Mozarab decided to support and participate in a revolt led by a Muwallad rebel, it was done for the purpose of bettering their own positions. Motives of individuals could aggregate and propel a movement: a major motive and driving force behind Arabized Golden Age Hebrew poetry was to put Jewish poetry on par with Arabic poetry, show that it was not a poor cousin aesthetically and culturally, and in the process erase any sense of communal and religious inferiority.

The dhimma contract provided a legalistic baseline for inter-faith relations rooted in religious revelation. This revealed baseline provided a solid foundation

for religious minorities that was common to all Islamic states. Theoretically it provided “bookends,” so to speak, in how monotheistic religious minorities would be treated: theoretically their position and status could get only so low and, theoretically, could only get so high. They had rights that could not be violated yet they also had a ceiling that could or should not be breached. Generally speaking this should be seen as a beginning, with defined parameters for end results, in ascertaining how dhimmi should be treated. The rules could be bent in favor of dhimmi: Christian churches using bells in Cordoba during the lifetime of Eulogius or a Jew rising to the heights of power like Samuel ha-Nagid are notable examples. Yet the possibility of a jurist like an Abu Ishaq becoming incensed at violations of the dhimma arrangement or advocating a much stricter application of the dhimma arrangement was always a possibility. Puritanical zelots could insist on the strictest interpretations of the dhimma arrangement or, as in the case of the Almohads, abrogate the dhimma arrangement altogether due to perceived impropriety.

During the early existence of al-Andalus and throughout the Umayyad emirate there was a period of adjustment, accommodation, and integration. Unity and equality of all believers was a theory that had limp, at best, applications and manifestations in reality. Berbers quickly realized that although all Muslims were supposed to be equal Arab Muslims were more equal than others. Neo-Muslim Muwallads realized that regardless of their conversion to Islam they were still the “sons of white women” and were not allowed an equal stake in the society that was beginning to crystallize. Jews, with so many generations of adaptation and accommodation to subordinate second class status, adjusted very quietly but very well in this transitional period. Arabization and Islamization, two very distinct yet often inter-related processes, proceeded. A common Arab educational and intellectual culture began to emerge that would reach fruition in the caliphate and taifa periods. Jews and Christians came to convert to Islam over time but many, even though becoming full participants in the Arab culture, retained their religious identity. Participation in this Arab culture provided increasing opportunities for advancement during the caliphate and particularly during the taifa period.

The taifa period, though characterized by fragmentation and weakness for al-Andalus, was a crucial epoch in cross-confessional relations in Islamic Spain (Ashtor 1973–1984; Wasserstein 1985). Surely most important was the gradual fading of the Muwallad distinction. Consistent with Bulliet’s conversion curve which suggests the balance tipped toward a recognizable Muslim majority via converts, the Neo-Muslim Muwallad distinction by and large evaporated. The swamping of the original population of Muslim elite conquerors by exponentially increasing numbers of converts shifted the center of demographic gravity to an

extent in which such chauvinistic distinctions in society at large were no longer tenable. Most Muslims now were of Muwallad origin, were in the majority, so discrimination toward Neo-Muslims was much harder to maintain. Weakness, moreover, a salient feature of the taifa states, often can favor a sort of functional meritocracy. Multiple fragmented states, each of which needed an effective bureaucracy to make it work, expanded the numbers of civil servants required to make them run. The expansion of rabbi-courtiers throughout the taifa states was surely a result. More need created more opportunity for skilled professionals capable of performing the task. In addition to pure talent and ability, Jewish courtiers were also valuable in their weakness and vulnerability. They could not be fifth columns for a major outside power and they needed to be loyal for protection internally against possible explosions of anti-Jewish sentiment. Weakness, in this case, created a fruitful multi-confessional efflorescence.

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Jewish Culture and Literature in England

A Historical Context and Cultural Backdrop: Being Jewish in Christian England

The story of how the medieval English Jews lived their lives in eleventh-, twelfth-, and thirteenth-century England intersects with the realities of the Jews' historical situation. Thinking about the contingent realities of Jewish lives brings us to the Christian community's view of Jews and the Jews' own view of themselves and how the Jews themselves navigated the fraught culture of medieval England. A powder keg, of sorts, resulted after the Normans claimed the seats of power in 1066. This combustible site that was medieval England in the eleventh century involved the English (that is, the Angles, Saxons, Jutes, and other Germanic tribes) who had arrived in the fifth century; the Norman French who took control over the country in 1066; and the Jews who were imported into England by the Normans (Cohen 2006; 2004; Roth 1964). Each group performed their roles well: the English were angry about their subjugation; the Normans displaced the English and set the Jews to work in assisting with the development of an Anglo-French empire; and the Jews recognized their powerlessness and worked fastidiously in their role of servitude (Edward I 1810, 221a; Stow 1992, 217–18). As serfs, the Jews occupied a hybrid identity that was sometimes-English, sometimes-French, and sometimes-Jewish but never whole, always an “erroneous, inauthentic, not one's own” (Radhakrishnan 2003, 318). For the most part, the Jews of England attempted to balance two spheres, living lives of complex identity politics framed by a battle ground between the self-as-Other and the self-as-Jewish. These sites materialized in the global and local spheres, involved the public and the private civic worlds, and resonated as either Anglo-French or Jewish. The global performance of Jewishness played out in the public sphere: these Jews made a living in the Anglo-French economy, often as moneylenders; these English Jews knew the Anglo-French language, had Anglo-French names, and were familiar with the ways of the Christians, their customers (Lipman 1967; Roth 1964; Richardson 1960; Bartlett, 2009, 19). The local sphere was a private one: these Jews knew Hebrew, had Jewish names, followed the laws of the Jewish community, and found their personal passions fulfilled as writers, “artisans, fishmongers, cheesemongers, teachers, vintners, scribes, household attendants, physicians, goldsmiths, merchants, ladder-makers, fencing-masters, landlords, peddlers, innkeepers, cross-bowmen, ser-

geants-at-arms, and synagogue officials” (Krummel 2011, 46). The combination of a public and private English Jew speaks to the besieged nature of these two identities trying to thrive in one alienated person. This chapter presents the culture and writing of the medieval English Jew.

All the Jews of England encountered some form of the Christian anxiety about the contact between the Old Testament and the New Testament and the New Testament’s reliance on the Old Testament (Moore 1987, 27–45; Stow 1992; Langmuir 1990). Searching for the early beginnings or even later iterations of this drama over and hostility about the close contact between the books of the Old Testament and the New Testament takes us beyond the scope of this chapter, but suffice it to say that Ambrose’s (ca. 340–397) work in *Cain and Abel* contributed profoundly to the lexicon of anti-Judaism (Ambrose 1961, 359–437; Nirenberg 2013). As a case in point, Ambrose’s attempt to dispense with the efficacy of the Old Testament quite likely sets the stage for later anxieties about the English involvement in the Christian world (Krummel 2011, 94–97). Ambrose argues that once the New Testament came into being, the Old Testament became outmoded and that the appearance of Ecclesia and Christianity displaced/replaced Synagoga and Judaism: “[w]hen one number is added to another, something new arises. The original number disappears” (Ambrose 1961, 360; Krummel 2011, 88). Ambrose later clarifies this point with specifics: “[t]hese two brothers, Cain and Abel, have furnished us with the prototype of the Synagogue and the Church. In Cain we perceive the parricidal people of the Jews, who were stained with the blood of their Lord, their Creator” (Ambrose 1961, 362). Abel, by default, represents Christians, Ecclesia, and Christ. Ambrose’s formulation contributes to a one dimensional view of a people as a thing, Jews as “the Jew,” and this static vision entraps the Jews in a dangerous world in Christendom. Ambrose’s argument resonates throughout Norman England and materializes as, at best, a tense relationship that continuously wrestled with reconciling Jews as either “the ‘bad’, current Jew” or “the ‘good’, antique Hebrew” (Bale 2010, 137). The image of “the ‘bad’” Jew, a spectral Jew, fed the fantasy of a dangerous and feared monster prone to abuse Christians frozen in the Old Testament story of Cain’s murder of his brother Abel—as documented in an image from a thirteenth-century English Psalter (see Fig. 1; Bale 2010, 130; Kruger 2006; Krummel, 2011).

Hence, the problem with Ambrose’s metaphor: medieval Jews had not disappeared. In fact, their worshipping practices and lives disturbingly evolved with ritual practices that spoke of a scriptural modernization of standard texts (Cohen 1999, 317–63). And so, Jewish presence created an irreconcilable tension because the practices of contemporary Jews of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries were not confined to the Old Testament or what the Jews knew of as the Hebrew Bible or Tanakh.



Fig. 1: "Cain Prepares to Murder Abel." Psalter, England, ca. 1270–1280. MS. K. 26, folio 6 recto. Photo: Cambridge University. By permission of the Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge.

Medieval English Jews thus lived in a nearly impossible world to navigate. On the one hand, these Jews were haunted by fabricated images of themselves, and on the other hand, these Jews had to suffer the complexities of a hybrid identity and the inevitable tension that erupts from a state of hybridity (Radhakrishnan 2003; Cohen 2004, 34). Sethina Watson proposes a disarmingly possible third option that both bridges and weds these two possibilities—namely, the reality of Christian “doubt” as the outcome of “living, and believing, in the presence of the other” when “the gaze of a known unbeliever became a vehicle through which participants could observe, and perhaps doubt, themselves” (Watson 2013, 14). Either way, these Angevin Jews, to quote Kenneth Stow, lived a life of “severe Jewish trauma”: perceived as “evil and perversity incarnate,” the Jew both occupied a “firmly defined legal and constitutional status” and remained “the mythical enemy of the Christian polity” (Stow 1992, 4). When this drama between Christians and Jewish identities could no longer be sustained by the monarchs throughout Europe, the rulers who had once protected the Jews turned to expulsion as the final solution (Mundill 1998). England has the dubious distinction of being the first of these countries to expel its Jews (Stow 1992, 281). Even more, a marginal doodle in Matthew Paris’s *Flores Historiarum* [Flowers of History] captures the likely violence of the English Expulsion endured by the Jews of England (see Fig. 2).



Fig. 2: “Violence and the Jewish Expulsion.” *Flores Historiarum*, England, early fourteenth century © British Library Board. MS. Cotton Nero D.II, folio 183 verso. Photo: British Library. Reproduced by permission of the British Library.

The small amount of writing by English Jews that has survived speaks of a tension that emerges from a “power-dynamic” that rewrote reality in such a way that the

powerless Jews were imagined as having power while the powerful Christians were believed to have none (Bale 2010, 24; Krummel 2009). This chapter brings us to see this challenging world occupied by medieval English Jews.

B The Jewish Ghetto in Angevin England

The word “ghetto” first appears in 1516 (OED). This word refers us to the sixteenth century Jewish ghetto, which was a gated site in Venice founded on “the old iron foundry on a tiny island in a corner of the city” (Stow 2001, 40). A ghetto, therefore, has come to signal a contained site that prevents a minority group from contaminating the civic practices of the majority society (Stow 2001, 40). As a gated site, the “ghetto” figures as the antithesis of free movement and civic independence. The etymological tradition of the word, “ghetto,” thus circles back to the impulse to situate Jews on a legally decreed parcel of land. Such a tradition imperils conversations that adopt a more expansive view of the impulse to ghettoize Jews and the desire to confine Jews to a “quarter in a city” (OED, “ghetto,” def. 1). Strictly speaking, as Robert C. Stacey reasonably points out, “[t]here were no Jewish ghettos in medieval England” (Stacey 1992, 264). Nevertheless, evidence points toward another possibility. Jews clearly felt safer congregating together and situating their residences in close proximity. As Charlotte Goldy writes, Oxford had an identifiable “Jewish district” that spanned “an area of about three blocks by two blocks, along Fish Street between Carfax and St Frideswide Street (Goldy 2008, 136). Most members of the Oxford Jewish community opted to live close to rather than far apart from each other. Such evidence suggests that there was a marked Jewish district—an open or ungated “ghetto.” This Jewish area, however, was not entirely Jewish: within these measurements “a Christian vintner” had established himself and asserted his business presence among this Jewish community and a Dominican priory also situated itself in this same Jewish district “to encourage apostasy” (Goldy 2008, 136; 137). A Jewishly owned house became (and continues to remain) a space claimed by, and remembered for being claimed by, Jews—as the lingering memory of a Jewish house testifies (see Fig. 3; Krummel 2011, 7–14).

In the thirteenth century in England, Jews start to encounter the other part of the definition of “ghetto”: “the quarter in a city ... to which the Jews were restricted” (OED, def. 1). In this desire to establish what will come to be known as a “Jewerye” in Middle English and in fourteenth-century England, the medieval English desire to restrict the Jews’ movement predates the concept and definition of a “ghetto.” The construction of a separate civic space for English Jews suggests that we push back the date for containing the Jews in one physical location. Yet



Fig. 3: “Aaron the Jew’s House in Lincoln, immediately below the Jew’s Court, on Steep Hill.”
Photo: Albrecht Classen.

the actual construction of a separate civic space for the Jewish minority in England predates even the appearance of the Middle English word, “Jewerye.” The desire to limit the civic and social space that Jews could occupy surfaces in Edward I’s (1239–1307) 1275 “The Statutes of Jewry,” a decree with an undeniable predilection for constructing restricted Jewish living quarters. Admittedly, the word, “ghetto,” does not appear in Edward I’s decree; nevertheless, Edward I’s decree documents the desire to create a type of ghetto, a “quarter in a city ... to which the Jews were restricted” (OED, def. 1). While the 1275 “Statutes of Jewry” accepts the reality of “Intercourse” between Jews and Christians, this “Intercourse” is overridden by the desire to put an end to any possible cheek-to-jowl living situations: “the King granteth unto them [that is, the Jews] that they may gain their living by lawful Merchandise and their Labour; and that they may have Intercourse with Christians, in order to carry on lawful Trade by selling and buying. But that no Christian, for this Cause or any other, shall dwell among them” [le Rey lor grante kil vivent de marchaundise leaus e por lor labur e kil communient ove les Crestiens per leument marchaunder en vendaunt e en echa-taunt. Mes ke par cest encheson ne per autre nul Crestien ne seit cochaunt ne

levaunt entre eus] (Edward I 1810, 221; Krummel 2011, 35). Since the two religious groups in England at this time were Jews and Christians, it is evident that Edward I's decree is imagining a Jewish ghetto when it decrees, "no Christian, for this Cause or any other, shall dwell among them." Compare Edward I's separate civic space with the fourteenth-century use of the word, "Jewerye." The Middle English Dictionary records three uses of the word, "Jewerye," in its various forms: one, in *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester* (ca. 1325); two, in *The Cartulary of Osney Abbey* (1349); and three, in Geoffrey Chaucer's (1340?–1400) "Prioress's Tale" (ca. 1390).

Even though Chaucer sets the "Prioress's Tale" in an elsewhere site (namely, "Asye" [Chaucer 1987, Fragg. VII, 488]), Chaucer's "Jewerye" embodies what an English ghetto, as described by the 1275 "Statutes of Jewry," would resemble. First, the Jewerye in the "Prioress's Tale" is clearly not a gated site and one where, it seems, Jews and Christians live near, although not next to, each other: "thurgh the street men myghte rise or wende, / free and open at eyther ende" (Chaucer 1987, Fragg. VII, 493–94). Second, the Prioress initially represents the movement of Christians as an innocent passage through the Jewerye—"thurgh the street men myghte rise or wende." But then later in her tale, through the actions of her character, the litel clergeon, the Prioress insinuates a more unsympathetic display of Christian ritual as the litel clergeon thoughtlessly compels the Jews to listen to his religious song about Mary "[t]wies a day" as "[t]o scoleward and homeward when he went" (Chaucer 1987, Fragg. VII, 348–49). The Prioress's Jews in "Asye" experience what the English Jews had to endure as they yearly witnessed processional marching through their area of town while the Christian members of the community celebrated "feast days and ... wound their way through Jewish neighborhoods in an aggressive assertion of Christian dominance and Jewish subjugation" (Stacey 1992, 265). Third, the presence of a Christian building, denoted as "[a] litel scole of Cristen folk ther stood / Doun at the ferther ende, in which ther were / Children an heep" (Chaucer 1987, Fragg. VII, 495–97), suggests the presence of a Church where young Christian children would be educated (Courtenay 1987, 15–17; Greatrex 1994, 178). The presence of a Christian institution in the midst of a Jewish community also circles us back to the actual situation with thirteenth-century medieval English Jews whose synagogues would be "confiscate[d]" and "turn[ed] into churches" (Stacey 1992, 265) or, alternatively, when a Dominican priory is "opened ... to encourage Jewish apostasy" (Goldy 2008, 137).

Chaucer's Prioress immortalizes one aspect of medieval English Jewish livelihood at the beginning of her tale when she characterizes the Jews as being "[s]ustened by a lord of that contree / For foule usure and lucre of vileynye" (Chaucer 1987, Fragg. VII, 490–91). The Prioress's characterization of Jews being "sustened by a lord" for the purposes of "foule usure and lucre of vileynye" is both

accurate and inaccurate. Without a doubt the medieval English Jews were involved in the monelending industry. Because of this state-authorized financial business, a fair number of records survive about and of the Jews. Some of those records, such as the Norwich 1233 Exchequer Roll, contain libelous images like those immortalized in “Norwich Moneylenders” that depicts a Jewish woman, Avegaye, and a Jewish man, Mosse Mokke, consorting with a devil figure, Colbin (see Fig. 4).

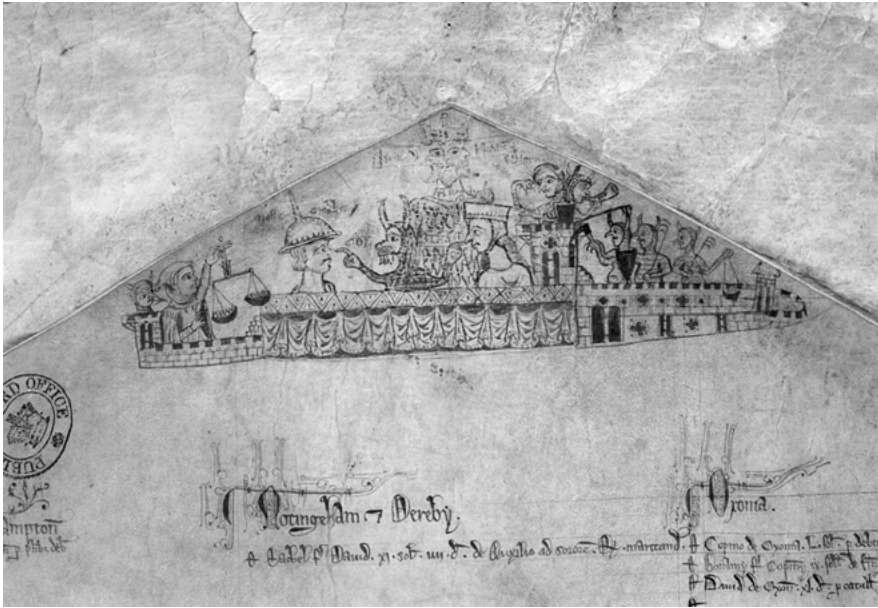


Fig. 4: “Norwich Moneylenders.” Issues of the Exchequer of 1233, E. 401/1565, m.1. Photo: Public Records Office. In custody of the Public Record Office.

Despite the reality of such unfortunate libels, though, the medieval records perform a double role of, on the one hand, recording Antisemitic libel and, on the other hand, enabling us to visualize actual Jews living on the ground in medieval England. In this latter role, the records serve as a boon to scholarship by enabling us to reconstruct the lives of Jews that would otherwise be lost (Mundill 2003, 56–57; Bartlett 2003, 117–21). The scholarship of Suzanne Bartlett, Charlotte Goldy, Robin Mundill, and Robert Stacey (among others) attests to this point. While we have to approach these financial records carefully, the financial records do enlarge the narrative about Jewish presence and make it possible for us to trace the actual lives of physically present Jews; however, these records also have the potential to narrow our vision of the roles performed by Jews in the cultural

economy. The records of financial exchange, for instance, make it possible for us both to trace the lives of “pregnant wives imprisoned in the Tower of London at the time of the coin-clipping trials of 1278/9” (Bartlett 2003, 124) and to retell the stories of Jewish businesswomen (see Goldy and Bartlett). Still we must proceed cautiously as we celebrate our knowledge and discoveries. We should be wary of two problems. One, the abundance of these records can suggest that Jews were only involved in the moneylending profession and, thus, innocently obfuscate our vision of the other professions held by Jews. Two, the many records of financial exchange can disrupt our memory of how much the moneylending industry fed into the Jews’ servitude in the position of slaves to the king. Jews were, because of the moneylending industry, Edward I’s “Bond-men”—“whose Bond-men they are” [ky serfs yl sunt] (Edward I 1810, 221a). As Bond-men to the kings of Norman England, especially Henry III (1207–1272) and Edward I, English Jews were enmeshed in a complicated financial relationship with their monarchs. This relationship often framed a Jew’s entire adult life. The 1275 “Statutes of Jewry” sets twelve as the age when male *and* female Jews will start being responsible for paying a yearly Easter tax of three pence to the King (Edward I 1810, 221a). In fact, the financial records, if nothing else, instantiate the likelihood that the Normans imported Jews to England to work as their financial arm. The moneylending industry in the end only served to promote the estrangement between the English and the Jews who were becoming increasingly associated with money in the role of usurer as the doodle in the margins of Matthew Paris’s *Flores Historiarum* indicates (see Fig. 5).

Already troubled by the Norman colonization of England and its countryside (Cohen 2004), Jews came to represent all the evils of displacement. In fact, looking backwards from the present makes us see this Jewish libel as a historically unfortunate reality because the lion’s share of the loans are taken out by the “townsmen or villagers” not the “members of the rural gentry” (Lipman 1967, 93). Edward I would also later use these loans and the Jews’ earnings to his own personal advantage (Close Rolls 1925). Living at once double lives of freedom and of servitude because of the moneylending industry, Jews were simultaneously protected and at risk. So long as the Jewish businessman or businesswoman maintained a successful moneylending industry, Jewish businesses were permitted to remain solvent; Jews could avoid becoming destitute and wealthy Jews could offer some financial support to their local Jewish community. Such financial assistance was simultaneously of deep importance to the Jewish community and to the specific Jew because becoming destitute and/or breaking with the Jewish community often resulted in apostasy (Stacey 1992). Henry III was the first monarch to create a solution for the financially destitute and culturally alienated Jews: the *Domus Conversorum*.



Fig. 5: “Jewish Usurer.” *Flores Historiarum*, England, early fourteenth century © British Library Board. MS. Cotton Nero D.II, folio 180 recto. Photo: British Library. Reproduced by permission of the British Library.

C England's House for the Converted Jews

Known by its Latin name, *Domus Conversorum*, this House of the Converted Jews was erected in 1232 in London and in Oxford under the direction of Henry III (Stacey 1992, 267; Mundill 1998, 100). England has the dubious honor of being the “only country, where a king founded a home for converts” (Adler 1939, 281). In erecting a *Domus Conversorum*, Henry III was responding both to the Third Lateran Council, issued in 1179, and Pope Innocent III's (1160?–1216) words, recorded in 1213, that—in both cases—expressed a certain desire for more converts to Christianity (Adler 1939, 280).

Henry III's *Domus* simultaneously presents itself as a refuge for Jews and as a money-making venture for the crown. On the one hand, the *Domus* appears to be a sanctuary of sorts for destitute Jews (Adler 1939, 288; Stacey 1992, 270–71). On the other hand, all Jews who entered had to relinquish all personal holdings to the king, and inquiries were held to make certain that any Jews who entered the *Domus* were, in fact, turning over all of their rightful inheritance and possessions to the crown (Stacey 1992, 267; Adler 1939, 291–93). For embracing Christianity these converted Jews were then recycled and made useful in the English Christian society through salaried positions in the military, the royal household, or in the *Domus* itself as its Warden (Adler 1939, 294–99; Stacey 1992, 276–78).

The medieval *Domus* in London remained open for a number of generations following the 1290 Expulsion because despite conversion, the stain of being Jewish was clearly not easily removed. A thirteenth-century image from an English Psalter speaks of the indelibility of the Jewish mark—the mark of Cain, often interpreted as horns atop a Jew's head (see Fig. 6; Auslander 2011).

Robin Mundill counts thirty-five converted Jews in the London *Domus* between the years 1280 and 1308 (Mundill 1998, 100). Mundill's accounting indicates that even after conversion, a formerly-Jewish identity continues—in the Christian imaginary—to haunt a currently-Christianized body. Of the stories of *Domus* Jews, there are two which are particularly troubling. The first story is of a Christian woman, Susanna (fl. 1200s), who married a Jew who had converted in the thirteenth century. From 1245–1247, the *Domus* was a place of refuge for Susanna, whose “marriage to a converted Jew had rendered her position in the Christian society of Lincoln an uncomfortable one” (Stacey 1992, 278). Susanna was marked as “the non-Jewess” and lived for two years among twenty formerly-Jewish women and nineteen formerly-Jewish men (Adler 1939, 288 n. 1). The second story is of a Jewish woman who converted in the *Domus*, left the *Domus* to marry a Christian from Exeter, bore his children, and then found herself back in the Oxford *Domus* until her death. This woman's name is Claricia of Exeter (fl. late 1200s–1300s). Claricia converted in the *Domus* before 1280, left the *Domus* in



Fig. 6: “Cain: Marked and Exiled.” Psalter, England, ca. 1270–1280. MS. K. 26, folio 6 verso. Photo: Cambridge University. By permission of the Master and Fellows of St John’s College, Cambridge.

1308, and after marriage and raising a family, returned to the *Domus* in 1356 with two of her children (Stacey 1992, 274). Claricia, a woman who presumably found herself incapable of being able to live among the English and outside the *Domus*, remains one of the last “surviving representatives of Jewish culture in medieval England” (Stacey 1992, 283).

The numbers of converted Jews were never particularly high but were large enough to be visible and for apostasy to be felt by the small band of Jewish communities. In the peak years of conversion during Henry III’s years as king, there were about 300 Jewish converts in a population of Jews that circled around 5,000 (Stacey 1992, 269; Mundill 1998, 256; Lipman 1967, 36–37). Men who converted chose such names as Hugh, John, Nicholas, and William; popular names among the women converts were Christiana, Isabella, and Joan (Adler 1939, 288 n. 1). As a point of comparison, Jewish women who did not convert tended to adopt Anglo-French names whereas most of the Jewish men kept the traditional biblical names (Bartlett 2003; Davis 1888). When Geoffrey Chaucer was writing, the *Domus Conversorum* remained a part of the English landscape in Oxford and in London and may have continued its existence all the way down to the seventeenth century (Roth 1964, 134). During Chaucer’s years the *Domus* was filled with English Jews who were Norman imports. The lifetime of this role for the *Domus* extends through the fourteenth century. In its final years, the *Domus* was a place of sanctuary for converts who were emigrating from France, Flanders, Italy, Sicily, Germany, Spain, Portugal, and Morocco (Roth 1964, 134; Adler 1939, 306).

D Jewish Men, both English and French: Writing and Recording Their Lives

The Jews living in England were quite likely Jews who had found ways to remain committed to their Jewish faith while simultaneously recognizing the limitations of the laws that they had carried with them in such books as the *Mishnah* and the *Talmud*. Simha Goldin rightly points out that these deeply essential books for passing down the Jewish tradition confronted immediate limitations in Europe. Created in the Middle East, both volumes of *halakhah*—books of Jewish law and Jewish ritual—found themselves in different temporalities and climates other than the ones in Europe (Goldin 2011, 14). Goldin notes that new traditions were created and agreed upon as Jews labored assiduously to keep their Jewish traditions alive and current. The Jews in their separate local communities formed “practical solutions for the situations in which they found themselves” (Goldin 2011, 15). *Takanah*, “ruling[s] ... accepted by the community” that became legally

binding, were the outcome of updating Jewish ritual (Goldin 2011, 15). *Takanah* were productive solutions to a changing Jewish world.

The *takanah* of the Jews of England speaks of worship practices and writings that were well aware of the precariousness of the position of the English Jews in Norman-French society. The most compendious of these visions of the English Jews' version of *takanah* are by Jacob ben Judah of London (fl. late 1200s) and followed in size by the contributions of Meir ben Elijah of Norwich (fl. late 1200s). A third writer who may have lived in England is Berachiah haNaqdan (fl. 1150s). Each of these writers' work memorializes a different written tradition: Jacob's *Etz Hayyim* [Tree of Life] captures the unique scriptural and religious practices of Jews living in England; Meir writes what A. M. Habermann has styled *Piyyutim v'Shirim* [Liturgical Poems and Songs] (Habermann in Lipman 1967, 1); and Berachiah records the creative desire that seeks conversation with the ancient fabulistic tradition.

Jacob's *siddur* [prayer book] was composed, Israel Brodie calculates, in 1287 (Brodie, ed., 1962, Preface). Brodie describes this volume as "voluminous" (Brodie, ed., 1962 Preface) and by all extant documents, Brodie's description continues to hold true. Mostly filled with ritual practices for the high holidays, such as *Rosh ha-Shanah* [New Year], *Yom Kippur* [Day of Atonement] and other days marked by the Jewish calendar, for example *Purim* [Festival of Lots] and *Hanukkah*, there are also more quotidian practices included in *Etz Hayyim* such as daily and shabbat worship in addition to the prayer over the washing of hands. Tucked away in this *Etz Hayyim* are three poems by Jacob and an additional *piyyut* whose authorship remains uncertain (Einbinder 2000, 146 n. 6; Brodie, ed., 1962, 127–29; Kaufmann 1981, 32). Characteristic of the time, Jacob deploys acrostics to limn his poems (Elbogen 1993, 228–29; Einbinder 2002, 132; 140). Jacob's acrostics also identify his authorship of the poems: two open with yud-kopf-vet, spelling "Yakov" or "Jacob," and one with aleph-nun-yud yud-kopf-vet, which spells "Ani Yakov" or "I am Jacob" (Kaufmann 1891, 32). One *piyyut* does not include an identifying acrostic that signifies Jacob's authorship (Jacob ben Judah of London 1962, 127–29; Einbinder 2000, 146 n. 6). In all, what is important about these poems, embedded carefully in Jacob's *siddur*, is their presence: as David Kaufmann remarks, these texts attest to yet more evidence, along with Meir of Norwich's poetry, of the presence of "the Hebrew Muse ... on English soil" (Kaufmann 1891, 32; Einbinder 2000, 149).

Arguably, the English Jewish poet most well-known in late twentieth century and early twenty-first century is the thirteenth-century Meir b. Elijah of Norwich. In 1967, Vivian D. Lipman's *The Jews of Medieval Norwich* brought Meir of Norwich into view. Lipman is cautious, however, about providing any clear-cut details regarding Meir's life (Lipman 1967, 157). In fact, the presence of an acrostic in one

of Meir's poems provides one of the conceivably reliable links to Norwich; otherwise, Lipman finds it difficult to pinpoint one identity to Meir the poet (Lipman 1967, 157–59). Meir's autobiographical acrostic, conveniently graphed in the only modern edition of Meir's work, translates to "I am Meir son of Rabbi Eliahu from the city of Norwich which is in the land of the isles called Angleterre" [ani Me'ir b'Rabi Eliahu me'medinat Norgitz asher ba'arets ha'i hanikrat Anglatira] (Meir ben Elijah of Norwich 2013, 47; Krummel 2009, 6–10). This *piyyut*, entitled "Who is Like You?," also bears witness to a "now-lost Anglo-Judaic language" with the words, "Norgitz" and "Anglatira" (Krummel 2011, 53–55). "Norgitz" was certainly some sort of "Anglo-Jewish creole" because as Keiron Pim points out in his Introduction to the modern edition of Meir's poetry, "the population at large termed the city Norvic" (Pim 2013, 11). In 1971, A. M. Habermann's entry, "Meir Ben Elijah of Norwich," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* started a conversation about one of Meir's *piyyutim* (sing. *piyyut*) that Habermann named, "Curse my foe with execration" (1971, 1253). Now known by the title, "Put a curse on my enemy," as renamed by Susan L. Einbinder after she translated Meir's *piyyut* into English (2000, 156–59), this *piyyut* without question "refers to the afflictions suffered by English Jews" (Einbinder 2000, 153). Miriamne Ara Krummel goes one step further to suggest that Meir was "[c]amouflaging disturbing historical incidents within religiously figuring rhetoric" as a way of talking about "traumatic memories" that were too painful to discuss without embedding them in religious references (Krummel 2011, 57).

The third Jewish writer that I discuss here represents yet another authorial tradition. Berachiah haNaqdan wrote fables with embedded content about the ways to survive as a Jew in the complicated Anglo-French culture. Berachiah was quite familiar with the Norman-French culture, having probably come to England from Rouen—an area that Cecil Roth believes the English Jews departed from for England after the 1096 massacres (Roth 1964, 6). Norman Golb traces Berachiah's family to Rouen in the 1150s (Golb 1998, 318–23). Should Berachiah have left Rouen for England sometime in the twelfth century, he would have found a community of Jews whose practices were somewhat similar to his own. Paul Hyams believes that Berachiah composed his famous *Mishlei shu'alim* or *Fox Fables* in Oxford in the late twelfth century (Hyams 1974, 285), and if so, we can include these fables as yet more evidence of a sort of *takanah* as the animals attempt to navigate their Jewish lives in a Christian sphere.

Berachiah's Fables 24 and 38 echo aspects of the English Jewish experience in the twelfth century. Fable 24 narrates a tale of frogs that have become angered by their king who fails to protect them and cannot articulate clear solutions for survival. The king's lack of clarity leads these frogs to "transgress the law and change the statute" (Berachiah haNaqdan 2001, Fable 24, 52). The frogs direct

their affections toward a different king who quickly betrays them and “smote them a great smiting, and maligned them, and hated them yet more” (Berachiah haNaqdan 2001, Fable 24, 53). Berachiah’s Fable 24 could very well be a warning to the English Jews not to turn away from *adonay* (God) and not to be troubled by a silent god. Given that the Anglo-French monarch does not protect the Jews either, departing from *adonay* translates to losing the camaraderie of the Jewish community and the protection of *adonay*. Another fable, Fable 38, also evokes the English Jewish experience that Berachiah himself would have known well. In this fable a Hare and her family “journey forth and go to a field where there is none to track and chase us” (Berachiah haNaqdan 2001, Fable 38, 73) despite the advice to remain where they are. Venturing out, the Hare and her progeny encounter genocide as they are “tarred,” “smote,” and “desolated” (Berachiah haNaqdan 2001, Fable 38, 74). Fable 38 moralizes that it is better not to move than to move. The moral of Fable 38 resonates with Jewish history and reminds us of the Jews’ departure from Rouen in the eleventh century and the process of being too-soon unwelcome in England as evidenced by a series of ritual murder charges in the twelfth century that began with Norwich in 1144 (Dundes, ed., 1991; Auslander 2005; Johnson 2012) and were later followed by Gloucester in 1168, Bury St Edmunds in 1181 (Hill 1948, 224; Bale 2003, 130), York in 1190 (Dobson 1974; Rees Jones and Watson, ed., 2013), and Lincoln in 1255 (Matthew Paris, 1968). As with the Hare’s finding herself and her family “tarred,” “smote,” and “desolated,” the English Jews encountered a series of traumas in the guise of ritual murder charges that were built upon “hatred, hysteria, and self-interest” (Hill 1948, 228). The danger Jews faced is immortalized in the words of Thomas of Monmouth (fl. 1149–1172), a twelfth-century religious who writes the hagiography of William of Norwich (1132–1144), the first boy martyr of England. Framed by Thomas as “the righteous judgment of God,” an untold number of Norwich Jews are either “exterminated or scattered” (Thomas of Monmouth 2011, 97). Thomas then narrates the intimate details of the Jew Eleazar’s death—a Jew set upon by the squires of a financially troubled knight. The knight’s squires “laid their heads together, and one of them ... was sent to fetch the Jew. ... the others ... hid themselves in a wood through which he had to pass. When the Jew arrived there, the esquire leading him on, he was immediately seized by the others, dragged off and killed” (Thomas of Monmouth 2011, 98). Despite the daily hardships and occasional traumas, there is—as we can see with Jacob ben Judah of London, Meir ben Elijah of Norwich, and Berachiah haNaqdan—substance in the writing that has survived. Even more, Paul Hyams reminds us that “[a]t least nine thirteenth century rabbis with extant writings ... lived in Cambridge, Lincoln, Northampton, Norwich, and Oxford as well as London” (Hyams 1974, 285).

E Jewish Women, Both English and Jewish: Building Lives

Lamentably, no writing of medieval English Jewish women has survived, but we can reconstruct these women's lives through the public records; through documents from the Exchequer, and through the *shetaroth* [Hebrew deeds]. To be sure, the stories we tell about medieval English Jewish women can sometimes seem to be even more spun out of whole cloth than the tales we tell about the English Jewish male writers, yet all of the Jews—whether men or women—involve making important scholarly interventions that forge links out of nearly absent material. As Norman Golb cautions us, “details” of these northwestern European Jewish writers “are lost” (Golb 1998, 324–25). We scholars, therefore, have to look to records and deeds for “clues that, if properly evaluated, make possible a reconstruction” of the medieval Jews’ lives (Golb 1998, 325).

Even as early as twelve years [duzze anz] women were subject to being taxed in England: “each one, after he shall be Twelve Years old, pay Three pence yearly at Easter of Tax to the King, whose Bond-man he is; and this shall hold place as well for a Woman as a Man [ke checun pus kil aura passé duzze anz paie tres deners per an de taillage au Rey ky serf il est a la Pasche e ceo seit entendu ausi ben de femme com de houme] (Edward I 1810, 221a). Who were these women who were taxed? The presence of a yearly Easter tax suggests that these women worked alongside men. Recent scholarship interrogates this question. Until quite recently, this field of medieval Jewish studies in England had been dominated by the considerations of the Jewish men in medieval England, but new research has introduced us to the lives of English Jewish women. As a result, there is much cutting edge work being done to reconstruct vivid pictures of these English Jewish women. Scholarship, thus, pays homage to these English Jewish women’s lives in as accurate a way as possible.

Simha Goldin concludes that in the twelfth century, it became possible for Jewish woman to participate in the Jewish community (Goldin 2011, 237). The English records support Goldin’s observation by documenting Jewish women’s participation in the moneylending industry. Sometimes Jewish women ran businesses following their husbands’ deaths, and sometimes the women worked as partners to their living husbands. By the thirteenth century, there were a total of forty-one English Jewish women “dealing in loans or associated transactions” independent of men (Bartlet 2000, 31; 46). Up until the twelfth century, there had largely been two domains—one for women and one for men. Goldin remarks upon an important sea change that occurred in the Jewish male leadership when they became “aware of the central role played by women ... and worked towards

improving their status” (Goldin 2011, 237). One of the outcomes of this improvement involved a woman’s legal status in marriage. In Goldin’s words, “the more significant change was the empowering of the woman by making divorce conditional on her consent. Instead of being connected passively to a man who forms and dissolves the family unit,” women were given the power and authority to oppose the man’s desires (Goldin 2011, 238).

Most vividly, two scholars—one American and one British, Charlotte Goldy and Suzanne Bartlet—have effectively traced the English Jewish women’s lives and revealed how these English Jewish women ably navigated the Jewish and Christian civic communities. Charlotte Goldy links historical threads to compose a biographical sketch of Muriel of Oxford (d. ca. 1253). Goldy’s reconstruction of Muriel’s life makes real Goldin’s observations. Goldy reconstructs the setting of the divorce of Muriel of Oxford who was born in Lincoln but traveled to Oxford in 1217 after her marriage to David of Oxford (d. 1244) (Goldy 2008, 134; Bartlet 2012, 44). Around 1240, David of Oxford attempted to divorce Muriel because, Goldy presumes, David suspected that Muriel was infertile: “the couple was successful economically but also childless” (2012, 228). David wants a child at all costs and arranges for a *get* [bill of divorce] and convenes a *beit din* [rabbinic court] to hear the case and grant the divorce. David’s divorce from Muriel is not so easily attained, however, and Muriel “most likely assert[ed] her right to deny her consent” (Goldy 2008, 134). David pursues the matter to its conclusion and takes the issue of his divorce from Muriel all the way to the royal *curia* (Goldy 2012, 229). The royal *curia* grants David his wishes, but in this move David also damages the independence of the Jewish *beit din* (Goldy 2012, 229). David remarries Licoricia of Winchester (d. 1277), and with Licoricia has a son, Asher (b. 1242) (Bartlet 2012, 45–46; Goldy 2012, 229; 240). David dies two years after his son is born—the child whom he might have divorced Muriel to create. Licoricia, however, lives on for another thirty-seven years, dying a terrifically horrible and rather mysterious death: “[o]n a spring day early in 1277, the bodies of Licoricia and her Christian maid, Alice of Bicton, were found by a woman described as Belia, ... lying on the floor, having died of stab wounds” (Bartlet, 2009, 109).

Before their divorce and while Muriel was still married to David, Muriel joined David in operating their moneylending business and oversaw “smaller loans to women and students” (Goldy 2012, 236–37; 240). Goldy believes that Muriel traveled in the public civic sphere and finds it likely that Muriel made loans to Christians, as well as to Jews (2008). This aspect of Muriel’s professional life represents a second dramatic change in women’s positions in the Jewish community. Starting in the twelfth century, Jewish women began to claim a “position in the Jewish economic world ... in giving loans to Christians, in travelling from one place to another to deal with financial matters and to protect their financial

interests” (Goldin 2011, 239). By the thirteenth century, Jewish women constituted a “visible” presence in “the pipe rolls” (Bartlet 2003, 113). These Jewish working-women are effectively establishing family businesses and amassing a great deal of wealth, even sometimes landing in the Tower of London because of their wealth (Bartlet 2000, 35–46). Because of this visibility, Suzanne Bartlet is able to bring three businesswomen back to life: Chera (d. 1244?), Belia (d. 1270s?), and Licoricia (2012, 31, 35–47; 2009). Charlotte Goldy, in turn, could not have woven Muriel’s tale of infertility and eventual divorce from David without the records of Muriel’s involvement in the economic sphere. Likewise, without the records of financial transactions, Suzanne Bartlett would not be able to bring the lives of Chera, Belia, and Licoricia to our awareness. Miriamne Ara Krummel, turning to the *shetaroth*, retells the story of Belaset (fl.1200s), daughter of Rabbi Berachiah ben Rabbi Moshe (fl.1200s). Belaset’s wedding in Lincoln turned into a moment of trauma because of the regrettably nearby death of a young Christian boy, Hugh of Lincoln (1245–1255) (Krummel 2008, 124; 2011, 98–100). Such labor has its difficulties, though. Bartlett admits something that all of us who trace women in the records soon discover: following the lives of English Jewish women is “hard” because the women “often end up disappearing without any final verdict” (Bartlet 2003, 125). Even so, Jewish women were being educated and permitted to conduct worship for women (Goldin 2011, 241–42), which was an epic achievement that compelled medieval Jewish men to recognize “sometimes derisively, but for the most part in amazement and with esteem that there is a female consciousness” (Goldin 2011, 242). And perhaps a less pleasant outcome of the women’s developing stature is being recognized by Edward I in “The Statutes of Jewry” as needing to be marked by the Jewish badge—“in the Form of Two Tables joined, of Yellow Felt, of the Length of Six Inches, and of the Breadth of Three Inches” [en fourme de deus tabbles joyntes de feutre iaume de la longure de sis pouceres e de la laur de treis pouz] (Edward I 1810, 221a). The yearly Easter tax [paie tres deners a la Pasche], which “shall hold place as well for a Woman as a Man” [seit entendu ausi ben de femme com de houme] served to add insult to the injury of the badge.

F Making England *Judenrein*

Tracing the lives lived and the texts written by medieval English Jews confines us to a study of the Jews in Norman, or Angevin, England largely because the Jews came in with the Normans (sometime after 1066)—invited in by William the Conqueror (ca. 1027–1087) himself (Mundill 1998, 16). The Jews who had entered into England while it was under Norman rule were expelled from England while it

was still under the guidance of the Norman monarchy. The English medieval Jews, therefore, only knew England under the rule of the Angevin monarchy since the Expulsion occurred while England was being led by the great, great grandson, Edward I, of the Anglo-French monarch, William the Conqueror, who had originally invited the Jews to England. The Jews' seemingly brief but certainly meaningful stay situates the medieval English Jews in a sort of "oblivion"—a state of being that Jeffrey Jerome Cohen attributes to Meir of Norwich whom Cohen describes as "the poet of a community at the edge of oblivion" (Cohen 2006, 177). More than Meir, though, all of the medieval English Jewish men and women were situated at the edge of oblivion. Some of those poets, such as Yom Tob of Joigny (who resided in York at the time of the massacre), must have written poetry, especially because York was probably a center of Jewish Studies (Roth 1949, 21; Dobson 1974, 14). Certainly, Yom Tob, remembered as "witty as well as erudite," left behind some verse, a few religious compositions, and "an elegy on the Martyrs of Blois 1171" (Roth 1949, 21–22; Dobson 1974, 19), but Yom Tob's narrative about his 1190 march to oblivion in York—if Yom Tob ever contemplated one in his last moments—perished in the flames along with the Jews who sought and were denied sanctuary in Clifford's Tower (Dobson 1974, 28). There were no Jewish survivors of this night and day. Those Jews who the next morning expressed an interest in baptism met with another fate as Richard Malebisse and his fellow "conspirators" slaughtered those remaining Jews who had not chosen to end their lives in *kiddush ha-Shem* [sanctification in the name of God] (Watson 2013, 6).

The English Jews were in England long enough to consider the country their home for at least five generations but not long enough to be seen as actual denizens of England—remaining always as Norman imports. In 1290, the English Jews had to face expulsion and were given "less than five months between 18 June and 1 November 1290" (Mundill 1998, 253) to organize all of their goods and to arrange for a safe passage to their next destination. No one has yet discovered a record of the Expulsion edict (Mundill 1998, 254), but the narrative of Expulsion may well have been imagined when "The Statutes of Jewry" was being composed. Dated to 1275, "The Statutes of Jewry" concludes, "this Licence to take Lands to farm shall endure to them only for Fifteen Years from this Time forward [ceo per pendre a ferme ne lur dorra for quinz anz de cet hure en avaunt] (Edward I 1810, 221a; Krummel 2011, 29; 36). We do not have incontrovertible proof of the whereabouts of the English Jews after the 1290 Expulsion, but presuming the demesnes of France as the likely candidate for the English Jews' next locale means that the English Jews had to face yet another expulsion from France in 1306—a mere sixteen years after the English Expulsion (Jordan 1989, 203–06). Robin Mundill lists a number of other possible locales: in addition to

France “some families may have got as far as Spain, Savoy, Germany and even Gozzo”; Jews who faced expulsion but who wanted to remain in the general area “may well have fled to Scotland, Wales, and even Ireland” (Mundill 1998, 255). Either way, until the end of their stay, Jews could not escape an enduring association with an alleged financial acuity that sometimes involved the “un-earned profits of avarice and usury” (Tomasch 2000, 248). At the moment of their Expulsion, Jews continued to be represented by the money they had amassed so much so that Edward I was compelled to insist thrice in the 1290 Close Rolls “not to intermeddle with the goods and chattels” of the departing Jews (Close Rolls 1925, x). Of course, there reappears also the restoration of “the pledges of Christians in their possession to those to whom they belong” as a reminder of the Jews’ uncomfortable state of servitude to the king who claimed final control over the Jews’ records of sale (Close Rolls 1925, x). Even more disturbing is Edward I’s use of the Jews’ quitclaims to show favor to his friends. Asserting final possession over the Jews’ sureties and bonds is a gesture shared by both Edward I and Henry III who “reward[ed] his servants, soldiers and courtiers by excusing their entire debt or interest on” the loan (Bartlet 2012, 33). In 1290, Edward I similarly rewards William le Brun and Isolda, William’s wife. This couple benefits tremendously from Edward I’s desire “to show favour to William and Isolda for their good and long service to him and his consort” when Edward I erases “all debts that they may be exacted” (Close Rolls 1925, ix). To the end the Jews could not escape the association with wealth and left England in 1290 sandwiched in between servitude and safety “from Richard I onwards”: the king’s Jews were reassured that they would receive “protection” (Bartlet 2012, 34) if only to enable the monarchs to use the Jews for their own monarchical ends. As the July 18, 1290 Close Rolls specifies, Edward I decreed “orders [to] the sheriff to cause proclamation to be made throughout his bailiwick prohibiting any one from injuring or wrongdoing the Jews” (Close Rolls 1925, x). Jews were forced to stand by as the king relinquished his friends of their debts to the people who had lent them money.

During this short history of the Jews in England, there was much activity and quite a bit of history-making, so I remain reluctant to depart this chapter by inadvertently subscribing to the “lachrymose school” that David Nirenberg cautions us against in his *Communities of Violence* (Nirenberg 1996, 90). Instead, I want to leave this chapter with the vision of Salo Wittmeyer Baron who quite some time ago, nearly one century before Jeffrey Cohen and Anthony Bale, suggested that we study past narratives with nonstandard lenses, cautioned us not to forget that the medieval ghetto was also a place of community and of Jewish law, where Jews could live and worship as Jews (Baron, 1927; Cohen 2000, 1–8; Bale 2013). Baron liberates Jewish communities from the view that the ghetto hampered Jewish freedom. In medieval England it remains clear that despite the efforts to

erode Jewish belief, Jews did not stop being Jews and began documenting Jewish history, telling Jewish narratives, and keeping Jewish records. Perhaps, the social support system in the Jewerye made it possible for Jews to find some protection and enabled Jews to write, worship, run businesses, and welcome such esteemed visitors as Abraham Ibn Ezra (1089–ca. 1167), Joseph [ben Baruch] of Clisson (fl. 1200s), and Berachiah haNaqdan to visit (Einbinder 2000, 150). Whether the past of medieval Jews “hold[s] the promise of some strange beauty ... that the dominant narrative will not yield” (Cohen 2013, 292) or reveal “a diaspora world of intricate, malleable, interpenetrating, and difficult identities” (Bale 2013, 304), any remembrance of the English Jews in medieval England must not neglect to remember that the narrative of “Anglatira” is a classic Jewish story that mixes sadness and joy, defeat and survival, a life that is at once committed to a Jewish past and preparing for a Jewish future.

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A Introduction

Our knowledge of the languages used in medieval times is highly restricted due to the nature of the evidence that has come down to us. We are heavily reliant on written material, which is generally not representative of spoken language. The formal style and register of written language may exclude many colloquialisms that were in common use at the time. Certain words may not have been put down in writing until much later, or their earliest occurrences may have appeared in manuscripts that are no longer extant. In fact, entire languages may first be attested in post-medieval sources though they certainly existed before, such as Romanian, Lithuanian and Sami. Moreover, the date of any particular manuscript need not reflect the language used at the time as it may contain copies of earlier texts. It may therefore preserve certain linguistic forms that were no longer in contemporary use, though it may also display linguistic updating on the part of the scribe. Similarly, a manuscript text may contain different dialectal features depending on the origin of the scribe and his amount of linguistic interference during the copying process. Finally, medieval manuscripts do not represent the language of all social classes but rather that of the authors or scribes, which generally came from an educated and often ecclesiastical background. However, occasionally we may encounter authorial ideas about the language of specific classes and dialects, though not necessarily depicted correctly, as seen, for example, in Geoffrey Chaucer's two northern students in his *The Reeve's Tale* (Chaucer 1987, 78–84).

The following sections focus on the languages of Europe that are attested in writing between the fifth and the fifteenth century. They are grouped according to their major Indo-European language families and complemented by a chapter on non-Indo-European languages. Due to its special status Latin is treated in greater detail. If not mentioned otherwise the respective languages are still in use today, though all have undergone several linguistic changes. The entries contain information on various aspects. Where applicable, a diachronic subdivision is provided; however, it must be pointed out that such distinctions can only be approximate as no clear dividing lines can be drawn and there are always phases of transition. If there is evidence of different dialectal areas these are presented in the traditional broader sense for reasons of simplification, due to the many individual isoglosses which would require more detailed subdivisions. In all

cases some primary key texts or authors are mentioned for illustrative purposes and, where relevant, some comments on the role and use of certain languages are also given. The end of each section mentions those languages which were particularly influential though there are often more which played a less significant role. Due to reasons of space and the intention to give a fairly complete account most entries are very brief and simplified and do not pay any attention to post-medieval developments. In fact, the aim of this article is to provide a quick reference tool for everyone who is interested in obtaining some concise information on medieval languages and it hopes to encourage the reader to delve deeper into this complex field. Therefore the heading of each section contains references to some linguistic surveys which elaborate the subject matter and which should also be consulted for further bibliographical material. If not covered sufficiently within these publications some additional studies concerning topics of particular significance are provided within the main text. Generally, preference is given to secondary literature written in English; however, occasionally some important works in other languages are also mentioned.

The amount of literature on languages is vast. Here is a selection of some publications which cover a large amount of the languages spoken in Europe and also pay attention to their medieval stages. For a chronological presentation of medieval Romance and Germanic languages aimed at historians see Wolff (1971). Individual Romance languages are treated in Harris and Vincent (ed., 1988), which also has an introductory chapter on their origins. The oldest stages of the Germanic language family are surveyed in Robinson (1992), whereas König and van der Auwera (ed., 1994) focus mainly on the later development. Information on both early and modern Celtic languages is found in Ball and Müller (ed., 2009). The Romance, Germanic and Celtic languages attested on the British Isles are covered in Price (ed., 2000). On early Slavic history, language and writing see Schenker (1995), whereas some introductory comments on the historical linguistic background of individual Slavic languages are contained in Comrie and Corbett (ed., 1993) and in particular Schenker and Stankiewicz (ed., 1980). A general overview of Indo-European languages is provided by Fortson IV (2010) and Ramat and Ramat (ed., 1998). For some brief information as well as useful general bibliographies on all languages presented in this article including non-Indo-European ones see Brown and Ogilvie (ed., 2009) and in particular Price (ed., 1998).

B Romance Languages

I Latin

(cf. Harrington and Pucci, ed., 1997; Hexter and Townsend, ed., 2012; Mantello and Rigg, ed., 1996)

Any survey of medieval European languages must start with Latin. Not only was it the ancestor of the large amount of medieval and modern languages belonging to the Romance family, but it was also employed in various functions throughout the Western European Middle Ages, where it could even be regarded as a *lingua franca* in both written and spoken discourse, however, without any native speakers. Moreover, the Latin alphabet, a further development of the Greek alphabet incorporating Etruscan influence, is one of the most wide-spread writing systems still in use today (Wallace 1989). It is uncertain when Latin ceased to be spoken as a native language and when one can talk of a Romance vernacular variety developing out of it. In fact, the form of Latin spoken by the general population within the Roman Empire differed significantly from written Latin already before the beginning of the medieval period. It is known as Vulgar Latin and consisted of a number of geographical varieties which eventually developed into individual Romance languages. The earliest written evidence of a vernacular is not attested until the ninth century when we find French sentences contained in the *Strasbourg Oaths* (see below, Section B.III). It is also difficult to establish when exactly the period of Medieval Latin began. A particularly common view is that the Latin of late antiquity continued to be written until the sixth century, as employed, for example, by Boethius, but this line is drawn on literary rather than linguistic grounds. In fact, during the early Middle Ages, forms of Latin could vary considerably due to vernacular interference, which could cause problems in scholarly exchange. In order to raise the standard of Latin and to provide a uniform language for general use by Western Christianity a program of reform was initiated by Charlemagne during the late eighth century. The Carolingian Renaissance, for which scholars like Alcuin of York, Paulinus II of Aquileia, and Theodulf of Orléans were recruited, also saw the development of a particular script known as Caroline minuscule (McKitterick 1989). This legible lower-case book hand remained in use for several centuries and was revived by Italian humanists like Dante Alighieri during the later Middle Ages. In fact, these humanists are also responsible for ending the Medieval Latin period as they incorporated several classical features into their Latin, thereby beginning its Renaissance form (see below). However, others continued to write Medieval Latin until the fifteenth century.

The adoption of Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire during the fourth century played a significant part in the rise of Latin throughout Western Europe, whereas Greek and Church Slavonic became the religious languages of the Eastern Orthodox Church (see below, Sections E.I and G). The Vulgate version of the Bible, translated from Greek and Hebrew by St Jerome during the late fourth century, became the standard work of Western European Christianity. The works of early Church Fathers like Augustine of Hippo (354–430) were also widely read. Missionary activities spread such texts and thereby also the Latin language throughout the newly Christianized countries. Latin manuscripts were copied and studied in newly founded libraries and monastic schools, such as Monkwearmouth and Jarrow in Northumbrian Anglo-Saxon England, which in turn produced further scholars writing in Latin, such as the Venerable Bede (672/3–735) (DeGregorio, ed., 2010). Initially, the dominance of Latin prevented the use of most vernacular languages for written purposes, but gradually these came to be attested, in many early cases in the form of glosses to Latin manuscripts. Latin texts considered to be of particular importance could subsequently be translated into the vernacular, as initiated, for example, by Alfred the Great, king of Wessex during the late ninth century (see below, Section C.I.1). The Latin alphabet also replaced scripts used for pre-Christian writings, such as Germanic runes and Irish *ogam* (see below, Sections C and D.II.1). While many Latin texts were ecclesiastical and comprised, for example, homilies, sermons, hagiographies and liturgies, use of this language was by no means restricted to religious purposes. Mantello and Rigg (ed., 1996) include dozens of chapters devoted to individual fields and literary genres where Latin played a significant role, for example administration, law, philosophy, science, historiography and trade. In order to gain knowledge of this widely employed language pupils were educated with the help of Latin grammars, in particular those by Aelius Donatus (ca. 350) and Priscian (ca. 500). These textbooks remained in use throughout the Middle Ages, which accounts for the relative linguistic stability of Medieval Latin. The first vernacular grammar of Latin was compiled by the Anglo-Saxon monk Ælfric of Eynsham around the turn of the millennium, who also appended it with a glossary (see below, Section C.I.1). Moreover, there are several Latin colloquies, which were intended to teach conversation in Latin and demonstrate that this language was not only written but also spoken (Stevenson, ed., 1929).

Medieval Latin is distinguished from classical Latin by several features. These can usually be ascribed to linguistic changes during the Late Latin period, influence from other languages, or cultural developments. Since scholars writing in Latin were generally bilingual, interference from their own vernaculars can be spotted rather frequently. One crucial phenomenon was the introduction of Christianity, which required the adequate linguistic expression of new religious

concepts. The translation of the Vulgate Bible from Greek and Hebrew resulted in the adoption of both grammatical constructions and loanwords from these languages. Throughout the Middle Ages scientific and philosophical texts were translated from Greek and during the twelfth century also from Arabic, which left traces in the language. Other vernacular material could also be rendered into Latin, such as the tenth-century Germanic epic poem *Waltharius* by Ekkehard I of St Gall (Kratz, ed. and trans., 1984) or one version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which accompanies the original Old English text (Baker, ed., 2000). There are also macaronic works, which mix Latin with vernacular languages, as found, for example, in some poems of the *Carmina Burana* (Beatie 1967). Moreover, under vernacular influence new forms of Latin poetry developed, which could contain rhyme and were based on accent rather than syllable length. Generally, Medieval Latin characteristics appear in various linguistic categories. Phonological influence is found in some spellings, for example *e* or hooked *ē* instead of *ae* or *oe* (*letus*, *celum*), *ci* instead of *ti* before a vowel unless preceded by *s* or *x* (*eciam*), or loss of initial *h*- (*abet*). Hypercorrection into unhistorical forms is also possible (*hostium* for earlier *ostium*). Occasionally, we encounter morphological confusion, for example with regard to inflectional endings, deponent verbs or gender. Syntactic changes are often the result of foreign influence. One example case is the transformation of the classical accusative and infinitive construction for reported statements into a subordinate clause introduced by a conjunction (*quod*, *quia* or *quoniam*), as found, for example, both in the Greek Bible source used for the Vulgate translation and many vernacular languages. The increasing use of prepositions, the indication of definite as well as indefinite articles (*ille* or *ipse* vs. *quidam*) and a more systematic word order can also be ascribed to vernacular influence. The largest difference to classical Latin can be seen on a lexical level. Classical Latin words could acquire additional meanings (*convertere* “convert”) or be used as a basis for new derivations (*entitas*). The character of borrowings generally reflects the manner of contact between the respective languages; Greek loanwords are found mostly in the fields of religion (*angelus*) and scholarship (*apostrophus*), Arabic ones are often scientific (*alchimia*) and Germanic ones frequently concern war (*werra*) or law (*bannus*). A particularly remarkable phenomenon is the occasional reborrowing of Romance words which had developed out of Vulgar Latin into Medieval Latin (*change* vs. *changia*). Latin itself also exerted enormous influence on other languages, as will be seen throughout the rest of this study, not only in the field of loanwords but also in various types of loan formation and semantic loans (Gneuss 1955).

During the late thirteenth century a new attitude toward Latin emerged with the beginning of Humanism (Ijsewijn and Sacré 1990–1998). Italian scholars like Lovato dei Lovati (ca. 1240–1309) and Dante Alighieri (1265–1321) started looking

back at classical models for their Latin works in order to purge the language from medieval innovations. For example, Medieval Latin spellings were often restored to their classical form, though only gradually and not consistently. Initially, mainly classical Latin verse was emulated, but during the following decades this also extended toward prose, with Cicero being one of the most revered writers. However, especially during the fifteenth century, we also encounter the view that new words are to be preferred to the wrong usage of classical ones, as put forward, for example, by Lorenzo Valla (1407–1457), who wrote several treatises on the Latin language. Indeed, cultural developments could demand the formation of new words (*peruvianum* “tobacco”) or the semantic widening of existing ones (*publicare* “publish”). Moreover, some Medieval Latin words had to be retained as they denoted post-classical concepts (*senescallus* “seneschal”). Toward the end of the Middle Ages the use of Humanistic Latin spread beyond Italy, which marked the general end of the Medieval Latin period and the beginning of Neo-Latin. Finally, one Latin work written during the Humanistic period deserves particular attention as it reflects a striking contemporary understanding of the nature of vernacular languages and thereby serves as an introduction to the following sections: Dante Alighieri’s incomplete treatise *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (ca. 1303) provides a classification of European languages into three major groups, namely an Eastern one including Greek, a Northern one comprising Germanic languages and a Southern one consisting of Romance languages (Dante Alighieri 1996). The latter group may be subdivided according to their expressions for “yes,” namely *oc*-languages (from Latin *hoc*), *oïl*-languages (from Latin *hoc ille*), and *si*-languages (from Latin *sic*). Dante Alighieri distinguishes fourteen Italian dialects in order to establish on which of these the contemporary Italian literary language was based. He concludes that it occupies a special position in that it contains elements from various dialects. Dante Alighieri’s work is remarkably different from earlier medieval ideas about language and thereby foreshadows Renaissance linguistic scholarship.

II Italian

(cf. Benincà et al. 1998; Maiden 1995)

The linguistic situation in Italy during the Middle Ages is an extremely diverse one since the vernaculars that developed out of Latin often differed to a large extent from one another. In some instances it is even debatable whether these can be considered dialects of a single language at all or whether they should be regarded as separate languages. This applies in particular to the northern vari-

eties known as Dolomitic Ladin and Friulian, which may be considered part of the Rhaeto-Romance language family (see below, Section B.VIII), as well as Sardinian, which can itself be subdivided into different dialects. Another closely related language is Dalmatian, which was spoken along the Croatian Adriatic coast and is attested mostly in two letters dated to the fourteenth century (Price 1998b). Two major dialect areas of Italian may be distinguished, which are divided by a line running approximately along the northern borders of Tuscany and Marche. The northern dialects comprise Piedmontese, Lombard, Venetan, Ligurian and Emilian-Romagnol, whereas south of this line we find Tuscan as well as a number of dialects grouped into Central, Upper Southern, and Far Southern, the latter of which also includes Sicilian. Several of these are attested already during the medieval period. The first written evidence considered to be Italian rather than Latin is known as the *Placiti Cassinesi*, which are four legal documents containing vernacular testimonies in an Upper Southern dialect dated to 960–963. In fact, many early Italian texts written between the tenth and the thirteenth century belong to a Central or Upper Southern dialect, which can be ascribed to the productivity of the Benedictine monasteries in the respective regions. The thirteenth century saw the rise of Sicilian as a significant literary language due to many esteemed poems composed by the “Sicilian School.” Its prestige status was soon surpassed by Tuscan with the language of Florence being held in particularly high regard. This position can be attributed to several influential authors writing in this dialect, in particular Dante Alighieri (1265–1321), Petrarch (1304–1374) and Boccaccio (1313–1375) (Barański and McLaughlin, ed., 2007). This linguistic variety of the “Golden Age” is also the predecessor of the modern Italian standard, as codified during the sixteenth century. Latin continued to be used as a literary language throughout the Middle Ages, in particular in official documents and scholarly works, and some elements were also incorporated into the vernacular literature. Further linguistic influence can be observed from one Italian dialect on another and also from the neighboring languages, the extent of which, however, differs from dialect to dialect. In particular Sicilian shows a large amount of foreign elements due to its turbulent history, which includes both Greek, Arabic and Norman settlements. Hebrew and Aramaic influence is found in Judeo-Italian, the dialect of the Italian Jews, who also used the Hebrew alphabet and referred to this variety as *Latino* or *Volgare* (see below, Section J.I.1).

III French

(cf. Ayres-Bennett 1996; Price 1998d; Rickard 1989)

The Romance languages spoken in an area corresponding approximately to the former Roman province of Gaul can be subdivided into two major categories named after their forms derived from the Latin expressions for “yes” (cf. above, B.I). The northern half comprises varieties of the Langue d’oïl (from Latin *hoc ille*), whereas the southern half is the region of the Langue d’oc (from Latin *hoc*), also known as Occitan (see below, Section B.IV). There is also a distinct third group located in the central east around Lyon as well as western Switzerland and north-western Italy, which is called Franco-Provençal and during the medieval period appears mainly in legal texts dated to the thirteenth century (Price 1998c). The medieval Langue d’oïl consists of many dialects, of which the northern varieties Picard and Walloon have even been classified as separate languages. Other important dialects are Central French or Francien in the Île-de-France, Lorraine in the north-east, Norman in the north-west and the south-western varieties of Angevin, Poitevin, and Saintongeais. The Old French period lasted approximately from the earliest evidence, found in the ninth century, to the thirteenth century. The first written use of French is documented in the Latin *Strasbourg Oaths* of 842, which contain vernacular pledges by Charles the Bald and Louis the German for mutual support against their brother Lothair. Old French is attested as the language used by Louis’s and also Charles’s army, whereas Charles himself as well as Louis’ army swore in High German. However, since the only surviving manuscript is dated to the late tenth or early eleventh century, it is not clear whether the language of the text is represented accurately. The earliest manuscript containing an Old French text is dated to the late ninth century; it is the *Sequence of St Eulalia*, the dialect of which is closely related to Picard. Many texts written during the eleventh and twelfth centuries are in Anglo-Norman, the courtly language of England after the Conquest of 1066 (Trotter 2000; see below, Section C.I.1). For example, the earliest surviving copy of the *Chanson de Roland* is attested in this variety. However, the spoken dialect was by no means as uniform as the written evidence seems to suggest. The scarcity of texts in other dialects before the middle of the twelfth century may be explained by the high status that Latin still enjoyed on the continent. During the fourteenth century Central French emerged as the dominant variety due to the political importance of the respective region. It became the standard language of the Middle French period, which lasted until the end of the Middle Ages. Generally, literary genres in medieval French literature are vast and include romances, fabliaux, hagiographies, lyrics and plays. Linguistic influence is mainly from Latin, but there are

also many Germanic elements due to early Frankish rule. In Norman we find several Norse loanwords, and Anglo-Norman also shows some English influence.

IV Occitan

(cf. Davies 1998b; Paden 1998)

Whereas the Langue d'oïl in the north of France developed into various French dialects (see above, Section B.III), the Langue d'oc in the south, which came to be known as Occitan, also comprised several major varieties: the northern part of the Occitan region was the area of the Limousin, Auvergnat and Vivaro-Alpine dialects, the south-eastern part belonged to Provençal, and in the central south Languedocian was spoken. There may be a sixth Occitan dialect, namely Gascon in the south-west, but this variety has also been classified as a separate language (Davies 1998a). Occitan is first attested in the late tenth century and appears both as brief insertions within Latin documents and in the form of short poems; the earliest of these is probably the seventeen-line charm known as *Tomida Femina*, a marginal addition to a Latin legal text. Indeed, most Old Occitan texts are poetic in nature. There are some religious and didactic poems, but the most remarkable evidence is found in the lyrical verse of the troubadours (Paden and Paden, trans., 2007), as seen, for example, in the works of William IX, Duke of Aquitaine (1071–1127). During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a common Occitan language was employed in these poems which did not reflect any spoken variety but incorporated linguistic features from several dialects and was therefore merely literary in nature. The lyrics of the troubadours were popular far beyond the Occitan region and around 2,500 poems have survived. When French political influence on the southern regions increased during the fourteenth century the literary Occitan language went out of use and French came to be preferred for written purposes, though Occitan dialects continued to be spoken. Occitan is much closer to Vulgar Latin than French due to stronger historical links with Rome in the respective areas. Linguistic influence can be observed mainly from other Romance languages, in particular French, but there are also several Germanic loans from the early Middle Ages as a result of the Visigothic conquest as well as later Frankish political authority.

V Catalan

(cf. Nadal and Prats, 1982–1996; Wheeler 1998)

Catalan is the other representative of the *Langue d'oc* and therefore closely related to Occitan (see above, Section B.IV). Initially, it was spoken in the area around the eastern Pyrenees. As a result of the reconquest of Arabian territories the Catalan language spread south, first to the regions around Barcelona during the ninth century and later along the further eastern shores of the Iberian peninsula during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Invasions brought it also to the Balears as well as parts of Sicily and Sardinia. Single Catalan words appear within Latin documents dated to the ninth century, but it is not until the twelfth century that we find the first coherent Catalan texts: these are a fragmentary translation of a Latin law code of the Visigoths known as *Forum Iudicum* and the religious *Homilies d'Organyà*. The thirteenth century saw an increase in the production of vernacular prose texts. Linguistically, these are rather uniform, which suggests the use of a written standard, as employed by the royal chancery. Among the most noteworthy works of this period are those of theologian and philosopher Ramon Llull (1232–1315) as well as some law codes and the first two of four major historical chronicles. This literary language is also found in later medieval texts, as seen, for example, in Joanot Martorell's chivalric novel *Tirant lo Blanch*. Initially Catalan poets composed in the Occitan language due to the popularity of troubadour verse (see above, Section B.IV), and it is not until the fifteenth century that we find poems in the Catalan language, as employed, for example, by Ausiàs March (1397–1459). Due to its common origin with Occitan many early Germanic loanwords are also found in Catalan. Later contact with Arabic speakers led to the adoption of several elements from this language (Corriente 2008). Political relations with Spain, in particular Aragon, also had linguistic implications, though not as extensively as during the post-medieval period.

VI Spanish

(cf. Penny 1998b; Penny 2002; Pountain 2001)

During the Middle Ages the Iberian peninsula was home to several populations who marked its linguistic history. The Romanised community was conquered by the Visigoths, who ruled from the fifth until the eighth century. In 711, the Arab invasion resulted in their dominion of the largest part of the region for several

centuries (see below, Section J.I.2). In the north there were also the non-Indo-European Basques, whose territory extended to south-western France (see below, Section J.V). The Romance language spoken in Al-Andalus, the region occupied by the Arabs, can be classified as a separate language called Mozarabic (Penny 1998a). Mozarabic was written in an Arabic or Hebrew script and appears mainly in the *jar̄yas*, short poems of oral origin which were attached to Arabic or Hebrew lyrics known as *muwaššahat* (Zwartjes 1997). Leaving aside the other Ibero-Romance languages Catalan in the east (see above, Section B.V) and Galician and Portuguese in the west (see below, Section B.VII), Old Spanish consists of three major dialect areas, all of which originated in the northern parts of the peninsula: Asturian-Leonese was spoken around León, Castilian around Burgos, and Navarro-Aragonese around Huesca. The earliest written evidence appears during the eleventh century in the form of some Castilian words in a Latin legal document from Valpuesta as well as Navarro-Aragonese glosses to a Latin manuscript which also contains the earliest attestation of the Basque language (Wolf 1991; see below, Section J.V). In 1085, after the reconquest of Toledo by Alfonso VI, king of León and Castile, Asturian-Leonese and in particular Castilian formed the basis of the dialect used in the new Spanish capital. Written Castilian was standardised under Alfonso X el Sabio during the thirteenth century. Its importance as the dominant literary language of Spain is demonstrated by the appearance of Castilian elements in Navarro-Aragonese texts even before the Union of the Crowns in 1469. Besides lyrics there are two other important genres of Old Spanish poetry: firstly, the *Mester de Juglaría*, secular poetry of oral origin, the most prominent representative of which is the epic *Cantar de Mio Cid* from ca. 1200, and secondly, the *Mester de Clerecía*, religious poetry written, for example, by Castilian priest Gonzalo de Berceo (ca. 1190–1264). Prose texts flourished under Alfonso X el Sabio, who commissioned a history of Spain called *Primera Crónica General* and in whose footsteps many works from different genres were written, for example legal and scientific texts or the didactic and moralistic *El Conde Lucanor* by his nephew Don Juan Manuel. An important source for loanwords in Spanish is Arabic due to many centuries of Muslim dominion, which also influenced the other Ibero-Romance languages to a large extent (Corriente 2008). Besides elements adopted from the neighboring Romance languages Old Spanish shows some Basque influence whereas early Visigothic rule has hardly left any linguistic traces. The variety of Old Spanish employed by the Sephardi Jews, which is known as Judeo-Spanish or Ladino and was written in a Hebrew script, also shows some linguistic influence from Hebrew and Aramaic (see below, Section J.I.1).

VII Galician and Portuguese

(cf. Castro 2006; Mackenzie 1998; Parkinson 1998)

The common origin shared by Galician and Portuguese has led some linguists to argue that these may still be regarded as dialects of one and the same language, separated only by political borders. Though this is certainly true for the most part of the Middle Ages, both languages diverged significantly from about the fourteenth century onward, for which reason they may be treated separately when referring to later medieval texts. However, initially one can definitely talk of a common Galician-Portuguese language. Its original area was the north-western part of the Iberian peninsula approximately north of the river Douro. The first attestation of Galician-Portuguese words is found within Latin documents dated to the ninth century. The reconquest of Arab territories between the eleventh and the thirteenth century led to its spread further south. Portugal declared its independence from the kingdom of León and Castile in 1139, whereas Galicia remained under Spanish control. However, it is not until the late thirteenth century and the rise of the southern city of Lisbon as the political and literary center of Portugal that the way was paved for separate linguistic developments. Portuguese was recognised as the official language of Portugal; it replaced Latin in functions of the chancery and appears in many documents. The Galician-Portuguese literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is particularly remarkable in the field of lyrical verse, which can be subdivided into different categories of *cantigas* and is reminiscent of the Occitan poetry of the troubadours (see above, Section B.IV). Even the Spanish King Alfonso X el Sabio (see above, Section B.VI) composed lyrics in the Galician-Portuguese language. Other literary genres include religious texts, romances and historical works, often translated from other Romance languages. The written Galician tradition declined during the fifteenth century when the use of Castilian for official purposes increased, whereas Portuguese remained strong within its independent kingdom. Medieval Galician-Portuguese shows some influence from Arabic, especially in the southern dialect, due to its closer contact with Arabic speakers (Corriente 2008). Spanish influence appears predominantly in the north as a result of its political supremacy.

VIII Rhaeto-Romance

(cf. Benincà et al. 1998; Haiman and Benincà 1992; Price 1998e; Söhrmann 1998)

The Rhaeto-Romance languages are usually divided into three groups: Romansh, Dolomitic Ladin, and Friulian. An alternative view put forward by some linguists is that the latter two may be considered to be dialects of Italian (see above, Section B.II). Nowadays, Romansh is found in the canton of Graubünden in south-eastern Switzerland, though place names suggest that it originally had a wider distribution. The few surviving medieval sources are restricted to five words in a Latin manuscript from the tenth or eleventh century, an interlinear translation of a Latin homily from the early twelfth century, and a fragmentary document from Müstair dated to 1389. Dolomitic Ladin, which is still spoken in several valleys of the Dolomites, is not attested during the Middle Ages. There is some medieval evidence of Friulian from the Friuli-Venezia Giulia region in north-eastern Italy, in particular from the town of Cividale (Helfer 2008). The respective texts began to appear during the thirteenth century and are mainly administrative documents and translation exercises into Latin, the official language of the area. There is also some love poetry resembling the Italian *Dolce Stil Novo*, for example, *Piruç myò doç inculurit* (“My sweet rosy little pear”), which was added to a Latin document dated to 1380, possibly by notary Antonio Porenzoni. The few surviving texts show some linguistic influence from the neighboring German, Slavic and Italian languages.

C Germanic Languages

I West Germanic

1 English

(cf. Baugh and Cable 2013; Blake, ed., 1992; Hogg, ed., 1992; Robinson 1992, 136–75)

The origins of the English language are found in the fifth century when Angles, Saxons, Jutes and Frisians from the continent started settling in Britain and thereby confined the earlier Celtic inhabitants to the northern, western, and south-western regions of the island (see below, Section D.I). For reasons of convenience these Germanic tribes are usually treated together under the name “Anglo-Saxon.” The traditional division into four major Old English dialects has its origins in their areas of settlement: the Saxons in the south spoke West Saxon,

the Jutes in the south-east spoke Kentish, and the Angles in the middle and northern regions spoke Anglian, which can be subdivided into Mercian and Northumbrian respectively. The earliest Anglo-Saxon script consisted of runes, possibly introduced from Frisia, and the first runic inscriptions in Britain are found on bones and artefacts in the south and east of the island (Page 1999). The Latin alphabet was adopted as a result of the conversion to Christianity, which happened on two fronts: during the middle of the sixth century in the north by Irish missionaries, and in 597 in the south when Augustine arrived in Canterbury having been sent from Rome by pope Gregory the Great. The amount of Old English literature is larger than that of any other West Germanic language (Treharne, ed., 2010). The first longer text to be composed was the law code of the Kentish king Æthelberht at the beginning of the seventh century, but it survives only in a twelfth-century manuscript. The earliest extant evidence is the Latin-Old English *Épinal-Erfurt Glossary*, which is dated to the end of the seventh century. Most Old English texts survive in the West Saxon dialect, which can also be subdivided diachronically into two stages. Early West Saxon was used at the court of Alfred the Great, king of Wessex from 871–899, whose educational reform produced many important religious and historical texts, often translated from Latin (Greenfield and Calder 1986, 38–67). From the later tenth century onward a standardized Late West Saxon form was employed at the Benedictine School of Winchester (Gneuss 1972), as used, for example, in the many homiletic, hagiographic and other works by Ælfric of Eynsham (Magennis and Swan, ed., 2009). Ælfric was also responsible for compiling the first Latin grammar written in any Germanic language. Though the bulk of Old English verse was written mainly in the West Saxon dialect, Anglian features were incorporated very frequently and many poems, such as *Beowulf* (Orchard 2003), were probably composed much earlier than the four surviving major poetic codices dated to around the year 1000. The largest amount of lexical influence in Old English is from Latin, mostly in the field of religion, but there are also some Norse loans of an every-day nature due to Danish settlements in the north-east from the second half of the ninth century onward (see below, Section C.II).

Politically, the Middle English period began in 1066 with the Norman Conquest of Anglo-Saxon England, which also had huge linguistic implications. But although Anglo-Norman became the language of the nobility and was used for many literary works (Trotter 2000; see above, Section B.III), Latin remained the language of administration. Old English manuscripts continued to be copied well into the twelfth century for reasons of preaching, preservation and private reading (Swan and Treharne, ed., 2000). Linguistic change can be observed in the Peterborough version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, a year-by-year account of events copied and continued by two scribes during the twelfth century, the later

of which used many features commonly regarded as Middle English (Bergs and Skaffari, ed., 2007). In 1258, the significance of the English language had to be recognised by the Norman-speaking royalty when the barons forced king Henry III to agree to the *Provisions of Oxford*, England's first written constitution, which was issued in both Latin, French and English (Richardson and Sayles 1933). Nevertheless, it took more than a hundred years until English rather than French was recognised as the language of legal proceedings in the *Statute of Pleading*, which was enacted in 1362. The first king with a native command of English was Henry IV, who came to the throne in 1399. The Middle English dialect areas correspond roughly to those of the Old English period with South-Western being used in the south, South-Eastern in Kent, West Midland and East Midland in the divided former Mercian region, and Northern in the north. The London dialect had a special status as it was the language of Geoffrey Chaucer (Chaucer 1987) as well as the basis of the Chancery Standard employed during the fifteenth century (Fisher 1977). The range of Middle English literature is vast and comprises various genres with the French-influenced romances being among the most remarkable ones (Treharne, ed., 2010). Generally, the French language had an enormous impact on Middle English in many semantic fields, such as government, law, fashion and food, with early loanwords coming from Anglo-Norman and later ones from Central French. Linguistic influence can also be observed from a number of other languages, such as Latin and Norse, as well as Dutch and Low German as a result of trading relations in the later medieval period.

2 Scots

(cf. Aitken 1998; Görlach 2002; Smith 2000)

The Scots language can be seen as a direct continuation of the Northumbrian dialect of Old English, as found in the south-eastern Lowlands between the seventh and the eleventh century. Its linguistic character was significantly influenced by the subsequent influx of English speakers from the Scandinavianized areas of north-eastern England, in particular within urban communities, which extended across a larger territory throughout the Lowlands. The emergence of a Scots language distinct from English might therefore have its roots in the twelfth century, though only some isolated words within Latin texts are attested from this period and it may be regarded merely as a variant of a Northern Middle English dialect. Due to the initial use of French at court and Latin as the official language it is not until 1375 that we find the first substantial work written in Scots, namely John Barbour's epic poem *The Brus*, which survives, however, only

in two late fifteenth-century manuscripts. From the composition of this text until approximately 1450 it is customary to speak of Early Scots. This period also sees a change in its official status when it superseded Latin as the main literary language and also came to be used in Parliament. At the time Scots was still called *Inglis*, while *Scottis* referred to Scottish Gaelic, the Celtic language of the Highlands, a terminology which changed during the fifteenth century (see below, Section D.II.2). Toward the end of the Middle Ages the most productive period of Scots began, which is called Middle Scots and lasted from the middle of the fifteenth to the seventeenth century. Among the most significant early poets of Middle Scots, known as the Makars, are Robert Henryson, William Dunbar, and Gavin Douglas. At the time the Scots language also spread to the Orkney and Shetland Islands, where it was confronted with North Germanic Norn (Barnes 2000; see below, Section C.II). One of the most striking features of Early and Middle Scots vocabulary is its retention of several Old English words lost during the Middle English period. Linguistic influence can be observed from Norse, French and Scottish Gaelic, while Latin elements are particularly prominent in the works of the Makars.

3 Frisian

(cf. Bremmer Jr. 2009; Robinson 1992, 176–98; Salverda 1998)

The West Germanic language that is most closely related to English is Frisian, with which it forms the Anglo-Frisian subgroup. Sometimes both languages are said to be part of a larger Ingvaemonic or North Sea Germanic group, which is, however, slightly problematic as some features regarded as Ingvaemonic appear only in other West Germanic languages or Old Norse (Robinson 1992, 257–59). At the beginning of the Middle Ages Frisian was spoken along the North Sea coast approximately between the rivers Rhine and Ems, but during the following centuries their areas of settlement extended both south as far as Bruges and north to the Jutland peninsula. Political independence was lost when the largest part of the Frisian territories was incorporated into the Frankish kingdom and divided into three regions, as depicted in the *Lex Frisionum*, which was commissioned by Charlemagne. Before the Christianization from Anglo-Saxon England, which began toward the end of the seventh century, there are only some controversial runic inscriptions in Frisian as well as single words within Latin texts. Due to the status of Latin as the official literary language it is not until ca. 1200 that we find the first attestation of Frisian in the form of interlinear glosses within a Latin Psalter (Langbroek 1990).

The first proper manuscripts written in Frisian appear toward the end of the thirteenth century and contain mostly texts of a legal nature. This concentration on one genre may be ascribed to the continuing political pressure on the Frisians and their attempts at showing independence by putting their older oral laws into written form. The Old Frisian period lasted until the sixteenth century and may be subdivided on both chronological and geographical grounds: Classical texts in East Frisian are found approximately until the year 1475, and post-classical texts in West Frisian appear from that point onward until around 1600. West Frisian texts cover also other genres, such as charters, chronicles and historiographic verse. Linguistic influence can be observed mainly from Latin, both before and after the Christianization, as well as from the neighboring Germanic languages, with Low German also replacing Frisian in the eastern region toward the end of the Middle Ages.

4 Dutch

(cf. Donaldson 1983; Robinson 1992, 199–221; Vismans 1998)

The first evidence of the Dutch language may be a brief fifth-century runic inscription found on a sheath mounting (Mees 2002). However, it is uncertain whether we can already classify it as Old Dutch or merely as belonging to its otherwise unattested ancestor language Old Frankish. The surviving texts are dated mainly to the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries and are usually divided into two major dialects: Old West Low Franconian, spoken in Flanders, Brabant, and Holland, and Old East Low Franconian, spoken in Limburg and the Rhineland. Evidence of West Low Franconian is scarce, and besides some names and short phrases within Latin texts as well as a transcription of an East Low Franconian version of the *Song of Songs* there is only a three-line love poem in the form of a *Probatio Pennae*. East Low Franconian survives mainly in later fragmentary copies of interlinear glosses to a now lost Latin Psalter, known as the *Wachten-donck Codex*. During the Middle Dutch period, which lasted from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, three major dialect areas can be distinguished, though these may also be subdivided: the coastal dialect group consists of the dialects spoken in Holland, Zeeland and Flanders, south-eastern dialects were spoken in Brabant and Limburg, whereas the north-eastern dialect was derived from Low German but incorporated several Dutch elements. The earliest known poet was Hendrik van Veldeke, who wrote his works during the second half of the twelfth century in the Limburg dialect. Other well-documented dialect areas are Flanders, as used, for example, by Jacob van Maerlant, and Brabant, as represented in the mystical

hymns of Sister Hadewych, all of which are dated to the thirteenth century. Middle Dutch literature comprises several genres, such as romance, hagiography, didactic poetry and drama. Besides some Latin loans found already in Old Dutch, linguistic influence can be observed mainly from the neighboring languages, such as German and in particular French, both as a result of literary influence and later medieval Burgundian political supremacy in the south.

5 Low German

(cf. Robinson 1992, 100–35; Sanders 1982; West 1998; Young and Gloning 2004, 139–47; 175–84)

During the early Middle Ages the territory of the Saxons corresponded approximately to northern Germany between the rivers Rhine and Elbe and was subdivided into the provinces of Westphalia, Angria, and Eastphalia. Their subjugation by Charlemagne during the late eighth century resulted also in forcible conversions to Christianity and more peaceful missionary activities. The stage of Low German attested between the eighth and the twelfth century is known as Old Saxon. Besides some glosses within Latin texts or some short passages, such as baptismal vows, there are also two poetic biblical epics dated to the ninth century, namely a fragmentary version of *Genesis* and the *Heliand*, which deals with the life of Christ (Cathey, ed., 2002). Middle Low German is taken to begin with the rise of the Hanseatic League during the late twelfth and early thirteenth century and lasted until the sixteenth century. The language of the Hanseatic League had the status of a *lingua franca* around the North and Baltic Sea and was written in a standard based mostly on the dialect of the city of Lübeck. It was used alongside Latin within documents, mostly pertaining to trade and legal matters. Another significant dialect is Eastphalian, as found in the thirteenth-century historical *Sächsische Weltchronik* and the law book of the *Sachsenspiegel*, which combines earlier oral law with written Latin texts. Due to several translations from Latin into both medieval language stages of Low German there is a significant amount of linguistic influence from this language. Some elements were also adopted from other West Germanic languages, though their similarity makes it often difficult to distinguish these. Middle Low German itself acted as an important source for languages spoken within the Hanseatic League, such as most North Germanic languages, Estonian and Latvian.

6 High German

(cf. Robinson 1992, 222–46; Wells 1985; West 1998; Young and Gloning 2004)

High German is distinguished from Low German by a number of sound changes known as the High German Consonant Shift, which happened to various extents in the German dialects south of an isogloss known as the Benrath Line. Five major dialects may be distinguished, all of which have been named with alternative terminologies: West Central German or Rhenish Franconian, East Central German or East Middle German, North Upper German or East Franconian around the river Main, West Upper German or Alemannic in south-western Germany and Switzerland, and East Upper German or Bavarian in south-eastern Germany and Austria. The geographical distribution of these dialects varied throughout the medieval period and East Central German is not found during the earliest stages since most of the respective territory was settled by Slavs. Moreover, these dialects may also be subdivided even further, for example the larger Alemannic dialect group includes also the dialect of Swabian. The earliest evidence of High German is found on archaeological artefacts from the sixth and seventh centuries and is written in runic script (Looijenga 2003). At the time various missionary activities were already taking place, for example from Ireland, which also introduced the Latin alphabet. Generally, Latin was the main literary language during the Old High German period, which started properly in the eighth century with the emergence of glosses and glossaries, such as the *Abrogans*, which has been called the first book in the German language. In fact, many German translations of religious texts were conducted during this period, with Notker Labeo of St Gall being among the most important scholars in this context. There is also some evidence of non-religious literature, such as charms or the epic poem *Hildebrandslied*, which also includes linguistic features from Old Saxon. The eleventh century sees a temporary decline in the production of High German texts, but from the beginning of the Middle High German period during the twelfth century a large amount of literary genres are covered. Besides the epic poem *Nibelungenlied* (see the studies in McConnell, ed., 1998) there are adaptations of French romances, such as Hartmann von Aue's *Iwein*, lyrics, as found in the *Codex Manesse*, and works by mystics, such as Mechthild von Magdeburg. Middle High German developed into New High German during the fourteenth century with the most significant work of that period being the Lutheran Bible translation of the sixteenth century. Linguistic borrowings are mainly from Latin in religious contexts and French due to literary influence during the Middle High German period.

7 Yiddish

(cf. Baumgarten 2005; Katz 1998b; Weinreich 2008)

During the tenth century High German became the base language of the Ashkenazim, the Jewish communities settling along the river Rhine, who developed it further into Yiddish. While Hebrew and Aramaic were employed as the main literary languages (see below, Section J.I.1), Yiddish was used orally as well as in secular writings and some other texts of Ashkenazi origin (Katz 1985). Its script is based on Hebrew with the addition of obsolete consonant symbols in order to represent vowels. Due to frequent persecutions during the Middle Ages many Jews migrated to Eastern Europe, thereby creating two major dialects, namely Western Yiddish and Eastern Yiddish, which can be subdivided even further. Apart from some earlier names, evidence of Yiddish is first found in 1272 with the inclusion of a brief blessing within a Hebrew prayer book known as the *Worms Mahzor*. The earliest larger text collection is found in the late fourteenth-century manuscript Cambridge, University Library, MS T.-S.10.K.22, which besides several religious texts also contains an epic poem treating Germanic themes, known as the *Dukus Horant*. Other Yiddish literary genres are romance, folk tales, and lyrics. The largest amount of linguistic influence on Yiddish is from Hebrew and Aramaic, but there are also some French elements due to early regions of settlement, and some Slavic influence can be observed in the later Eastern Yiddish dialects.

II North Germanic

(cf. Bandle et al., ed., 2002–2005; Faarlund 1994; Haugen 1976; Robinson 1992, 69–99)

The North Germanic languages, which have also been called Nordic or Scandinavian, were rather uniform during the Middle Ages and they might even be considered dialects rather than separate languages. In fact, it has been suggested that expressions like *Danish tongue* found in several medieval texts might refer to all North Germanic languages rather than merely a single one (Uhlmann 2005, 2026). There are no dialectal distinctions before the eighth century. This early period has been termed variously, such as Ancient Scandinavian or Proto-Norse. It is usually taken to begin with the earliest runic inscriptions, which are found on bone, metal or wood artefacts in various parts of Scandinavia from the approximately the second century onward (Page 1987). During the eighth century the twenty-four characters of the early runic alphabet, called the Elder Futhark, were reduced to sixteen and became the Younger Futhark. At around the same time

linguistic changes also resulted in the emergence of two major subgroups of North Germanic, namely Old West Norse and Old East Norse. Old West Norse was spoken by the Norwegians, who started spreading their language to further regions as a result of Viking conquests and settlements. These included the Faroe Islands, Iceland, Greenland, the Shetland Islands, the Orkney Islands, the Hebrides, the Isle of Man and parts of the Scottish coast, and Ireland, in particular Dublin. During the following years their language remained relatively homogeneous and it is often generally referred to as Old Norse. The variant found on the Shetland Islands and the Orkney Islands is called Norm (Barnes 2000). Some linguistic changes during the eleventh century may justify a split into several varieties, in particular Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic, but it not until the fourteenth century that we find larger linguistic divergences which mark the beginning of the Middle Norwegian and Middle Icelandic periods. Old East Norse also spread beyond Scandinavia through Viking activities and it was brought to England by the Danes and to the Baltic region and parts of Russia by the Swedes. Old East Norse developed into Old Danish and Old Swedish approximately during the twelfth century. Another variety, namely Gutnish, spoken on the island of Gotland, had split off at an earlier date. The gradual Christianization of the North Germanic countries, which began during the ninth century, but was not fully completed until the twelfth century, introduced the Latin alphabet, though runes continued to be used throughout the Middle Ages. Since Latin became the main literary language it is not until the late twelfth century that we find the earliest substantial vernacular writings in the new script. While the Old East Norse branch is represented predominantly by law codes, the western languages Old Norwegian and in particular Old Icelandic contain a vast amount of literature, which due to few linguistic changes ever since can still be read and understood by Icelanders today (McTurk, ed., 2005). Among the most well-known works are both Eddic and Skaldic poetry as well as several prose texts, for example the *Younger Edda* by Snorri Sturluson, a large amount of sagas in various subcategories, such as the family saga *Grettis Saga*, and legal texts, such as *Grágás*. All North Germanic languages display some degree of Latin influence as a result of the Christianization. Icelandic remained relatively free from other foreign influences, whereas the Scandinavian mainland adopted several loans from Low German due to trading relations with the Hanseatic League during the later Middle Ages (see above, Section C.I.5).

III East Germanic

(cf. Bennett 1980; Lehmann 1994; Robinson 1992, 43–68)

The East Germanic group comprises several languages which are very poorly documented. In fact, only Gothic is evidenced to a larger extent, whereas languages like Burgundian or Vandalic have survived merely in the form of personal or place names. The sixth-century historian Jordanes wrote about the origins and subsequent migrations of the Goths, who, coming from Scandinavia, settled in Eastern Europe approximately between the rivers Danube and Dnieper during the third century. The river Dniester divided them into Visigoths living in the west and Ostrogoths living in the east. Hunnic invasions during the last quarter of the fourth century triggered further migrations, during the course of which the Visigoths sacked Rome in 410 before moving on to southern France and Spain. The Ostrogoths established their temporary rule in Italy toward the end of the fifth century. Both linguistic branches were gradually assimilated by other vernacular languages in the course of the following centuries, though Gothic continued to be spoken in Eastern Europe, as discovered on the Crimean peninsula during the sixteenth century. Gothic is the oldest attested Germanic language. Most of it is found in the *Bible* translation of Wulfila (ca. 311–383), a Visigothic bishop, who converted the Goths to Arian Christianity. Besides some notes and fragments the only other substantial text is an anonymous commentary on the Gospel of St John, known as the *Skeireins*. For his translation Wulfila created a specific alphabet which draws heavily on Greek but shows also some Latin and runic influence. The most significant surviving manuscript is known as the *Codex Argenteus* or *Silver Bible*, which was written in Ostrogothic northern Italy, possibly at Ravenna, during the sixth century (Munkhammar 2011). It was copied in silver and golden ink onto purple vellum and contains the largest part of the four Gospels (today in Uppsala, Sweden). Since Wulfila translated the Bible from Greek, linguistic influence on Gothic can be observed mostly from this language, which is obvious not only with regard to vocabulary but also in several syntactic constructions.

D Celtic Languages

I Brythonic (p-Celtic)

1 Welsh

(cf. Davies 2000; Willis 2009)

At the beginning of the Middle Ages the Celtic languages, which had been spoken in large parts of Western and Central Europe in pre-historic times, had been confined to the British Isles (Eska 2009; Jackson 1953). By the mid-sixth century the Anglo-Saxons had conquered large parts of Britain, thereby restricting Celtic territories even further (see above, Section C.I.1). The invaders called the encountered British tribes *wealas* (“foreigners”), from which we get the modern term *Wales* as opposed to the Welsh equivalent *Cymru*. Apart from place names there is no written evidence of Welsh until the eighth century, for which reason the language of this period is called Primitive or Archaic Welsh. At the time it was spoken approximately in the regions of modern-day Wales. The language of Cumbria may be a dialect of Welsh or a separate language called Cumbric, but it is not attested in writing and became extinct during the eleventh century (Price 2000a). Since the Roman occupation and later Christianization of Britain Latin had been the literary language of the Celts. Initially, vernacular material was transmitted only orally, such as the Welsh poems ascribed to Aneirin and Taliesin, who lived during the sixth century, though their works survive only in much later manuscripts (Bromwich, ed., 1980). The first extant writings from the eighth century mark the beginning of the Old Welsh period. These occur mostly in Latin manuscripts, in particular in the form of glosses, notes or additions, such as the earliest coherent Welsh text, namely the brief *Surexit Memorandum*, which is appended to a Latin book on St Chad and deals with the settling of a lawsuit (Jenkins and Owen 1984). The Middle Welsh period, which lasted approximately from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, is marked by several orthographic changes. It produced a large amount of written material within various genres, such as historical, scientific, legal and religious literature. One of the most important prose works is the collection of romances known as *Mabinogion*, which is preserved in two fourteenth-century manuscripts, but is probably about two centuries older (Roberts 1992). Linguistic influence on Old and Middle Welsh is mostly from Latin, but there are also several English loanwords due to frequent contact between these two peoples.

2 Cornish

(cf. George 2009; Payton 2000)

The development of the Cornish language during the Middle Ages is almost parallel to that of Welsh, though the diachronic subdivisions are dated about a century later and the extent of its literature is not quite as rich. The Primitive Cornish period without any written material lasted approximately from the sixth to the ninth century when we find the earliest Cornish words in a gloss to a Latin copy of Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae* (Sims-Williams 2005), which marks the beginning of Old Cornish. Due to the continuing status of Latin as the literary language as well as English political supremacy vernacular sources from this language stage are rather sparse and consist mainly of brief glosses, notes and lists of names. Toward the end of the period there is also a longer Latin-Cornish glossary containing 961 entries, which is known as the *Vocabularium Cornicum*, based on Ælfric of Eynsham's glossary and dated to the late twelfth century (Graves, ed., 1962). The largest amount of Cornish literature was written during the Middle Cornish period, which lasted approximately from the thirteenth to the late sixteenth century. There are mostly religious texts, in particular homilies and saints' lives as well as a noteworthy cycle of three mystery plays known as *Ordinalia* (Bakere 1980). Though Cornish was initially spoken throughout Cornwall, toward the end of the Middle Ages the use of this language had been restricted mainly to the western half. Just as in Welsh, Latin was initially the dominant language for the adoption of loanwords, as is evident in ca. 19% of the lexicon contained in the *Vocabularium Cornicum* (George 2009, 532). Later sources show a dramatic increase in borrowings from English, which also became the main literary language during the Middle Cornish period.

3 Breton

(cf. Humphreys 1998; Press 2009)

Breton is closely related to Cornish since its speakers migrated from south-western Britain at various stages between the fourth and the eighth century, a process which was not triggered but could have been intensified by increasing Anglo-Saxon pressure in this region. In Brittany the immigrants encountered speakers of a variant of Gaulish, another Celtic language, which despite the Romanization of France had not become extinct yet, but is attested only in the form of names and inscriptions dated to the pre-medieval period (Eska and Evans

2009; Schrijver 1998). There is probably some substrate influence from Gaulish on Breton, which may also account for some obvious peculiarities in the modern Gwenedeg/Vannetais dialect found in the south-east of Brittany. With some minor territorial variation Breton has been spoken to the west of a line extending approximately from the town of Sant Brieg/Saint Brieuc to the estuary of the river Gwilen/Vilaine. Apart from a few Latinized names no written evidence exists before the late eighth or early ninth century when we can talk of the beginning of the Old Breton period. The earliest Breton words are found in a manuscript bifolio kept at Leiden which includes thirty names of plants and ingredients within a Latin medical text (Lambert 1986). Many more isolated names and glosses are found in various Latin manuscripts, but these do not offer any coherent sentences. Though the Middle Breton period is usually taken to start in the eleventh century due to some particular linguistic changes, vernacular evidence remains fragmentary until the fifteenth century when we eventually find a large amount of Breton literature in both verse and prose. The texts are mostly religious in nature, though some themes in French and English Arthurian literature suggest a Breton romantic tradition. Noteworthy is also the *Catholicon* by Jehan Lagadeuc, a Breton-French-Latin dictionary which survives in a manuscript dated to ca. 1464 and was first printed in 1499 (Guyonvarc'h, ed., 1975). The Middle Breton period lasted until the seventeenth century. Besides Latin influence as a result of translations and its function as the earliest literary language, the French element in Middle Breton is particularly strong due to its official status in the medieval Duchy of Brittany (Piette 1973).

II Goidelic (*q*-Celtic)

1 Irish Gaelic

(cf. Ó Docharthaig 2000; Ó Murchú 1998; Stifter 2009)

The Celtic language of Ireland belongs to a different branch than Welsh, Cornish and Breton. Both the name of this branch, Goidelic, and the modern English name of the language, Gaelic, are derived from the Old Irish word for “Irish-speaking Celt,” namely *Goídel*. The earliest evidence is found on standing stones and is written in a script known as *ogam* (McManus 1991). It consists of fifteen consonants and five vowels which are represented in the form of one to five straight lines or dots placed in relation to a vertical long line. Most of these brief inscriptions are dated to the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries, which is called the Primitive Irish period. Around a quarter of these are found in Wales and the south-west of

Britain, which is proof of some Irish settlements in these areas (Price 2000b). The Christianization of Ireland from Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries introduced the Latin alphabet and laid the foundations for the Old Irish period, which lasted from the seventh to the ninth century. The earliest evidence is found within continental Latin manuscripts, such as the *Codex Wirceburgensis*, which contains Irish glosses on the Pauline Epistles, dated to the late seventh and eighth centuries. The *Book of Armagh* from the ninth century contains both Latin and Irish religious texts with particular emphasis on St Patrick (Ó Cathasaig 2006). Many manuscripts from the Middle Irish period, which lasted from the tenth to the twelfth century, are written in a mixture of Old Irish and modernised forms and are thought to be copies of earlier texts. They represent various genres and comprise religious, grammatical, legal, historical and legendary texts in verse and prose, as found, for example, in the *Book of the Dun Cow* and the *Book of Leinster* from the twelfth century (Ní Mhaonaigh 2006). The Early Modern Irish period, which lasted from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, sees an increasing move from monastic literacy to lay schools producing professional poets as well as the introduction of continental literary themes, such as love poetry and travel literature (Caball and Hollo 2006). Linguistic influence during the earlier periods is mostly from Latin in the form of religious loans, but Norse settlements from the ninth century onward introduced some seafaring and domestic words (Greene 1976), and the Anglo-Norman invasions of the twelfth century resulted in the adoption of some military as well as legal terms (Risk 1968–1975).

2 Scottish Gaelic

(cf. Gilles 2009; MacKinnon 2000)

The history of Scottish Gaelic is closely linked with Irish Gaelic due to the arrival of Irish settlers in Scotland starting during the fifth century, which resulted in the gradual replacement of Cumbric and Pictish with their language. This common origin is also evident in the name of the country itself since *Scotia* was Latin for “Ireland.” Moreover, the Germanic Scots language (see above, Section C.I.2) referred to Scottish Gaelic as *Irische* or *Ersche* (“Irish”) from the fifteenth century onward when the earlier term *Scottis* came to be used for Scots itself (Görlach 2002, 5). Celtic Christianity and the Latin script were introduced in 563 with the foundation of the monastery of Iona by the Irish missionary Columba. Despite subsequent different developments in the spoken form, written Scottish Gaelic was basically identical with Irish Gaelic until the twelfth century, and the few texts originating in Scotland before then, mainly from Iona, are preserved mostly

in Ireland and generally treated alongside Irish evidence (Clancy 2006). The first of only very few extant medieval manuscripts displaying any particular Scottish Gaelic features is the *Book of Deer*, a Latin gospel book which contains notes on the foundation of and grants to the monastery of Deer (Jackson, ed. and trans., 1972). By the fifteenth century Scottish Gaelic had been restricted to the Highlands as a result of the increasing advance of Scots from the south. Just as in Irish Gaelic early lexical borrowings are mostly from Latin, and some loanwords were adopted from the earlier British inhabitants of Scotland and from the ninth century onward from the Norse settlers in the west and the far north (Stewart 2004). Other loanwords are from the Northumbrian dialect of Old English and later Middle Scots (Thomson 1983). Finally, it must be noted that Manx, the language of the Isle of Man, developed parallel to Scottish Gaelic and started diverging only toward the end of the Middle Ages with its first attestations dated to the sixteenth century (Broderick 2009).

E Slavic Languages

I Old Church Slavonic

(cf. Huntley 1993; Lunt 2001; Picchio 1980; Schenker 1995)

The earliest attested stage of the Slavic language family is generally known as Old Church Slavonic. The creation of a specifically devised alphabet inspired by Greek and called Glagolitic (Old Church Slavonic *glagolŭu* “word”) is generally ascribed to Saints Cyril and Methodius, two Greek brothers who began converting Moravia to Christianity in 863. However, some Slavic writings in a different alphabet had existed already before their mission (Cubberley 1993). During the tenth century another script was devised, which was also based on Greek and named Cyrillic after one of the missionaries; it gradually superseded Glagolitic in its use. The oldest surviving manuscript in Old Church Slavonic is known as the *Kiev Missal or Fragments*, which is written in a Glagolitic script and dated to the tenth century (Schaecken 1987). Most early texts were written in the Bulgarian schools at Preslav and Ohrid, for which reason the respective variants have also been called Old Bulgarian; it may be subdivided into an Eastern (Preslav) and a Western (Ohrid) branch, the latter of which is sometimes referred to as Old Macedonian. Some linguistic changes evident in texts from the twelfth century onward, such as the denasalization of vowels and simplification of case endings, mark the beginning of the Middle Bulgarian period, which lasted approximately until the fifteenth century (Scatton 1993). Old Church Slavonic was used mainly as a literary and

liturgical language and retains several archaic features which have become lost in later Slavic languages, such as a rich system of nominal declensions. Besides containing many Greek elements as a result of early Christian translations, in particular with regard to syntax, it also has several loanwords from Latin and German, which are evidence of contact with the Western Church (Auty 1976).

II South Slavic

(cf. Koneski 1980; Naylor 1980; Pinto 1980; Stankiewicz 1980)

As a written language Old Church Slavonic came to be used generally throughout the Slavic countries. As a result several varieties developed, all of which incorporated features from the regionally spoken languages. For this reason early texts written within the respective countries represent mixtures between the spoken vernaculars and literary Old Church Slavonic. These appear increasingly from approximately the twelfth century onward and may be referred to as different recensions of Church Slavonic (Mathiesen 1984). Besides the Bulgarian and Macedonian variants there are more recensions which were written in the Slavic countries lying roughly south of the river Danube. One of the earliest Serbian manuscripts is known as the *Miroslav Gospels*, which is dated to the 1180s and written in a Cyrillic alphabet (Vrana 1961). There are also some earlier Serbian texts in Glagolitic, which was the script initially favoured in the Croatian recension, as seen, for example, in the *Baška Stone Tablet*, dated to ca. 1100 (Fučić 1999). Later Croatian texts could also be written in Cyrillic and Latin scripts. Other Church Slavonic variants are Bosnian, as seen, for example, in the early eleventh-century *Humac Tablet*, which contains Cyrillic as well as some Glagolitic letters (Nosić 2001), and the Slovenian *Freising Manuscripts* from the late tenth century, written in Latin script (Kudorfer 2004). Despite the continuing use of regional varieties of Church Slavonic there are also some texts which incorporated a larger amount of vernacular elements; these are mostly written in Croatian and deviate to a more significant extent from the rather artificial liturgical language used throughout the medieval period, as seen, for example, in the *Law Codex of Vinodol*, dated to 1288 (Barada 1952). The dominant role played by Church Slavonic is to be blamed for our scarce knowledge of the contemporary vernaculars, which were influenced to such an extent that several linguistic features from Church Slavonic are still found within the modern languages.

III East Slavic

(cf. Issatschenko 1980; McMillin 1980; Shevelov 1980)

When the Kievan Rus' state under Vladimir the Great adopted Christianity in 988 the use of Old Church Slavonic also spread to the East Slavic region. As with the South Slavic languages it became influenced by the spoken vernacular resulting in a literary variant generally referred to as the Russian recension of Church Slavonic, which employed a Cyrillic script. The oldest surviving text, the *Novgorod Codex*, is a palimpsest written on wax tablets which is dated to ca. 1000 and was discovered in 2000 (Zaliznyak 2003). Russian Church Slavonic remained relatively uniform until the middle of the thirteenth century when the Mongol invasion marked the end of the Rus' era. The north-eastern part including Moscow was now ruled by the Tartars, whereas the south-western part including Kiev became part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which also resulted in a linguistic separation. Despite temporary Mongol political supremacy the literary Church Slavonic used in the north-eastern region continued to be used. With the power of the Grand Duchy of Moscow increasing during the later medieval period the local dialect also gained larger significance. Two varieties developed in the south-west, namely Belarusian or Belorussian, based on the dialect of Minsk, and Ukrainian, based on the dialect of Kiev, though both are sometimes grouped together under the name Ruthenian (Moser 2005). In contrast to Ukrainian and Baltic Lithuanian, Belarusian is frequently attested in texts written within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, where it achieved official status during the fifteenth century. Politic dealings with Poland, which ultimately led to a union during the sixteenth century, also influenced the Belarusian language, in particular in the field of vocabulary.

IV West Slavic

(cf. Auty 1980; Schenker 1980; Polański 1980)

In contrast to the South and East Slavic languages, which were significantly influenced by the adoption of Orthodox Christianity, the West Slavic languages differed to a greater extent from these due to their contact with the Western Church. As a result the Latin alphabet was also preferred to Cyrillic or Glagolitic scripts. West Slavic can be subdivided into three major groups. The earliest written evidence of Sorbian or Wendish, spoken approximately between the rivers Elbe and Oder, is dated to the sixteenth century, though the language itself is

much older. The second group comprises both Czech, previously often referred to as Bohemian, and Slovak, which hardly differed from one another until the end of the medieval period. The Prague dialect came to be employed as a Czech standard, as seen, for example, in the many translations of biblical texts encountered from the late thirteenth century onward. There is also evidence of some earlier glosses and single words within various manuscripts. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Latin alphabet used for Czech was modified in the work *De Orthographia Bohemica*, possibly written by theologian Jan Hus, which used diacritics in order to bring it closer to the actual pronunciation of the language (Schröpfer, ed., 1968). Linguistic influence can be observed from Latin, in particular in the form of religious and administrative loans, as well as German due to continuous commercial contacts, especially with the Slovaks as a result of settlements within their region (Rudolf 1991). The final West Slavic group is known as Lechitic and comprises several languages of which only Polish is attested during the Middle Ages. Initially, Latin had been the only literary language in Poland, and apart from some individual words within Latin manuscripts it is not until the fourteenth century that we find a significant amount of texts in the vernacular, beginning with the *Holy Cross Sermons* (Kortlandt and Schaeken, ed., 1998). Besides Latin, close contact with Czech and German resulted in the adoption of several loanwords from these languages.

F Baltic Languages

(cf. Fortson IV 2010, 414–45; Schmalstieg 1974; 1998)

The Baltic languages share several linguistic features with Slavic due to their common ancestry, for which reason they are sometimes grouped together under the name Balto-Slavic. The only language of the Baltic branch attested during the Middle Ages is Old Prussian, though it was not the only one spoken at the time. In fact, some personal names are known from Curonian, a language that belongs to the East Baltic branch and thereby the same one that contains Lithuanian and Latvian, the first texts of which appear during the sixteenth century. West Baltic Old Prussian, which became extinct during the early eighteenth century, is found only in translations from German, in particular three catechisms and one vocabulary dated to the sixteenth century. But there is also earlier evidence, such as the *Elbing Vocabulary*, which survives in a late medieval copy of a German-Old Prussian glossary compiled around 1300, and the two-line *Basel Epigram*, which is dated to 1369 or slightly later. In fact, the first reference to the Prussian people appears in a ninth-century geographical work

written in Old Bavarian, where they are called “Bruzi” (Havlík, ed., 1969). Linguistic influence by German occurred since the thirteenth century when the Teutonic Order started conquering the Prussian territory along the Baltic coast, approximately between the rivers Vistula and Neman, which resulted in the adoption of several German loanwords (Smoczyński 2000). By the sixteenth century, only the population of the Sambian peninsula was unfamiliar with German, for which reason bilingual catechisms were printed. Old Prussian is rather conservative and preserves several elements from Proto-Indo-European which are not found in other Baltic languages.

G Greek

(cf. Browning 1983; Horrocks 1998; 2010)

At the beginning of the Middle Ages the Greek language already had a long written tradition. Inscriptions in the Greek alphabet, which consists of 24 letters adapted from the Phoenician script, are first attested during the eighth century B.C.E. (Woodhead 1981). Influential works composed before the Middle Ages include the classical literature of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E. in the Attic dialect of Athens as well as the *New Testament* written in the contemporary Koine of the first century, which was also used by many early Church Fathers. Patristic literature of the fourth and fifth centuries C.E. shows some classical influence by its inclusion of Attic elements within the Koine language. Politically the medieval Greek period started with the rise of Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire during the fourth century and ended with the Ottoman conquest of the capital city in 1453. During this time the Greek language is attested in three main varieties which could also influence one another to certain degrees: writers drew either on the classical Attic language or the early Christian Koine, or they used a later form of the Koine which approximated the contemporary spoken vernacular. The choice of a particular variant also depended on the respective textual genres and the intended audience. During the early Middle Ages authors of historiographical texts favoured the classical language in order to emphasize continuity and traditional learning, whereas hagiographies aimed at a wider audience and were therefore written in the more popular Koine. The significance of the Attic variant is demonstrated by its frequent use throughout the medieval period, for example in the *Alexiad*, a twelfth-century biography of Emperor Aléxios I Komninós, composed by his daughter Anna Komniní. The approximately contemporary verse epic *Diýenís Akritis*, on the other hand, contains many elements taken from spoken language. However, it is not until about two centuries later that we find a

larger amount of texts written in the vernacular, in particular romances, which show Western European influence (Beaton 1996).

The Byzantine Empire came into contact with several languages during its turbulent history. Early loans are mainly from Latin, mostly in the fields of politics and everyday life. Slavic, Arabic and Turkish invasions as well as the temporary loss of Constantinople to Italian and other Western European Crusaders during the thirteenth century resulted in the adoption of loanwords from the respective languages. However, Greek influence itself on other languages is probably much greater due to the dominant role of the Orthodox Church within Eastern Europe and the translation of many Greek texts in the newly converted countries. Moreover, the Greek alphabet was used as a basis for various scripts, in particular Gothic, Glagolitic, Cyrillic and Armenian (see above, Sections C.III and E.I, and below, Section H). Greek also had an impact on other parts of Europe and it could be taught alongside Latin in church schools, as is shown by the example of Canterbury and its Byzantine Archbishop Theodore of Tarsus, who occupied this office from 668–690 (Lapidge, ed., 1995).

H Armenian

(cf. Ajello 1998; Fortson IV 2010, 382–99; Godel 1975; Nersessian 1998)

Lying roughly south-east of the Black Sea and extending toward the Caspian Sea the territory belonging to the Armenian people changed continuously during the Middle Ages. Their language can be subdivided into classical Armenian, also known as *grabar* (“literary”), and Middle Armenian, with the eleventh century serving as the dividing line. The Armenian adoption of Christianity at the beginning of the fourth century resulted in the need for biblical translations and other Christian texts. For this purpose monk and theologian Mesrop Maštoc’ (ca. 360–440) devised a specific alphabet, known as *erkat’agir* (“iron letters”), which was inspired by Greek and originally consisted of 36 letters before the addition of another two in Middle Armenian. The fifth century saw several writers use this alphabet, the most famous of whom is probably Eznik of Kolb, who criticised non-Christian religions in his *Elc alandoc’* (“Against the Sects”). Unfortunately, all manuscripts from this period have been lost, though there are some fifth-century stone inscriptions from Nazareth (Stone et al. 1996–1997). The earliest surviving manuscript containing Armenian is dated to 862 and known as the *Queen Mlk’e Gospel* (Janashian 1966, 16–24). In contrast to classical Armenian, Middle Armenian is attested in various dialects, the most significant of which was spoken in the Kingdom of Cilicia existing from ca. 1080–1375 before it was conquered by the

Mamluks (Boase 1978). Throughout the Middle Ages Armenian came into contact with various languages which influenced its development. The most important one is Greek, which in addition to some Syriac texts served as a basis for several translations conducted during the classical period, which is particularly evident in vocabulary and syntax. At the time Armenian had already adopted a large number of Iranian loanwords as a result of Persian subjugation during the pre-Christian period. The lack of dialectal varieties in classical Armenian suggests its intention as a standard language, and it is indeed this form which is still employed in liturgical use today. It is likely that it was increasingly confined to writing and that by the end of the period it differed significantly from the spoken form. Several features found in Middle Armenian may be ascribed to this linguistic divergence, such as the increasing use of agglutination. Though this development may have emerged independently it could have been reinforced by comparable structures found in Turkish, as spoken, for example, by the Seljuks, who conquered large parts of Armenia in the eleventh century (Kafesoğlu 1988). Seljuk influence may account for several loanwords adopted from Arabic, their scholarly and religious language, and Persian, which was used at court and for secular literature.

I Albanian

(cf. Demiraj 1998; Elsie 1991; Fortson IV 2010, 446–58)

Written evidence of Albanian does not appear until the very end of the Middle Ages. However, the Latin *Directorium ad Passagium Faciendum*, which can be dated to 1332, mentions the existence of books in the Albanian language using the Latin alphabet (Elsie, trans., 2003, 28–30). None of these have survived and, leaving aside a disputed text from the early fifteenth century (Elsie 1986), it is not until 1462 that we find the first certain Albanian words in the *Formula e pagëzimit*, a baptismal vow attested in a Latin letter written by Pal Engjëlli, archbishop of Durrës. The short sentence in the vernacular suggests that it was intended for those unfamiliar with Latin to understand the spoken process of baptism. There are three more short texts from the later fifteenth century, namely a curse within a Latin play, the anonymous *Easter Gospel or Pericope*, and a vocabulary compiled by German traveller Arnold von Harff, before more substantial evidence started to be printed in the post-medieval period. The dialectal subdivision into northern *Geg* and southern *Tosk*, which still exists today, was already evident at the time, with the river Shkumbin serving approximately as the dividing line. The Albanian main territory along the south-eastern Adriatic coast and extending into the Kosovo mountains was complemented by some later medieval settlements in

southern Greece and Italy. As a former Roman province it is not surprising that Albanian vocabulary contains many Latin elements, which must have been adopted a very early stage, as is shown by later sound changes. Several morpho-syntactic parallels to other Balkan languages, in particular Greek, Bulgarian and Serbian, are probably the result of mutual influence on one another.

J Non-Indo-European Languages

I Semitic Languages

1 Hebrew and Aramaic

(cf. Glinert 1998; Katz 1998a; Sáenz-Badillos 1993)

Each Jewish community in medieval Europe employed at least three languages. Depending on their regions of settlement the Jews generally adopted a form of the local vernacular as their spoken language. It could also be used for specific writings, generally in the Hebrew alphabet, and appeared predominantly in secular contexts, but later also for other purposes. Among the most prominent varieties are Judeo-Italian, Judeo-Spanish and Judeo-Arabic, all of which incorporate linguistic elements from Hebrew and Aramaic and also show regional variation. A special case is Yiddish, which developed from a dialect of Old High German into a language in its own right (see above, Section C.I.7). Besides such vernaculars the traditional languages Hebrew and Aramaic continued to be used but were mostly restricted to written contexts. Their alphabets are closely related to one another and consist of 22 consonant symbols each. Though Hebrew and Aramaic were not used for spoken communication, texts in these languages could be recited. There were significant differences in the pronunciation of Hebrew texts between the Sephardi Jews of the Iberian peninsula and the Ashkenazim of Central and Eastern Europe. The pronunciation of Sephardi Hebrew as well as its grammar is described by some Jewish scholars, for example Judah ben David Hayyuj, who lived in Córdoba during the tenth century. In particular, Muslim Spain played an important role in the creation of Hebrew texts. Many liturgical poems, known as *piyyutim*, were composed and there were also several philosophical and scientific works, often translated from Arabic. One particularly important text is the *Mishneh Torah*, a religious law code written by Córdoba scholar Moses ben-Maimon, also known as Maimonides, during the twelfth century. Hebrew literature also flourished in non-Muslim countries. We find Hebrew liturgical poetry in Italy from the ninth century onward and subsequently various prose and verse texts in this language

throughout Christian Europe, for example a large amount of biblical commentaries. In fact, Hebrew may be regarded as a *lingua franca* of the Jewish communities. A similar case can be made for Aramaic, but in contrast to Hebrew, Aramaic was used mostly for Talmudic and Kabbalistic writings, such as the *Zohar*, which survives in a copy from thirteenth-century Spain. Linguistic influence on Hebrew and Aramaic texts can generally be observed from the vernacular languages of the respective regions of composition. Arabic occupies a special position in that it not only provided several loanwords for Sephardi Hebrew but also influenced its meter and grammar. Also noteworthy is the frequent formation of new words involving native Hebrew morphemes in order to express certain philosophical concepts.

2 Arabic

(cf. Agius 1996; Corriente 1997; Price 1998a)

The Arabic language first appeared in Europe when the Muslims started conquering the main part of the Iberian peninsula from the south in 711. The variant spoken in the regions belonging to Al-Andalus is known as Andalusí Arabic and was used at least until the end of Arab rule in 1492. Though the official language was close to classical Arabic, there are several texts which incorporate more informal elements, for example collections of proverbs or the *zajal* poems composed by Ibn Quzmān, who died in 1160 (Buturovic 2000). These provide an idea of the spoken language, which shows some influence from Romance, in particular on a lexical level and in the introduction of new phonemes and suffixes (Corriente 1992). The script of Andalusí Arabic is generally Arabic though some texts written in the separate Judaeo-Arabic variety employ the Hebrew alphabet (Blau 1999). Arabic was also employed by some Jewish communities in the Muslim regions. There were several dialects of Judeo-Arabic, all of which were written in a Hebrew script and show some lexical influence from Aramaic and Hebrew. Another variant of Arabic is called Siculo Arabic, which was spoken in Sicily from 827 onward when the Arabs started occupying large parts of the island. Despite Roger the Norman's conquest in 1091 Arabic continued to be employed as an official language alongside Latin and Greek, which had been used on the island since Byzantine times. The existence of three literary languages in Sicily at the time is illustrated, for example, in the *Trilingual Psalter* from Palermo, which was written slightly before 1153 and contains copies of the psalms in all three languages in their respective scripts (Pattie 1995, 46–47). However, during the following decades the importance of Arabic declined and both the written and the spoken form gradually ceased to be used. In contrast to Andalusí Arabic, it is difficult to point

out linguistic characteristics of the Siculo Arabic vernacular due to the formal nature of the surviving material, which incorporates some Latin and Greek loanwords but otherwise resembles classical Arabic.

3 Maltese

(cf. Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander 1997; Cremona 1998)

There is only one known medieval text in the Maltese language, namely a 20-line poem by philosopher Peter Caxaro called *Cantilena*, which is written in Latin script (Wettinger and Fsadni 1968). The text is dated to the 1470s, though it is extant only in a sixteenth-century copy. The language is derived from Arabic, which had reached Malta in 870 as a result of the Arab conquest, and is closely related to the variant used in Sicily. Earlier languages spoken on the island include Greek, as it had been part of the Byzantine Empire since 535. Though there is some evidence of classical Arabic being used in Malta since the invasion, as is shown in some twelfth-century epitaphs, it probably differed from the spoken form, which eventually developed into Maltese. Arab rule ended in 1090 when Roger the Norman invaded Malta, but initially Arabic continued to be used even in official documents. However, gradually first Latin and subsequently also Italian in its Sicilian variant became the literary languages of Malta, though the vernacular was hardly affected by these developments. In fact, the *Cantilena* contains merely one Romance loanword with the rest consisting of Arabic elements. The large amount of Italian loanwords found in modern Maltese is of post-medieval origin, while its grammar hardly shows any foreign influence.

II Finno-Ugric Languages

1 Hungarian

(cf. Abandolo 1998; Bellér-Hann 1998a; Imre 1988)

During the ninth century Europe was under frequent attack by the Magyars coming from the Ural mountains, who eventually started settling in the Carpathian Basin from 895 onward (Róna-Tas 1999). The name of their language, Hungarian, may be derived from Turkic *on-ogur* (“ten arrows”), which denoted an alliance of tribes including the Magyars found in the northern Caucasus region during the early Middle Ages. Hungarian belongs to the Finno-Ugric branch of the

Uralic language family, which also includes the Finnic and Permic languages. The language stage of the medieval period is generally referred to as Old Hungarian. Before the Latin alphabet was adopted as a result of the conversion of Hungary to Christianity in the year 1000 a specific script called *rovás* (“carve”) was used, which resembles runes but is derived from an Old Turkic script. Though initially found only in some brief inscriptions, it continued to be used in vernacular contexts for several centuries. The entire alphabet is reproduced in handwriting at the end of a book from Nikolsburg printed in 1483 (Jakubovich 1935). As Latin was the official language of Hungary since the Christianization most early vernacular evidence is found within Latin manuscripts, such as the founding charter of the Benedictine Abbey of Tihany, which is dated to 1055 (Bárczi 1951). It is not until 1192 that we find a longer Hungarian text, namely the *Halotti beszéd és könyörgés* (“Funeral sermon and prayer”), which is regarded as the first coherent text in any Finno-Ugric language (Ruspanti 1980). The later Middle Ages saw the foundation of the first Hungarian university at Pécs in 1367 and the appearance of several texts in the vernacular. These are mostly of a religious nature, culminating in the translation of the *Hussite Bible* by Prague students Tamás Pécsi and Bálint Úljaki during the 1420s and 1430s. Before the Magyar invasion of Europe frequent contact with Turkic peoples resulted in several early borrowings from their language. Significant languages which influenced Hungarian afterwards are Latin, Slavic and German, especially in religious and political fields.

2 Finnic Languages

(cf. Hakulinen 1961; Kurman 1968; Suhonen 1988; Viitso 1998)

The Finnic group comprises a number of languages spoken around the Baltic Sea which are very poorly attested throughout the Middle Ages. Old folk tales like the Finnish *Kalevala* were transmitted only orally and not written down until much later (DuBois 1995). The earliest piece of evidence is a three-line charm inscribed on a piece of bark which is known as *Novgorod Birchbark Document no. 292* and can be dated to the early thirteenth century (Vermeer 1991). It belongs to the Karelian language and is written in a Cyrillic script, which suggests scribal influence from the Russian recension of Church Slavonic. Linguistically it is closely related to Finnish, of which only two sentences found in a German travel book dated to the middle of the fifteenth century are attested from the medieval period (Wulf 1982). The Finnish language was not written down more extensively until the sixteenth century when Mikael Agricola, bishop of Turku, started translating religious literature in a specifically devised orthography (Lehtimäki 1986).

Similarly, there is very few written evidence of the Estonian language before the sixteenth century when the first Christian texts started to appear. In fact, only some isolated names and words appear in Medieval Latin literature, in particular the *Chronicon* written by German missionary Henry of Livonia during the early thirteenth century (Henricus Lettus 2004). The Northern Crusades, in which Swedes, Danes and Germans started invading the Baltic region during the late twelfth century (Christiansen 1997), had both political and linguistic consequences. In particular Swedish, which became the language of government in Finland, has had a large influence on Finnish and is still recognised as an official language there today. There are also many loanwords from Low German, especially in Estonian due to Hanseatic trading relations (Hinderling 1981).

3 Komi

(cf. Greller 1998; Hausenberg 1998)

Komi is the only language of the Permic branch of Finno-Ugric with any medieval documentation. It is found in the regions around the Vychgeda and Kama rivers in what is now the north-eastern part of European Russia. The ancestor of the largest modern Komi dialect, namely Zyrian, is attested in some fragmentary religious texts dated to the fourteenth century. They are written in a specifically devised script called *abur*, which combines Greek and Cyrillic elements with native Komi marks. The invention of this alphabet can be ascribed to Russian missionary Stefan Khrap, who brought Christianity to the Komi and became bishop of Perm in 1383 (Ferguson 1967). The process of using the native language for conversion purposes is remarkable as in many other cases mentioned above Christianity initially prevented the development of a native literature. The surviving texts are mostly copies of translations conducted by Stefan himself and are in a standard which may be called Old Permian. After the sixteenth century this tradition declined and Church Slavonic gained more importance in religious writings with the Cyrillic script replacing *abur* also for native texts.

III Georgian

(cf. Hewitt 1998; Rayfield 2010)

Out of the four Kartvelian or South Caucasian languages only Georgian is attested during the Middle Ages. It was spoken in the regions between the Black Sea and

the Caspian Sea known to the Romans as Colchis and Iberia, which became the Kingdom of Georgia in the early eleventh century. The language stage of the fifth to the eleventh centuries is usually referred to as Old Georgian, whereas Medieval Georgian developed in the twelfth century and lasted until the eighteenth century. This division has political and literary rather than linguistic reasons since it coincides with the beginning of the so-called “Golden Age” under the rule of Queen Tamar in 1184 and the composition of the national epic *Vepkhistqaosani* (“The Knight in the Panther Skin”) by poet Shota Rustaveli in her honor. The earliest Georgian inscriptions, which are found on churches, are dated to the fifth century and appear as a result of the Christianization, probably in the 330s. For this purpose, a specific alphabet called *mrgvlovani* (“rounded”) or *asomtavruli* (“majuscule”) was created, which consists of 38 letters and has been connected with Mesrop Maštoc’, inventor of the Armenian alphabet (see above, Section H). A second script called *k’utxovani* (“angular”) or *nusxuri* (“minuscule”) was introduced during the ninth century, though letters of the earlier alphabet were retained in the function of capitals. There are a large number of Georgian texts, which initially are mostly religious in nature, such as the earliest known example, namely *The Passion of Queen Saint Shushanik*, which was composed in the late fifth century, but survives only in a much later manuscript. In the eleventh century a third script called *mxedruli* (“military”) was devised to be used for the increasing amount of secular literature, such as the *Vepkhistqaosani*, whereas a combination of the two earlier scripts called *xucuri* (“ecclesiastical”) was favoured for religious texts. Linguistic influence on Georgian is mostly from Greek due to the frequent translation of literature written in this language, but there are also several Persian elements, which were partly adopted through the medium of Armenian, but are also evidence of close contact between these peoples (Gippert 1992).

IV Turkish

(cf. Andrews 1976; Bellér-Hann 1998b; Kerslake 1998)

The Turkish language first appeared in Europe during the eleventh century when the Seljuks invaded Armenia, Georgia and the Anatolian part of the Byzantine Empire (Kafesoğlu 1988). However, it was not a written language at the time, since Persian was their official court language and Arabic was used for scholarly and religious purposes, for which reason we can talk of a trilingual society. It was not until the late thirteenth century that Turkish gained its status as an administrative and literary language as a result of the end of Seljuk rule and the subsequent rise

of the Ottoman Empire. Ottoman Turkish belongs to the Oghuz branch of the Turkic language family; the medieval form attested between the thirteenth and fifteenth century is called Old Ottoman. Its script is derived from Arabic and was in use until 1928, though beginning with the sixteenth century several texts were also transcribed in the Latin alphabet. Due to the initially low status of the Turkish vernacular many texts reflect much older stories previously told only orally, such as the epic poems contained in the *Book of Dede Korkut*, which was first written down during the fifteenth century (Nerimanoğlu 1999). Foreign linguistic influence on such Turkish folk literature is not as strong as in the poems written in the Persian *divan* style, which besides Persian meter also incorporated many Persian and Arabic loanwords. In fact, during the fifteenth century, the Persian and Arabic influence on the Turkish literary language grew significantly due to the Ottoman recognition of their high linguistic status in the Islamic world. This development can also be observed in the adoption of several morphological and syntactic structures and is one of the features which led to the beginning of the Middle Ottoman period during the fifteenth century. The spoken language, on the other hand, remained relatively unaffected by Persian and Arabic, which increased the gap between these varieties.

V Basque

(cf. Redknap 1998; Trask 1997)

Though Basque is significantly older, there is hardly any linguistic evidence that is dated earlier than the sixteenth century. This lack of documentation may be ascribed to the continuous political instability and the supremacy of Romance languages for official purposes within the Basque regions during the Middle Ages. With some minor variation these lay approximately between the rivers Ebro and Garonne in what is now northern Spain and south-western France, as is confirmed by the evidence of place names. The Romans called the tribes in this territory *Vascones* and *Aquitani*, who spoke dialects of a language which cannot be attributed to any Indo-European language family. As it has no certain relatives facilitating its classification it probably represents a Pre-Indo-European language spoken by early settlers within these areas. The oldest instances of medieval Basque consist of only a few words, as found, for example, in the *Glosas Emilianenses*, which are dated to the eleventh century and comprise both Basque and Spanish (Navarro-Aragonese) marginalia within a Latin manuscript (Wolf 1991; see above, Section B.VI). Some words appear also in Latin charters and vocabulary lists. It is not until the late fourteenth century that we find a slightly longer

text on a partly damaged manuscript page, namely a prayer or charm consisting of eight lines (Gifford 1964). Foreign influence on Basque is predominantly from Romance languages, both from Latin and later vernaculars, which is hardly surprising given the amount of contact between the respective speakers. Romance elements are found mostly within the Basque lexicon, but there are also some phonological and grammatical features (Michelena 1995).

VI Pictish

(cf. Forsyth 1998; Price 2000c)

A language which has been associated with the Brythonic branch of the Celtic language family (see above, Section D.I) is Pictish, which was spoken approximately between the rivers Forth and Clyde and the Cromarty Firth in the north-east of Scotland, but became extinct during the ninth century. Only a few isolated place and personal names as well as some stone inscriptions, mostly in the *ogam* script, have survived. Since the linguistic status of Pictish is uncertain it has not been included in the section on Celtic languages; like Basque, it might as well be a Pre-Indo-European language (see above, Section J.V).

K Conclusion

The previous sections have shown that a large number of languages existed during the Middle Ages; however, their degree of attestation may vary considerably. In some cases written evidence may appear only toward the end of the medieval period, such as Albanian or Maltese, or even later than that. There are also languages of which only individual words are attested, mostly in the form of personal or place names, and which became extinct during the Middle Ages, such as Burgundian or Pictish. In many cases the oldest evidence of vernacular languages consists merely of single words or brief passages, either in an early script on stones or artefacts, such as Germanic runes or Irish *ogam*, or in the form of glosses to Latin manuscripts. In fact, literacy was generally promoted throughout Europe as a result of missionary activities and the necessary distribution of Christian texts, which were initially written mostly in Latin or Greek. It is also for this reason that the development of written vernacular literatures was often delayed, moreover since Latin also came to be employed in official functions throughout Western Europe, where it even achieved the status of a *lingua franca*. Other medieval *linguae francae* were Hebrew and Aramaic within the Jewish

communities and Low German in the Hanseatic trading regions around the Baltic Sea. The status of Latin in Western Europe was only gradually superseded by individual vernacular languages, which were generally written in the Latin alphabet. Adaptations of the Greek alphabet can be observed mainly in Eastern Europe, as seen, for example, in the Cyrillic or Gothic scripts. In the Slavic countries Old Church Slavonic became the main literary language, which continued to be used for religious purposes even after the emergence of vernacular texts. Generally, the vernacular languages were heavily influenced by religious texts, which is often evident in loanwords, loan formations, semantic loans and also syntactic constructions. But linguistic impact of one language on another one can also be ascribed to other reasons, such as the translation of further literary genres, conquest, trading relations or other forms of interaction between two populations. The type of contact is generally also reflected in the semantic nature of the respective loanwords. Unfortunately, as mentioned at the beginning of this survey, it is not possible to give an exhaustive picture of the languages used in medieval Europe, though the extant written evidence at least provides some idea of what the linguistic situation at the time probably looked like.

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Scott L. Taylor

Law in Literature and Society

A Historical Time Frame and Theoretical Reflections

The peculiar problem of law in the Middle Ages is the issue of law within stateless societies. With the collapse of the Roman empire in the West, legal subjectivity already present to some degree in the *lex Romana*, degenerated into the rampant legal pluralism lamented by Agobard of Lyons (ca. 769–ca. 840). Even in the High Middle Ages, when territorial states had begun to emerge, they were not states in the modern sense of possessing sovereignty, the monopoly on the legitimate use of force, but continued to share jurisdiction with the church and multifarious lesser bailiwicks such as aristocratic feudatories and communes. As a consequence, various theocratic, hierocratic and feudal theories persisted throughout the medieval epoch.

The paucity of early medieval political theory and the diversity of later medieval theory undoubtedly contributed significantly, aside from contemporary cultural concerns, to the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century efforts to dichotomize medieval political thought, and given the legal emphasis, juristic thought as well, into descending versus ascending, corporate versus individual, Romanist *Herrschafts*- versus Germanic *genossenschaftliche* theories of authority, and hence, the font of law (von Gierke 1868–1881; Ullman 1949). Although elements of such dichotomies can certainly be found in the writings and practice of the Middle Ages, perhaps a more significant dichotomy was that between parochialism and pretensions to universalism. The latter naturally appealed to a clergy dedicated to the presumption of a single Christendom, though that theory would be sorely pressed by the great East-West schism of the eleventh century. Discrete communities were frequently dedicated to the customary laws of their *gentes*, both because of familiarity and identity. More often than not, it would be monarchs as successors to the barbarian communities who were confronted with the difficulty of combatting both an inefficient parochialism inhibiting legal innovation on one hand, and an unwanted universalism subjecting them to foreign authority on the other. Many, whose predecessors had been resistant initially to Roman law and anxious to establish their own independent legal status in the early Middle Ages, by the High Middle Ages would adopt Roman law as an antidote to legal pluralism within their emerging states, sometimes under the guise of instituting another form of *antiqua consuetudo*.

Of course, such discussions introduce the issue of the extent to which law represents a closed system. Legal functionalists such as Maitland (Pollock and Maitland 1898) and Milsom (1981) rejected the tendency of historical jurisprudence to treat law formalistically, emphasizing theory over praxis, and insisted instead in examining law, and in particular legal innovation, as a response to problems and forces within society, and therefore comprehensible only within its social, economic and political context. Implicit within such concerns is the notion of “primacy of law,” the idea that in important respects, law preceded and legitimized government, rather than vice versa, a concept easily harmonized with *Genossenschaftsrecht*.

B Legacy of Antiquity: Myth and Reality of the Common Law

There are two reasons for the fundamental import of Roman law to European law generally. The first was the practical reality that although barbarian law existed, it was not to be codified in any sense until after the conversions, and then by clerics whose only legal knowledge consisted of whatever familiarity they had with the Roman civil law. The second was the Eusebian vision of a Christian Roman Empire as God’s providential plan for the *regnum Christi* through the person of the emperor. This view would predominate in the writings of Ambrose of Milan (ca. 334/40–397), who continued to equate *pax Augusta* with *pax Christi*. Despite his conflicts with Valentinian (321–375) and Theodosius I (ca. 346–395), most notably disciplining the latter as *filius ecclesiae*, Ambrose’s end was the final triumph of Christianity in the Roman Empire, as described twenty years later in the *Contra Symmachum* of Prudentius (ca. 348–404/410). If this were not clear enough from his episcopal actions, his clerical enchiridion, *De officiis ministrorum*, modeled after Cicero’s *De officiis*, manifests clearly Ambrose’s equation of the classical *res publica* with the Corpus Christi, the *congregatio fidelis*: indeed, the *bona fides* Cicero (106–43 B.C.E.) described as the very foundation of justice, Ambrose turns to faith in Christ. Along these same lines, the commentaries on the Pauline epistles attributed to Ambrosiaster (fl. ca. 380) are notable for their attribution of political authority to divine and natural law, the latter already losing some of its stoic character in favor of an increased Biblicism, and the insistence on the emperor as God’s earthly vicar. Ambrosiaster also equates rule with the image of God, the emperor being most possessed of this quality, woman, lacking rule altogether, being totally devoid of the image of God. Leo the Great (ca. 400–461) in mid-fifth century took for granted the equation of *plebs romana*

and *plebs Dei*, characterizing Peter and Paul as the Romulus and Remus of a Roman palingenesis. The issue addressed by the predecessors of Gelasius I (pope 492–496), therefore, was the proper distribution of power and authority within a Christian Rome. Gelasius’ famously ambiguous *sententia*, *Duo est*, in its definition of the spheres of *auctoritas sacrata pontificum* and *regalis potestas*, while directed at disabusing the notion of sacral kingship, left open to future debate whether these two powers were separate and complimentary, or whether the secular was subordinate to the clerical. In either case, all these authors presupposed a single political–religious structure, governed according to the *lex Romana*.

Central to medieval law, indeed, European law generally, was the great compilation of Roman law ordered by Justinian (482–565), which would be dubbed by early publishers the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, and not uncommonly referred to as the “*ius commune*” on the argument that it was common to all the peoples once within the old Roman Empire, and when so used includes as well the canon law, and is occasionally called the “*civilis sapientia*,” since legists considered the *Corpus* to represent the epitome of reason in civil governance (Cortese 1962–1964; Bellomo 1989). The *Corpus* is divided into the Code itself, consisting of twelve books subdivided into titles, and comprising Imperial decrees originally judicial in nature, but ultimately becoming more quasi-legislative in character toward the later Empire; the Digest or Pandects, made up of fragments from the jurists and arranged topically, divided into fifty books, subdivided into titles, and further subdivided into sections frequently referred to by their numbered fragments, usually designated laws (*leges*), or the unnumbered prefatory text, called the *principium*; the *Institutes*, essentially a text book of legal principles, and the only monolingually Latin portion of the Codex, similarly divided into titles and subdivided further into a *principium* and numbered “*leges*” often cited by *incipit*, or opening words; and the *Novellae*, the only part of the collection that remained open, and which originally had 168 laws promulgated between 535 and 545. In the Middle Ages, this latter portion was known through unofficial collections of 134 laws, referred to as the *Authenticum*, or by the Latin High Middle Ages, 96 of those laws, divided into nine collations; or alternatively, the collection of 122 constitutions, called the *Epitome of Julian*.

However, in truth, much of the West had never been subject to Justinian and his collations, and Italy itself was made subject to its provisions only by reason of Justinian’s decree of 554 following the reconquest from the Ostrogoths. The latter had deliberately continued Roman law in its earlier presentation, and in Southern France, it was continued in the “Roman Law of the Visigoths,” or *Alaric’s Breviary*, based upon the earlier Theodosian Code, and the *Institutes of Gaius*, as well as other anthologies. Within a few years of Justinian’s death, much of northern Italy would be overrun by the Lombards, including the Benevento, Lombardy itself,

whose capital was Pavia, and Tuscany, including Florence, Pisa, and Siena, and in these areas Lombard law would predominate, though by 1000, Lombard law would be generally taught, practiced, and interpreted through Romanist principles. The remaining areas, including Rome itself and Ravenna, maintained an unbroken legacy of courts and bar in which the *Institutes*, the first nine books of the Code, together with Julian's *Epitome* were known and regarded as authoritative. The last three books of the Code together with the entire *Digest* would be forgotten until the late eleventh century.

In the area of ecclesiastic law, collections such as the *Didache*, or Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles, began to emerge as early as the end of the first century. Sometimes, these works appeared in the guise of apocalyptic visions, such as the second-century *Shepherd of Hermas*. Others, such as the third-century *Traditio apostolica* ascribed to Hippolytus (ca. 170/75–ca. 235), are largely devoted to liturgy; while the expanded *Didascalia apostolorum* appends material on treatment of widows and orphans, Jewish-Christian relations, and rules for fasting and penance (Gaudemet 1985). With the accession of Constantine (ca. 285–337) and the end of the persecutions, the role of law within the Church was transformed. In particular, church councils became a more frequent aspect of ecclesiastic governance, and the decrees and canons of the councils became the major source of canon law. At the same time, being essentially incorporated into the imperial bureaucracy, the church inevitably became more hierarchical in structure, and by 381 when the First Council of Constantinople recognized the pentarchy of Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, Jerusalem and Rome, had reached the organization of patriarch, metropolitan, bishop and priest that dominated medieval mentality. During this period also arose the earliest claims of Petrine supremacy, and decretals of the bishops of Rome, which began to appear with greater regularity in canonical collections such as the *Dionysiana* and the *Hispana*, the latter appearing successively as the *Collectio hispana chronologica* and the *Collectio hispana systematica*. Finally, from Constantine forward, the emperors specifically recognized the jurisdiction of bishops over issues involving doctrine and morals. The *audientia episcopalis* hence had the status of public courts.

C Early Middle Ages: Juristic Syncretism and Pluralism

While Roman law by the later imperial period had come to be viewed as a product, *inter alia*, of a *legis lator*, the emperor himself, who since he bore the law, could in some sense be viewed as *legibus solutus*, the successor Germanic kingdoms of the

West emphasized the character of law as the immemorial custom of a people. As a result, law was generally regarded as personal, rather than territorial: regardless of location, Burgundians were subject to Burgundian law, Romans to Roman law, etc. And in particular, everywhere as provided by the laws of the Ripuarian Franks, *ecclesia vivit lege Romana*. As elsewhere in the West, *lex Romana* meant primarily the Theodosian Code, with its *novella* and its anonymous *interpretatio*, which was cited by canonists until recovery of the *codex Justinianus* during the crisis over investiture, when, as suggested by Walters's research (1993), reception of the new text was embraced almost immediately and exclusively.

The primary function of a king was to uphold the applicable custom, not displace it with new law: the law is "discovered," not made. Late in the fifth century, kings began to publish written versions of these laws, beginning with the Visigoths and the Burgundian laws of King Gundobald (r. ca. 480–516). Should circumstances necessitate a modification of or addendum to the received body of law, such revisions were subject to the consent of the community, typically speaking through some form of council or *Witengemote*, and in principal, whose approval was to be reinforced by popular acceptance, either manifest as by Lombard custom reflected in the mid-seventh-century Edict of Rothari; by agreement of local magistrates to enforce them, as with the Carolingian *scabinei*; or merely tacitly, as seems to be envisioned in the *Edictum Pistense* of 864. Lacking both advisors with sufficient technical expertise and a bureaucracy to apply enactments at the local level, royal legal innovation was largely restricted to *ad hoc* judgments or particular privileges, highlighting the extraordinary nature of the extensive Carolingian capitularies or the legislative traditions of the Anglo-Saxon kings.

Not surprisingly, although a number of the Germanic kingdoms were initially hostile to the Roman Catholic Church, particularly the Visigothic and Ostrogothic regimes, the Goths having initially adopted Arianism, once converted to the Roman faith, despite a desire to retain power within the warrior elite, the redaction of laws fell to clerics as the literate *apparatchiki* of the once barbarian realms, accounting for their memorialization in Latin and the privileges and immunities frequently extended to the clergy and ecclesiastic property (Wattenbach and Levison 1952–1957; King 1972). As a consequence, it is difficult to determine what portion of these laws represents preliterate German *mos*, and what is simply Roman accretion (Wormwald 1977). There is good reason to believe that the portions of the "barbarian" codes dealing with personal injury tariffs are reflective of earlier Germanic custom, since indicative of a private law mentality uncharacteristic of Roman law (Wormwald 2003; Oliver 2011).

Meanwhile, church governance and canon law generally followed the same pattern as civil governance in the wake of the collapse of imperial authority.

Monasteries had traditionally viewed themselves as self-governing communities, eschewing by in large both episcopal and royal authority. The secular clergy adopted practices particular to their bailiwicks, with local councils and synods assuming the principle role in generating canons and rules, while at the same time the power of metropolitans waxed against Rome, but waned against Christian kings who as self-styled protectors of the Church, undertook to preside over synods, fill clerical vacancies, persecute heretics and enforce Christian morality, leaving bishops as little more than arbiters of clerical behavior and disputes. During this period, then, in addition to synodal adoptions, a primary source of law for the faithful was the spate of penitentials that began to appear in the middle of the sixth century. Another new source of law was the compendium now known as the Pseudo-Isidorian *Decretals*. Attributed to “Isidore Mercator,” it contained a vast number of legitimate canons and papal letters interspersed with fraudulent canonical material, apparently in an effort to boost episcopal and papal authority in the archdiocese of Reims sometime in the ninth century. It became one of the most pervasive canonical collections of the middle ages, genuine and fraudulent canon being copied and disseminated indiscriminately until the forgery was unmasked in the sixteenth century by a protestant clergyman (Fuhrmann 1972–1974). A legitimate collection was also compiled in 774 by Pope Adrian I (d. 795) at the request of Charlemagne (ca. 742–814), who directed that the new *Hadriana*, essentially a revision of the older *Dionysiana*, would along with the *Hispana* serve as the fundamental legal authority in the bishops’ courts throughout the realm. The Carolingians likewise issued capitularies for church reform and discipline, many of which found their way into subsequent canonical collections.

The radical decentralization of power characterizing the ninth and tenth centuries for the church marked the zenith of the *Eigenkirchentum*, whose practical realities required new collections, the most significant being the two books of Abbot Regino of Prüm (d. 915), the *Libri duo de synodalibus causis et disciplinis ecclesiasticis*, and the early eleventh-century *Decretum* of Burchard of Worms (ca. 965–1025), in twenty books, the last two of which were circulated separately under the titles the *Corrector* and the *Speculator* (1931–1932; Fournier and Le Bras 1972).

D The Reform Papacy and the Legal Palingenesis

The degeneration of clerical discipline frequently characterizing the *Eigenkirchentum* early drew resistance from such establishments as the Burgundian monastery of Cluny, whose reforming zeal attracted not only clerical attention, but by the

eleventh century, the support of like-minded monarchs such as Otto III (980–1002) and Henry III (1017–1056), the latter appointing Bruno of Toul as Pope Leo IX (d. 1054) in 1048, who brought with him such luminaries as Frederick of Lorraine (Stephen IX) (d. 1058), Humbert of Moyenmoutier (1000–1061), and Hildebrand (Gregory VII) (ca. 1030–1085). For these men, law was a principal tool of reform, and, as James A. Brundage (1995) points out, they identified four tactical objectives: (1) the compilation of fresh collections of law demonstrating the ancient foundations of their reform efforts; (2) the creation of new laws filling lacunae in the existing corpus; (3) the development of procedural mechanisms; and (4) the institution of more efficient means of detection and prosecution of offenders. With regard to the former, a number of new collections appeared in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, including the *Collectio canonum* of Anselm II of Lucca (1036–1086), the collected canons of Cardinal Deusdedit (ca. 1040–1100), and the anonymous *Collection in Seventy-Four Titles*. The ambitious reformer, Ivo of Chartres (ca. 1040–1115), compiled a vast compendium entitled the *Decretum*, as well as the more compact *Panormia*. Ivo has also been credited, however doubtfully, with the *Collectio tripartita*. As to new law, the reform papacy immediately began the issuance of new canons, reaching a crescendo during the reigns of Gregory VII (ca. 1020–1085) and Urban II (1042–1099). The mechanisms available to the reforming popes were somewhat limited. By tradition, the multi-purpose synod acted as necessary in the role of a court. Less unwieldy, and used increasingly, was the papal legate, who could serve variously as judge, prosecutor and/or investigator. On the local level, episcopal visitations were the primary tool for detection and correction of irregularities, but were frustrated by various claims of exemption.

The search for precedent justifying the reforms impelled Gregory VII to appoint commissioners to comb the libraries of Italy for legal ammunition in his efforts to combat lay investiture in particular. It is probable that copies of the Digest were discovered during this quest. Doubtless, the Pandects remained undiscovered in the seventh decade of the eleventh century, but was cited in a Tuscan judgment of 1076. It is certain that the papal agents uncovered the Authenticum. The uncovering of the *Codex Iustinianus*, however, hardly signified its comprehension. According to Radulfus Niger, writing in his *Moralis Regum*, ca. 1189, a certain Peppone (or Pepo) (d. ca. 1100) was the rising dawn of the civil law renaissance subsequently propagated by Irnerius (Warnerius, Guarnerius) (d. 1130). The latter seems to have been self-taught, beginning ca. 1100 to copy and edit the lost *Codex Secundus*, variously called the *Littera Bononiensis* or *Vulgata*, in distinction to the surviving *Littera Pisana*, referred to as the *Florentina* since its capture in 1406. The *Codex S.* apparently already had the Greek of Book 29 translated: the remainder was either omitted or still in Greek, and Irnerius did

not know them, or those in the Code. He interpolated passages from the *Authenticum* into the Code in places where they would have been included had they not been *novellae*. Of the *Authenticum*, he included only 97 “constitutions” as he denominated them. These he grouped into nine “Collations.” The whole of the corpus he divided into five volumes: The Digest, divided into the Old Digest, the *Infortiatum* and the New Digest; the fourth volume, consisting of the first nine books of the Code; and the *Parvum Volumen*, containing the Institutes, the *Authenticum* and eventually the last *Tres Libri* of the Code. The Greek passages were eventually translated by Burgundio (fl. 1150) from the *Littera Pisana*, but the Bolognese canon left *lacunae* until the Renaissance, with the exception of some older manuscripts which copied them in Greek. His teaching, if any, seems to have been limited to the Four Doctors, Bulgarus Bolgarini (d. 1166/67), Martin Gosia (ca. 1100–ca. 1166), Ugo da Porte Ravennata (d. 1171), and Jacobus (d. 1178), and that largely as a matter of tradition. It is with this generation, ending with the death of Jacobus in 1178, five years before the Peace of Constance, that the law school at Bologna began. Concentrating on the academic study of the *Codex Justinianus*, with practical training limited largely to the moot court, the proceedings of which were sometimes reported by students under the rubric *Questiones Disputate*, to be distinguished from the *Questiones Dominorum*, frequently more aptly entitled *Dissensiones Dominorum*, the majority of which were between Bulgarus and Martin, whose disagreements included not least the former’s devotion to strict law, the latter’s critical tendencies which earned him, and subsequent adherents known as “Gosians,” including in the third generation Roger (d. ca. 1170) and Placentine (d. 1192), a reputation as champions of equity. In addition to their teaching, the Four Doctors left glosses and distinctions, as well as apparatus, collections of glosses in the order of the text, but omitting the text itself, occasional *summule*, commentaries on the subject of a whole Title, and *tractate*, being comments on particular subjects. The latter would become more significant in future generations, but surely these first baby-steps represent a significant moment in the efforts at legal systemization (Cortese 1992; Kantorowicz and Buckland, ed., 1938).

The prestige of the law school had a number of repercussions. One was to spur Tuscan cities from Lombard to Roman law, including Pisa in 1161, Siena in 1176. In ca. 1151, Conrad III (d. 1132) had directed the exclusive use of Roman law in Rome itself. A second was the growing prestige afforded *jurisperiti*, with protections for law students away from home by constitution of Frederick I (ca. 1123–1190) at Roncaglia, and limitations on serving as judge or consultant (e.g., without five years law study) provided by Bolognese statute also of 1158. But perhaps no consequence of the legal palingenesis was more far reaching than Gratian’s systematic compilation of canon law, the *Decretum*, or *Concordia dis-*

cordantium canonum, whose very title reveals the dialectical method employed by the Camaldolese monk in a unique integration of source, distinction and comment. Completed perhaps as early as 1140, over the next thirty years copyists added material omitted by Gratian as “*Paleae*.” Texts from the civil law were also added as canons, and Gratian’s commentary was augmented by such civilians as Bulgarus and James. Also added to the *Decretum* were two theological treatises: *De penitentia* to Part II, and *De consecratione*, constituting Part III. The *Decretum* was glossed before 1148 by Pocataglia and Rolandus published a commentary entitled *Stromata* between 1143 and 1145. As J. A. Clarence Smith (1975) suggests, Gratian’s approach did for canon law what Irnerius had done for civil law. As the latter had severed the cord binding civil law to philosophy and rhetoric, Gratian separated the study of canon law from that of theology. And while legists and canonists might disagree on the ultimate imperial supremacy, they would be henceforth regarded as *pari generis*.

As a consequence of this severance of law from theology and philosophy, which arguably represents the genesis of the “professionalization” of law, from the late twelfth centuries forward, religious and secular literature become increasingly critical of advocates, and the metaphor that lawyers sell their tongues as prostitutes hawk their members becomes a standard medieval trope. It occurs in the letters of Peter of Blois (ca. 1135–post 1204) and the sermons of Jacques de Vitry (ca. 1180–1240), and is at least implicit in the *Summa de arte praedicatoris* of Alain de Lille (ca. 1128–1202) (P.L. 210:187). By the time Étienne de Bourbon (1190/95–ca. 1261) assembled his *Anecdotes historique*, the legal profession had become synonymous with greed and trickery as well. The antics of lawyers as “ambulance chasers” was reflected perhaps as early as 1200 in the anonymous French text, *Dit des avocats*, and the law schools, particularly Bologna, as the source of perverse trickery, in *La Bible* of Guiot de Provins (fl. ca. 1200).

E The Thirteenth Century: The Ascendancy of Procedure

I *Juris peritii* and Popular Government

Despite jaundiced views in some circles, the *juris peritii* were to play an important role during the period of innovation that witnessed widespread adoption of the podestà system and emergence of popular government in the Italian communes. Studies have suggested that while these learned lawyers overwhelmingly stemmed from noble families, their *consilia* were integral to legitimization of

regimes founded on “legality” and to judicial systems capable of rationalizing an increasingly complex politico-judicial system. At the same time, these professionals manifested a dedication to what essentially constituted a distinct legal culture, evidencing what one author termed “an emerging affinity” between learned law and democratic principles (Menzinger 2011).

II The Glossators

Practical politics of the communes aside, the first half of the thirteenth century also represented the heyday of the glossators. Somewhere between 1208 and 1210, Azzo (fl. 1198–1230) published his *Summa* on the Code, which was never superseded during the middle ages. His plethora of glosses on the Old Digest, as well as the Code, represent a veritable Apparatus. In 1215, Joannes Teutonicus (fl. 1210–1245) completed his Apparatus on the Decretum, which became the *Glossa Ordinaria*, supplemented circa 1245 by Bartholomew of Brescia (d. 1258). Around the same time, Tancred (fl. 1185–1235) completed the standard gloss to the first three compilations of the *Decretales extravagantes*. These compilations, ultimately five in number, were displaced in 1234 by the *Liber Extra*, promulgated by Pope Gregory IX (Hugolinus) (ca. 117–1241) in 1234. Apparatus on the *Liber Extra* were completed circa 1240 by both Goffredus de Trano (d. 1245) and Bernard of Parma (d. 1266), that of the latter becoming the *glossa ordinaria*. As Sinibald Fieschi, Innocent IV (ca. 1200–1254) composed a *Commentary* on the *Liber Extra* which was never superseded; while about the same time, Hostiensis (d. 1271) completed his definitive *Summa*, and nearly twenty years later his overly long *Lectura* thereon. By 1230, Accursius (ca. 1185–1263) had completed the initial apparatus which was to become the *Glossa Ordinaria* on the Justinian *Corpus*, and without which the text of the *Corpus* would scarce be published before 1627. It was probably he as well who added as a tenth collation of the Authenticum, the *Libri Feudorum*, a collection of the customary law made by Oberto dall’Orto (fl. 1133–1158), and on which Pillio (d. post 1207), a student of Placentine, had written a *Summa* in the late twelfth century. His son, Francis Accursii (ca. 1234–1293), would compose the standard *Casus* on the New Digest mid-century, about the same time as Vivian Toschi composed the standard *casus* on the Code, the Old Digest and the *Infortiatum*. In the last half of the century, jurists such as James of Arena (d. post 1296), Martin Sylliman (d. 1306) and Dino of Mugello (d. ca. 1303) were diligently assembling *additiones* to the *glossa ordinaria*—essentially, glosses on the glosses. These years saw also the publication of the great procedural treatise, *Speculum judiciale* (1st ed., 1271; 2nd ed. 1290), whose medieval ubiquity gained for its author, William Durand (1231–1296), his sobriquet of the Speculator (Smith 1975;

Kantorowicz and Buckland, ed., 1938). However, the importance that both legists and canonists read into the scant textual references indicating the need for an *ordo* meant that procedure was a topic of concern from the twelfth century onward (Fowler-Magerl, ed., 1994; Litewski 1999).

III The Rationalization of Procedure

Indeed, there appears a dominant tendency in late thirteenth-century and fourteenth-century legal scholarship to emphasize procedure in all aspects of teaching and writing. The trend appears in English practice, and manifests a certain ossification of the common law in the reign of Edward I (1239–1307), visible not only in the larger treatises of *Fleta* and *Britton*, but in the vast literature of shorter tracts such as the *Hengham Summae*. However, the continent manifests a similar development in the emphasis of both legists and canonists, as doctrine takes a secondary position to practice, and more and more, to use Maine's famous phrase, the substantive law is "gradually secreted in the interstices of procedure." (Maine 1883, 389) Indeed, much legal literature of the period abounds in games of wits as litigants stalwartly demand their customary rights and royal functionaries no less determinedly undertake to maneuver them into accepting new procedures during a period of legal transition.

It is true that outside Italy efforts were made to suppress the teaching of civil law qua civil law. It was barred at Paris in 1219, though this seems in significant part an attempt to avoid distracting budding theologians with discovery of a new and lucrative vocation. Indeed, in 1229, the year of the Treaty of Meaux, the papacy instituted the university at Toulouse as a bastion against heterodoxy, which quickly became a center for the teaching of the very civil law whose practitioners the troubadours and jongleurs found subversive of Occitan culture (Ourliac 1979). As Peire Cardenal (ca. 1180–1278) wrote, "Etends-vu, toi qui t'es fait legiste et qui supprime publiquement le droit d'autrui." Indeed, hostility in the midi was so extreme toward Roman law, that one town actually prohibited the employment of any civil or canon lawyer as attorney for the city (*Coutumes de Pamiers*). In the preceding century, the Angevins had made every effort to prohibit it altogether. John of Salisbury (1115/20–1180) (*Policraticus* 8.22) describes the burning of law books, and the injunctions against Vacarius (d. post 1198) and the teaching of Roman law, or as Roger Bacon (ca. 1214–1294) (*Compendium studii* 578) called it, *leges Ytalie*, indicating a similar sense of the foreignness of this legal *corpus*. Instead, in England one witnesses the proliferation of professional manuals emphasizing custom and practice, such as the treatise generally known as *Glanvill*, ca. 1187–1189, or the monumental *De legibus et consuetudinibus*

Angliae composed by Henry of Bracton (d. 1268) sometime before 1250. In France, too, there was a wave of compilations, beginning with *Le tres ancien coutumier de Normandie*, ca. 1199, with French translation ca. 1250, and a larger compilation, *Summa de legibus Normandie in curia laicali*, ca. 1255. Despite its title, the *Establissemens de Saint Louis*, 1273, is largely a compilation of the Customs of Orléans and the Touraine. Mid-century also appeared *Li Livres de justice et de plet* and *Le conseil de Pierre de Fontaines*. The most significant of these treatises was the *Coutumes de Beauvaisis* of Philippe de Beaumanoir (ca. 1250–1296), ca. 1280. Early *coutumiers* were also assembled for Champagne, Bretagne, and the Lille region.

Yet, wherever such compilations were assembled, even the most superficial reading will reveal the extent to which the compilers substituted Roman law, particularly procedural law, where no local alternative was available. One of the great achievements in the reign of Henry II (1133–1189), the writ of novel disseisin, is manifestly the Roman interdict *Unde vi*, with English slipcovers, whether borrowed directly or from the canon law of spoliation, which lacuna Gratian had filled with the same interdict. It should not be entirely surprising, therefore, if beginning in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, in a development that would ultimately transform Western law, Romano-canonical judicial procedures based on oral and written evidence came to displace customary procedures for determining guilt and punishment resting on immanent justice. The widely debated reasons for this transformation fall into two schools of thought. The first attributes the change to sociological factors, including widespread skepticism and the growth of urban centers at the expense of small, isolated communities (Radding 1979; Hyams 1981); the other elitist perspective maintains that the ordeal disappeared largely because, on theological principles, the church withdrew its sanction by canon of Fourth Lateran Council, as well as the rise of an intellectual apparatchiki trained in the *ordines iudiciorum*, trial procedures founded upon the Roman law (Bartlett 1986; Pennington 1993). An alternative explanation, however, is that even where monarchs were hesitant to embrace the civil law, the new procedures offered advantages over earlier process (Taylor 2012a). For example, across Europe, from England to Hungary, the conviction rate by such means as ordeal seems to have been less than fifty percent, perhaps in England as low as one in three. Henry II attempted to compensate for this inefficiency by the Assize of Clarendon of 1166, providing that juries of twelve men of every hundred and four of every township provide the names of anyone accused or suspected of robbery within the twelve preceding years, which suspects were rounded-up, those of ill-repute and found with stolen goods being summarily dispatched, the rest being submitted to trial by cold water, those convicted losing a foot, and after the Assize of Northampton in

1175, their right hand as well, those passing but of ill-repute being abjured to quit the kingdom.

Aside from the obvious cynicism in Henry's use of the ordeal, the Angevin assizes are notable for the use of the presenting jury. Whether founded upon the Danish jury of presentment or the Frankish inquest, the procedure certainly was used from the days of the Conqueror forward, although Bongert argues that Henry II's version was once distilled through the practice common in Anjou. With the jury, denunciation emerged as an alternative to appeal, i.e., accusation, which had been until then the primary method of bringing offenses to bar, accounting to no small degree for the want of distinction between civil and criminal pleas. Well before the innovations of Innocent III (1160–1216), it was mentioned in the *ordo*, *Hactenus magister*, written circa 1167 in Cologne by the canon Renerus, most likely under the influence of Gerard Pucelle (1115/20–1184) (Fowler-Magerl, ed., 1994). Such *ordines* may explain the treatise written in Henry's day, commonly known as *Glanvill*, which divides pleas into criminal and civil, reserving the most serious as pleas of the crown, a taxonomy thitherto unknown in English law.

Although the use of jurors in the inquest was known on both sides of the channel, from the mid- to late twelfth century they began to diverge in practice; certainly by the 1194 establishment of the *custodies placitorum coronae*, when the Angevin system moved toward a double presentment involving multiple juries of *vicini* who acted somewhere between witnesses and fact-finders, with no prescribed rules of evidence, and whose verdicts were in some sense an evidence rather than a judgment. In France, where and when jurors tried cases rather than the bailli or seneschal, officers who were religiously rotated by the reign of Louis IX (1215–1270), to assure their total fidelity to the crown, the jurors functioned more passively in the role of *enqueteurs*, who heard and presumably weighed evidence including testimony and documents, according to ever more precise hierarchical standards of proofs. By the end of the twelfth century, and before 1215, in either location, the defendant appears to have had a choice of standing on an inquiry or inquest or going to the ordeal; after 1215, the alternative was battle, an alternative limited in inquests, and over time even in appeals. Well before the ban on ordeal, at least in England, the defendant could purchase from the crown the right to put himself on the country, i.e., the multiple juries of the assize, a prerogative gladly extended by the Angevin monarchs who as always were happy to grant any privilege that contributed to the treasury. The procedure was risky, the juries trying guilt typically being the same as had made the presentment until it was established in the fourteenth century that indictors were to be excluded from the trial jury. *Exceptiones* recognized by Francophonic courts were dilatory or preemptive pleas. Generally, the only defense to felony was complete denial. In the Angevin realms, the writ *De odio et atia*, another contri-

butor to the fisc, was available perhaps as early as 1178 to challenge what today would be called overcharging the offense (Hurnard 1969). In the early thirteenth century, the *ordo*, *Olim*, by Otto Papiensis became quite popular, particularly in England, and in 1234, the Anglo-Norman canonist composed the *ordo*, *Scietiam*, dealing extensively with *exceptiones* (Fowler-Magerl, ed., 1994), but the evolution of the defensive plea was a slow, and often costly, one.

In the interim, Innocent III would offer his own variation on the inquest, to-wit, inquisitorial procedure, not only without defining the rights of defendants, but in many cases restricting them under the rubric *rei publicae interest, ne criminal remaneant impunita*, a doctrinal phrase borrowed from a treatise composed circa 1190 by a French canon (Fraher 1984). At the same time, the ban on clerical participation in ordeals played into the hands of royal functionaries already anxious to eliminate the ordeal. Perhaps Fourth Lateran's injunction was intended, as one writer has commented, "to bring home to monarchs and other lay authorities the lesson that their capacity to govern depended upon the cooperation of church authorities" (Brundage 1995). If so, it was a challenge that many monarchs were happy to accept. Magnates and professional jurists also stood to gain by acts of ecclesiastical self-limitation, particularly in an age witnessing the expanding ubiquity of capital punishment, at least until the curia of Boniface VIII (d. 1303) recognized the episcopal possession of purely secular jurisdiction obviating the need for advocates to exercise high justice. But it was kings who could see the opportunities for controlling the administration of justice as well as the power and revenue to be derived from their role as ultimate appellate authority, a function scarce available where judgment was of God. Indeed, not only would they have eliminated unilateral ordeal, but the slow, costly, and almost as unpredictable wager of battle as well, had they a means of compelling defendants to accept trial by jury or inquest, which ultimately they undertook to achieve by jailing noncompliant suspects.

IV Orléans and Roots of the *mos italicus*

Simultaneously, across the Alps from its *berceau* the civil law was finding expression, first at Orléans and Angers, and in the Midi, following a lull of almost a century marked by the departure of Placentine ca. 1185, at Montpellier, and another at Toulouse (Meijers 1959). Guy of Como (d. post 1263), a student of James Baldwin (d. 1235), author of the standard *casus* on the Institutes and a noted Bolognese "Gosian," was teaching at Orléans at least by 1243. This critical approach to the law, combined with dialecticism the students, all Masters of Arts, brought to analysis, probably accounts for the reputed *Glossa Aurelianensis*,

though no such apparatus existed *per se*. Rather the term was dubbed by Italians contemptuous of Orléans's lack of reverence for the *glossa ordinaria*, inter alia. This general inclination for criticism reached fruition beginning in the third generation with James of Revigny (d. 1296), who studied at Orléans with John of Moncy (d. post 1265), Guichard of Langres (d. pre 1260?) and Simon of Paris (d. 1273), and then successively, with Peter of Belleperche (d. 1308), a student of James's pupil, Ralph of Harcourt (d. 1307). These two would significantly affect the future of civil law through their influence on Cino of Pistoia (1270–1336/7), with whom the *mos italicus* can be said to have begun.

V Legal Romanticism in Literature

Medieval romance, vis-à-vis law, presents an interesting problem of interpretation. Some writers such as Bloch (1977) have pointed to the various instances of ruse and connivery in medieval romance as examples of society's own recognition of the weaknesses in the customary judicial system. Yseult plots to have Tristan, disguised as a beggar, carry her on his shoulders across a muddy river, so she is able to triumph in an ordeal by oath by truthfully swearing that no man but king Marc and the beggar who carried her across the river had ever been between her legs (Beroul [fl. 1170–1190], *Le Roman de Tristan*, similarly in Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan*, ca. 1210, and in many later *Tristan* versions). Similarly, following their illicit union, Lancelot defends Guinevere's honor by killing her accuser, Kay (Chretien de Troyes [fl. 1165–1180], *Le chevalier de la charrette*). In *Romance de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole* by Jean Renart (fl. 1200–1222), the heroine, Lienor, entraps the wicked seneschal by tricking him as to her identity, then demanding justice from the king by *jugement de Dieu*. Likewise, in the fabliau, *Le villain qui Conquist Paradis par Plait*, a clever peasant argues his way into heaven. In *Le Roman de la Rose*, Jean de Meun (ca. 1240–ca. 1305) relates Livy's (59 B.C.E.–17 C.E.) tale of Appius and Virginius, where the father, having been ordered to produce his daughter, to save Virginia from infamy delivered her head to the judge, only to be saved by the townspeople, who incarcerate the judge. All these stories could be interpreted as subversive of the technical law. Yet the authors clearly communicate, and considering the popularity of the stories, the readers and listeners clearly appreciate, that Virginius does not merit punishment, nor do Tristan and Iseult, while the maiden of the rose deserves vindication, the evil seneschal warrants humiliation, the peasant really does merit paradise, and while Lancelot and Guinevere ultimately receive punishment of another sort, they do not really deserve to die. Therefore, contrary to Bloch and others, such stories are not an indictment of customary justice, but a vindication (Taylor 2012a).

F The Fourteenth Century: The Ubiquity of *Lex*

I The Commentators and the *Mos Italicus*

The first quarter of the fourteenth century witnessed the completion of the *corpus iuris canonici*. The *Liber sextus* was promulgated by Boniface VIII by the bull *Sancrosanctae Romanae ecclesiae* in 1298, and dispatched to the students at Bologna, Padua, the Curia Romana, and significantly, Orléans and Toulouse. John XXII (d. 1334) promulgated the *Constitutiones Clementinae* by *Quoniam nulla* in 1317. This closed the medieval canon, though a small private collection of decretals was assembled between 1325 and 1327 by Zenzelinus de Cassanis (d. 1354). These *Extravagantes Johannis XXII* were not published until 1500, since which time they have been considered part of the *Corpus*. Giovanni d'Andrea (d. 1348), a student of Martin Sylliman, composed the *glossa ordinaria* on the *Sext* and the *Clementines* in 1304 and 1326, respectively. He also annotated shortly before his death in 1348 William Durand's *Speculum*, which thenceforth rarely appeared without his annotations.

More significant was Cino Sinibuldi of Pistoia. Although he studied with Dino and Francis Accursii at Bologna, the greatest influence on his great *Commentary* on the Code was Peter of Belleperche (d. 1308), and from Peter, James of Revigny (d. 1296). With Cino, the commentary became the favored juristic literary form; more important, Cino adopted a dialectical approach and an accompanying critical attitude particularly toward the *glossa ordinaria* that had characterized the school of Orléans. His student at Perugia, Bartolo da Sassoferrato (1313/14–1357), studied as well with James Buttrigar (ca. 1274–1348), a student of Martin Sylliman, and Rainer of Forli (d. 1348), both adherents of the Accursian tradition of *nostri doctores*. With Bartolo, the *mos italicus* proper emerges as a synthesis of the two traditions, emphasizing four traits identified by Kelley (1979): a methodological concern for history and first causes; a formalism centered on legal subjectivity; a systematic attempt to comprehend and order human nature and experience through equity and interpretation; and a general deference to Romanist tradition and authority. For the rest of the Middle Ages, Bartolo's *Commentary* on the entirety of the Justinian *Corpus* would be accorded an authority approaching that of the *Corpus* itself. His students, Baldo (ca. 1319–1400) and Angelo Ubaldi (ca. 1327–1400), would join him in teaching at Perugia. Baldo's learning was particularly broad, and he commented on the Titles of the *Corpus*, a *lectura* on the first three Books of the *Extravagantes*, annotations to the *Speculum iuris*, and the *glossa ordinaria* on the *Libri Feudorum* and the Peace of Constance, as well on annotations to Martin Sylliman's work on feudal law. He also left a number of worthy *consilia*, *pro parte* and *sapientis*, indicative of both his demand and his

extensive public career, including at Florence during the precarious guild government from 1378–1382, where he crafted reasoned opinions maintaining the separation of *jus commune* and municipal statute, protecting both private rights from capricious and unrestrained public action and the independence of law from political expedience (Fredona 2011).

The last of the great civilian commentators was Bartolomeo da Saliceto (d. 1411) whose uncle and tutor was a student of James Buttrigar. Also at Bologna was Joannis de Lignano (ca. 1320–83), who despite commenting on the entire *Corpus iuris canonici*, is best remembered for his treatises, *De bello*, *De represaliis*, and *De Duello*, which have been credited as precursors of modern international public law. Of particular note as a canonist, despite being degreed *utroque* and spending nearly twenty years as judge and *vicarius* of the Podesta of Bologna and consultant to the Republic of Venice, was Peter of Ancarano (d. 1416), author *inter alia* of a *Commentary* on the *Extravagantes* and *lectura* on the *Sext* and the *Clementines*, who taught at Bologna from 1390 until his death in 1416.

II Concepts of Due Process

It is the first quarter of this century noted particularly for the recurrent theme of minimal due process, which while a subject of thought for some twenty or thirty years preceding, was a topic of immediate concern as a result of the general constitution issued by Henry VII (d. 1313), *Ad reprimendum*, justifying the trial in absentia of Robert of Naples (1277–1343), and the Clementine responses, *Pastoralis cura* and *Saepe contigit*. Bartolo, one of the few civilians to write a commentary on *Ad reprimendum*, squarely aligned himself with the Clementine constitutions, as well as being among the first jurists to cite civil and canon law with equal authority. Conceding that certain procedural niceties could be eliminated in the trial of a cause, as authorized by the phrase “*sine strepitu et figura iudicii*,” he nonetheless maintained that any judge was bound to fulfill the minimum requirements of the law of nations and natural reason. While particular forms of action were of legislative creation, the right to petition was fundamental to natural equity, as were notice, opportunity to be heard, exceptions, delays and proofs (Pennington 1993).

III The Spread of Legal Consciousness and Social Transformation

Outside Italy, legal transformations had severe consequences for social balance. It is not difficult to attribute the English Peasant Revolt at least in part to the developments in English common law (Taylor 2012b). To understand the crisis of 1381, it is necessary to consider the impact of thirteenth-century legislation on the pattern of landholding and services in England. In particular, the 1290 statute *Quia emptores* and proceedings *Quo warranto* (Sutherland 1963), expanded at least from the Statute of Gloucester twelve years earlier, facilitated the alienation, and as important, partability of freeholds, and terminated the creation of new manors with appurtenant rights of court-baron. In many respects, as Stubbs (1880) had suggested long ago, this development benefitted tenants generally, sokemen or those holding lands in socage, a tenancy by inferior but certain services of husbandry, and copyholders, essentially tenants at will, since it ended the constant multiplication of *mesne* or intermediate, lords standing between tenant and landlord, each jockeying to claim various rents and prerogatives. By enhancement of the security of leasehold tenure, it contributed as well to the tendency away from direct farming toward leasing evident in English agriculture after 1300 (Volokh 2009), thereby accelerating simultaneously the tendency toward manumission, freeholders having no entitlement to maintenance and being more susceptible to rent increases. Those lords who continued in direct management were often compelled toward a sort of “welfare feudalism” to assure the smooth functioning of their estates, affording more influential peasants unprecedented degrees of freedom, as well as unprecedented access to courts outside the manor, given the commercial realities of the patchwork English manorial system (Briggs 2008). Besides, those actually in villenage—a problematic classification since it is not always easy to determine when villenage was personal, and when it was tenurial—frequently had claims to freedom as a consequence of jury service or the holding of free tenements, and English law generally favored liberty. The result was to diminish seriously the *de facto*, if not *de jure*, distinctions between tenancies, even petty serjeanties, technically a tenure by knight service due to the monarch, but *petit* insofar as the service rather than personal consisted of rendition of a token implement of war, becoming socages in effect. Some lords, realizing that historic rights were slipping away, took measures to recall and safeguard their historic rights. Such was the case in Darnall and Over, manors belonging to the Cistercians of Vale Royal in Cheshire, where the abbot in asserting his prerogatives over the villeins, or serfs, found himself confronted with litigation by peasants claiming to be free. Most lords were not so vigilant.

With the demographic collapse following the first wave of plague in 1347, however, lords were desperate to retain whatever labor services they could claim. They began to drudge up long since commuted and often petty obligations against which the peasantry chafed, and they resurrected whatever profitable rights to court-baron, that incident of manorial jurisdiction appertaining to copyholders as well as freeholders owing suit and service to the manor, they may have possessed, which customary rights had the added advantage of withstanding the more liberal common law. Indeed, old court rolls were searched for the pedigrees of erstwhile sokemen in the prospect of discovering not only that they were bond, but that as a consequence any of their freeholdings could be forfeitted to their lord (Dyer 1984). Such proceedings were employed as well to intimidate peasants as by the Abbey of Meaux, when the villeins rebelled at Waghen in the late 1360s, much as peasants in Kent, in which shire there appears to have been no personal villeinage, had withheld services at Oxford and Wingham, both manors of the archbishops of Canterbury, in the 1350s and would do again in the 1380s. Still, resistance was recurrent, as in Chevington, where seventeen of the tenants of Bury-St. Edmunds refused reaping services in 1375 (Dyer 1988), and was perhaps best expressed by John Robynes of Shipton-on-Stout, who led a 1378 refusal of the tenants to hoe the prior's demesne or to stand in his court on grounds that "*non esset nisi stultitia*" (Dyer 1992). Some of the tenants most resentful of these obligations seem to have been freeholders of one tenement, but had acquired another technically in villein socage requiring the performance of various labor services, and hence subject to the famous prescription of Bracton (d. 1268): *et semper tenebitur ad incerta*. By the 1360s, in addition to the extension of the jurisdiction of the justices of the peace to cases under the Statutes of Labourers, it was not unusual for the courts to reinforce obligations of all types by the development of writs in assumpsit, allowing damages for either nonfeasance or misfeasance (Palmer 1993). Furthermore, commencing in that same decade, and contrary to precedent, the courts began countenancing actions of debt for the recovery of personal judgments, a practice Blackstone described as "being generally vexatious and oppressive, by harassing the defendant with the costs of two actions instead of one."

Peasants, too, learned to use the system to their advantage, both as individual litigants and as consortia. Parliamentary records from 1377 indicate peasants were collecting levies from their fellows to cover the expenses of resisting their lords' demands, conduct anticipated as early as 1327 when the villeins of Great and Little Ogbourne in Wiltshire pooled their monies to finance their litigation (Harding 1987). As a consequence, England which had already become arguably the most litigious country outside the northern Italian city-states, became even more litigious to the glee of the barratrous lawyers who with their innovative

pleadings and theories prospered as never before in a system ever more rife with champerty, bribery, and jury intimidation. Even John Gower (ca. 1325–1408), who despised the rebellious peasants, painting their portrait as crazed beasts run amuck in the first book of his *Vox clamantis*, in the sixth book seems to recognize the lawyers' role in breaking down the social fabric, writing:

Sompnia perturbant quam sepe viros sine causa,
 Non res set sompno visa figura rei;
 Sic tibi causidicus fingens quam sepe pericla,
 Est ubi plus rectum, diuaricabit iter:
 Mente tibi loquitur dubia, nam nemo dolose
 Mentis secures vocibus esse potest;
 ...
 Causidici nubes sunt ethera qui tenebrescunt,
 Lucem quo solis nemo videre potest;
 Obfuscant etenim legis clarissima iura,
 Et sua nox tetra vendicat esse diem... (Gower 1902, ll. 213–18; 225–28)

[So often dreams disturb men without cause,
 Not the thing but a phantom of the thing perceived in sleep;
 So how often a lawyer, pretending danger to you,
 Will divert your course, when it is straightest:
 With doubtful mind he speaks to you, for no one
 Of fraudulent intent can speak with certain voice.

...
 Lawyers are clouds that darken the skies,
 That no one can see the light of the sun;
 They obscure the manifest justice of the law,
 Their loathsome night passes itself off for day...]

IV The Genesis of Basoche and Legal Farce

In the fourteenth century, we also see emerge amid the legal literature and more particularly the treatises devoted to procedure, variously entitled *Ordines iudicarii* or *Libelli de ordine iudiciorum*, including fictive trials or *processus* apparently designed to demonstrate certain issues of procedural and substantive law, an imagined trial of humanity before Christ with the Virgin as defense counsel, which relies heavily on mime and the grotesque, borrowing heavily not only from the aforementioned dialogues but from the devotional literature portraying the Virgin's intercessory role as well (Taylor 2005a). The precise origins of the text are somewhat clouded, not only by the early as well as questionable attribution to Bartolus of Saxoferrato, but also by the long recognized occurrence of the text in

at least three distinct genera. Although the modern reader is struck immediately by what seems the transparent playfulness of the foregoing tale, a standard of humor certainly to be cautioned against, it cannot be over-emphasized that the text was treated by its readers or hearers quite seriously as an exercise and primer in legal procedure (Taylor 2005b). Beginning with the oldest manuscripts, hardly a phrase was denied extensive gloss with citations to the Roman and canon law. The more difficult question is whether contemporaries found this tale amusing as well as enlightening. Aside from its distribution, and its translation into the vernacular, a few medieval manuscripts provide a clue, describing the work, for example, as “*delectabilis*.” Even the fourteenth-century manuscript located by Robert Jacquin (1962) bearing the description of “*Opusculum puerile*,” which he interpreted to signify a student exercise, probably should be translated as “an exercise in boyish humor,” else why transcribe it, let alone annotate it. But if it was humorous to its original audience of lawyers, why so? Granted, only such an audience could fully appreciate the sophistication of the legal arguments and the quality of the plethora of citations accompanying the text.

By mid-fourteenth century, however, the *Processus* had undergone a transformation. Beginning at least with the low Norman poem, *L’Advocacie Nostre-Dame*, the *Processus* began to appear variously in poetry or prose, in Latin or in the vernacular, but devoid of legal citations and legal subtleties, and not infrequently with lengthy encomia to the Virgin Mary (Taylor 2011). These editions certainly were not intended for the same audiences as the original *Processus*, nor can the humor, if any, be identical to that of the original, the bulk of whose jest is opaque to all but the initiated. Neither can they be read as humorless, since if anything, the gestures and antics of both Satan and the Virgin are accentuated, giving more the feel of mime than the *Processus* itself. Indeed, the popularized versions of the *Processus Sathane* represent a precursor of both Basoche and carnival: Basochien since there is something of the confraternal professionalism inherent in that tradition, Basoche literally referring to the enactments of the clerks of the Palace of Justice—i.e., legal apprentices, some of whom would ultimately become advocates, most of whom would labor on eking out their existence as perpetual law clerks. Like so many confraternal associations, these clerks periodically presented farces or satires in a carnivalesque atmosphere, particularly during their heyday of 1450–1650. The tradition, however, is not limited to nor primarily rooted in the Basoche per se, but is indicative of the comedic traditions of other social and profession organizations as well, such as *la Mere Folle de Dijon* also founded in the fourteenth century. In any event, the *Processus Sathane* undoubtedly predates Basoche per se. It is true that some scholars such as Enders (1992) follow Faber (1875), in placing the foundation of the Basoche itself in 1303, arguing that its purpose was to initiate apprentice lawyers before being permitted to practice

before the *Parlement de Paris*. However, there was no *parlement* before 1309; nor does there seem to have been any organization of the bar until the reign of Philip Valois and the initiation of *Le Confraternite de St. Nicholas* (*Ordonnances des Rois de France de la Troisième Race*, t. II, 176–78). Indeed, both the timing and the devotion of the confraternity seems to have been dictated by a 1340 ordinance of Philip Valois (1293–1350), compelling all enrolled advocates of the *Parlement de Paris* to contribute one hundred sous to finance daily masses in the palace for the king and his family (Delechenal 1885, 408–10). It would seem odd if apprentice lawyers were organized before the lawyers themselves. Further, the clerks were largely “paralegal personnel” who nonetheless had official recognition according to an ordinance of 1345 (*Ordonnances du Louvre*, t. ii, 225). No such recognition appears in the rather detailed letters of some 46 items issued by Philip in 1327 confirming the regulations that commissioners appointed by Charles IV (le Bel) (1294–1328) had made for the reformation of the Châtelet de Paris. *Ordonnances des rois de France de la Troisième Race*, t. 11, 1–10. It seems unreasonable, therefore, to hypothesize anything like significant Basochien activity until the second half of the fourteenth century at earliest (Taylor 2005a; 2011).

V Tropical Reconciliation of Law and Theology

Interestingly, by the mid-fourteenth century, at least in theological circles, a new and more cooperative and practical trope of law, specifically canon law, as the handmaiden, Hagar to theology’s Sarah was emerging. Initially, the analogy appeared almost passingly in Robert Holcot’s *Super sapientiam Salomonis* (ca. 1290–1349), but would be pursued at length by Jean Gerson (1363–1429) in his harangue to the licentiates in canon law, *Conversi estis*. For Gerson, the division between theology and canon law should be nothing more than a convenient division of labor, as organs of the same body. While not discussing jurists and legists, they are mentioned in passing in another address, *Dominus his opus habet*. The same metaphor is used by Nicholas Kempf (ca. 1415–1497) in the aftermath of the collapse of the Council of Basle, suggesting not as is sometimes asserted that canon lawyers and ecclesiastical bureaucrats were responsible for spiritual malaise, but the Pope, here represented by Abram, who has failed to order the relationship between Sarah and Hagar, theology and canon law (Martin 1992).

G The Late Medieval Period, 1400–1550: Law and the Modern State

I Law and politics in the Italian City–States

With the Schism of 1378, many of the leading Italian jurists found themselves preoccupied with politics, including Baldo, John of Legnano, and Francis Zabarella (ca. 1339–1417). While the latter composed *Commentaries on the Extravagantes* and the Clementines, the abortive Council of Pisa in 1409 and the election of John XXIII (d. 1419) caused him to give up his chair at Padua, and he was made Bishop of Florence and Cardinal. He and Peter of Ancarano would both die during the subsequent Council of Constance, but before the election of Martin V (d. 1431), against whom Nicolas Todeschi (Panormitanus) (1386–1445), a student of Zabarella, and author of an influential *Commentary on the Extravagantes* and a *The-saurus singularium in jure canonico decisivorum*, would intrigue at Siena (1423–1424), but then execute the mandate of Eugenius IV (d. 1447) to disperse Basel in 1432, failing which he returned to conciliarism, ultimately receiving the Cardinate from Felix V (anti-pope, 1439–1449; d. 1451) and dying in 1445 before the collapse of Council and anti-pope.

It was once common to argue somewhat simplistically that Florentine lawyers, at least from 1434, dedicated their professional skills to enhancing executive power and hence facilitating the principate (Martines 1968). More recent studies, however, suggest that the legal profession in the Italian city states, including Florence, continued to issue *consilia* reflecting a professional independence and a dedication to equitable concerns, even if as Isenmann (2011) suggests, by generating justifications for emergency legislation departing from normal legal procedures, they may have inadvertently led to a state of institutionalized emergency, legitimizing the suspension of accountability and hence paving the way for a concentration of power ultimately engendering the modern state (Armstrong and Kirshner, ed., 2011).

II Law and Crown in France

Meanwhile, France was to see a new spate of coutumiers, perhaps spurred by the Pragmatic sanction of 1438, which in making Parlement the standard-bearer of Gallicanism (Roelker 1996), would give impetus to what Vittorio De Caprariis (1959) called “juridical nationalism,” analyzed at length by Kelley (1970). The bulk of legal literature consisted of *Commentaries on the Customs* by legal

practitioners, notably on those of Berry by Nicolas of Bohier (1508), on those of the Duchy of Burgundy by Bartholomew of Chasseneuz (1517, rev. 1528), of Poitou by Andrew Tiraqueau (unpublished), of Nivernais by Guy Coquille (1590), and of Brittany by Bertrand D'Argentre (1568). With the official redactions of custom in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the French crown finally succeeded in establishing a model of justice dispensed from above, in which an insurmountable gulf existed between the court and the litigants. To the extent the jurisdiction of the communes was permitted to remain after centuries of conflict with the crown, it was because it suited monarchical pragmatism, relieving royal courts from hearing a plethora of relatively insignificant civil and criminal cases (Hamel 2011). Literature dealing with Roman law did so from the perspective of French practice, such as the *Practica Forensis* of John le Masuyer (d. 1450), or John Imbert, who in addition to his four volume *Institutiones Forenses Galliae* (1542), published an *Enchiridion Juris Scripti Galliae Moribus et Consuetudinibus Recepti* (1556). The greatest of these, the so-called “prince of legists,” was Charles Du Moulin (1500–1566), who believed in the unity of law, albeit not Roman law, but the underlying unity of the various Customs, as he expressed in *Oratio de Concordia et Unione Consuetudinum Franciae* (Thireau 1980). At the same time, he commented extensively on the Roman law, and in his determination to demonstrate that the text of the law, Roman or customary, provided an equitable norm for new circumstances, he was clearly a Bartolist.

III Law and Economy in Germany

In Germany, late medieval developments proved to have rather contradictory consequences. There, an agrarian crisis that began around 1310 and continued to the sixteenth century resulted in precipitous declines in grain, and hence, land prices (Brady 1998). As a consequence, the process of devolution already underway accelerated with the acquiescence of lords who preferred rents to services. As the manor disintegrated into legally distinguishable components of *Grundherrschaft*, *Leibherrschaft* and *Gerichtsherrschaft*, *Gemeinden*, or communes, evolved to fill the vacuum, frequently agreeing to joint liability for any rents or dues on the communal lands (Wunder 1986). The assemblies of property holding peasants, aside from regulating community affairs were also in charge of crop rotation, regulations pertaining to agricultural work and management of communal resources. As manors continued to disintegrate, these communes claimed as common lands much of the vacant pastures, fields, woods and streams, along with the legal rights thereto and the jurisdiction thereof (Blickle 1973). As in England, those most vigilant of their traditional rights and prerogatives were the

great ecclesiastic lords, who more often than their lay brethren, jealously guarded and often harshly imposed their seigneurial rights, probably accounting at least in part for the anticlerical flavor of peasant risings in both regions.

As a consequence of the depression in agricultural prices, farmers were pushed toward crop diversification, intensification of markets, associations with industry and the development of processing activities: in short, with commercial markets. Ironically, the success of such attempts to avoid the vagaries of traditional agriculture had two consequences of disadvantage to the peasants. First, such an economy demanded simpler and more uniform procedures than those afforded by the German law, and the obvious model for such legal reform was the *Corpus juris civilis*. In 1495, Maximilian I (1459–1519) reconstituted the *Reichskammergericht*, providing that half its judges were to be university trained lawyers, which qualification soon engulfed the entire body. Other tribunals were soon inspired by this move, along with the practice of courts referring cases to university faculties, much in the manner by which governments in the Italian city-states sought *consilia*. In this way, German law was to become perhaps more Romanized than that of any other region, at least outside the Italian peninsula (Taylor 2012b).

Second, this commercialization, coming as it did at the same time as territorial princes undertook to establish their authority, placed a strain on the nobility for cash, which only intensified with the inflationary pressures of the sixteenth century, as the money supply exploded due to New World specie, as well as the rapid expansion of German mining. This largely accounts for their efforts, commencing in the mid-fifteenth century to recover any rights that could generate cash. Toward this end, Roman law, at least *chez* Imerius and Placentius, whose views including the denigration of custom would provide the foundation for the new juridical science of the civil law, was particularly useful in overcoming customary rights whether to common lands or jurisdiction, as was its tendency to equate villeinage with the severe Roman law of slavery, and which tended to look at servitude as did Thomas Aquinas (ca. 1225–1274), in Aristotelean terms, as would his disciples, Ptolemy of Lucca (ca. 1236–1327) and Giles of Rome (ca. 1243–1316). Indeed, it can be argued that as in England in mid-fourteenth century, Germany in the fifteenth witnessed an aristocratic effort to revitalize serfdom, albeit more prolonged and more successful than the endeavors of their cousins across the channel.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that while English peasants frequently sought protection of the common law against customary law, one of the most frequently heard demands in the plethora of German peasant revolts that preceded the great *Bauernkrieg* (Peasant War) of 1525 was the prohibition of Roman law or foreign jurists, in the name of establishing *das alte Recht*, often evidenced

by the apposite *Weisthümer*, which in turn incorporated the ideas of the *Sachsenspiegel* (Kisch 1990; Dubozy, ed. and trans., 1999). Read against this background, the appeal of the Twelve Articles to contemporary Lutheran ideology seem little more than a sixteenth-century “modern language redaction” of traditional pleas founded on centuries old principles. In 1514, in Württemberg, where Duke Ulrich had attempted to liquidate his inherited debts by a system of taxation involving the reduction of weights and measures, the Arme Konrad emerged, to which the Duke made some concessions and called the *Landtag*, or diet, which drew up a list of grievances, paragraphs 15 and 16 of which lamented the plague of learned lawyers over-running the courts and driving up the cost of litigation, as well as playing havoc with local agreements and customs to the injury of the common man (Franz 1963). This was a lament that had been heard in poems of social criticism by writers such as Hans von Westernach (mid-15th century) for over half a century (Classen 1987; Strauss, ed. and trans., 1971; Liliencron, ed., 1966).

On the very eve of the *Bauernkrieg*, peasants in June, 1524, irate at demands they abandon the harvest in order to collect snail shells to serve as spools for the ladies of the manor, rose up against Count Sigmund von Lupfen (1461–1526), sore pressed financially due to the prodigality of his father, and turned to Duke Ulrich of Württemberg (1487–1550), who was seeking a cause to return from exile imposed by the Habsburgs, circumstances that would serve as the catalyst for the great 1525 uprising. Ultimately, the complaints of the Stühlingen peasants were arbitrated and transferred to the Imperial Chamber Court, and the list of fifty-nine articles is among the most complete of complaints by the peasants against the nobility, detailing the degree to which a desperate lord would undertake to finesse the legal system for profit, including confiscation of both stolen and personal property of thieves, charging victims or their survivors for costs of criminal trials, denial of many traditional peasant prerogatives such as wood-gathering, prohibition of trade in salt or fowl, assertion of preeminent rights in treasure trove or other found property, levying of new taxes, claims of new banal servitudes, and of course, jury intimidation. Although a number of these claims would be addressed and negotiations with lords often produced what Blicke (1998) has labeled “contracts of lordship” which softened the burdens of serfdom, restored customary rights, reduced labor services, and improved opportunities for legal appeals, with *Weisthümer* themselves continuing to proliferate until about 1600, and often reflecting these new and negotiated “customs,” any benefits were short-lived. For as it happened, the 1559 judicial reforms of Ferdinand I (1503–1564), confirmed in the Interim of 1597, would give the owners of estates the power to administer all matters of lower judicial authority, eliminating in one stroke the power both of *Leibherren* and of *Vögte*, as well as the jurisdiction of the communes. While improving in many

respects the position of the housed peasantry, who avoided the sometimes meddling powers of the commune and gained relatively free alienability of their land, in many regions of the empire, the contract of emphyteusis created a new kind of conditional ownership, which along with the impartibility of property would create a symbiosis between peasant and state as householders were forced to function as unpaid bureaucrats of the regime (Rebel 1983).

H Conclusion

To some extent, then, law in the Middle Ages can be viewed as an important aspect of the emergence of the European nation state from conglomerates of diverse peoples residing in the vacuum resulting from the collapse of the Western Roman Empire. And until the renaissance of the twelfth century, law as a subject of literary endeavor was largely a topic of philosophy, rhetoric and theology, and primarily within the province of clerics to expound, or to collect and redact. With the palingenesis, however, Irnerius and Gratian severed the traditional bonds, allowing law to assume its place as a discrete profession and to develop its own procedures. This did not result in law becoming a closed system, as *jurisperiti* were influential in dealing with practical problems requiring innovation. It did mean, however, that limits existed as to what could or could not be justified, as witnessed by assorted *consilia*. Phrased somewhat differently, law was neither the formal system suggested by some historical prudential studies, nor nakedly functionalist.

The emergence of lawyers as a separate profession at a time of legal transition likewise made them a topic of concern among secular writers, for whom they appeared the personification of legal change, sometimes desirable, more often alien and subversive of community standards as embodied by local custom. In many respects, then, public disapproval of legal innovation was expressed as attacks upon lawyers generally. At the same time, the public was not unaware of which legal changes favored their social and economic well-being, and which threatened their interests.

To a significant extent, the success of regimes in establishing successful states was not a matter of descending or ascending theories. Roman law was interpreted by some of the Florentine *jurisperitii*, including Bartolo, first to defend the prerogatives of popular governance, and subsequently by justifying emergency legislation, to pave the way for the principate. Du Moulin basing his views on custom asserted a Gallicanism favoring uniformity under the French king. English incrementalism succeeded in convincing the bulk of its populace that innovations were customary rights of Englishmen. Rather, success depended

largely on a regime's ability to justify its innovations, if not in the short run, then at least in the long. And this certainly points to the palpability of the primacy of law in the West.

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Cristian Bratu
Literature

A Voice, Orality, “Literature”

Paul Zumthor (1987) correctly suggested that the very word “literature,” derived from the Latin *litterae* (letters), might not be suitable to describe the complexity of medieval texts. For in the Middle Ages, the *litterae* (that is to say classical literature) were studied and enjoyed by the happy few who were able to read. Thus, a person who was able to read and possessed a certain education was a *litteratus*. However, many early medieval texts such as songs or epic poems were composed, transmitted, and enjoyed by a great number of people who had no formal education and were not lettered, as it were. For instance, the *Chanson de Roland* (*Song of Roland*), which evokes events dating back to the eighth century, was created at an unknown date and transmitted orally until the twelfth century, when it was finally written down. There are nine extant manuscripts containing this text (the oldest being the Bodleian manuscript Digby 23, written in Anglo-Norman some time between 1140 and 1170), and it is very probable that the versions of the *Chanson* recorded in these manuscripts are only a fraction of the many versions that circulated orally in medieval France. Although nowadays we would call such texts “literary,” it is obvious that “literature” is a modern label that has been applied to a medieval reality simply for lack of a better word.

Twentieth-century criticism has provided ample evidence as to the crucial role that voice and performance played in the composition, transmission, and reception of both ancient and medieval texts. What would later be called “orality” began with the studies of Antoine Meillet (1923) and Milman Parry (1930; 1932; 1971) on the presence of formulae in various ancient texts, most notably Homeric epic. Meillet and Parry believed that Homer’s works were “entirely composed of formulae handed down from poet to poet” (Meillet 1923). Such formulae were memorized by poets in order to compose verse more quickly and they served as mnemonic aids to performers who needed to commit longer pieces to memory. Rhymes and alliterations, too, allowed actors to remember various epic and lyrical texts. Homer’s famous epithets, such as his “rosy-fingered” dawns and “swift-footed” Achilles, were part of a larger repertoire that helped performers memorize characters and their defining features. Therefore, many of the famous texts of the ancient world came to be regarded as products of a rich and vigorous oral tradition, and not of a highly literate society, as scholars had previously assumed.

This approach soon revolutionized Medieval Studies as well, as many of Meillet and Parry's conclusions were relevant to the understanding of medieval texts. The idea that sizable segments of medieval "literature" were in fact oral or hybrid (oral and written) texts was approached by critics with the frenzy of explorers discovering a new continent—and truly, the new continent was quite vast (see Lord 1960; Finnegan 1977; Scholz 1980; Ong 1982; Stock 1983; Zumthor 1987; Doane and Pasternak 1991; Green 1994; Richter 1994; Coleman 1996; Vitz 1999). Indeed, medieval texts display an abundant number of "oral" traits. For instance, in many epic poems, the narrator promises to "tell" a good story and incites the listeners to "listen." In the *Lai de Guigemar* (The Lay of Guigemar), Marie de France (ca. 1170–ca. 1200) addresses a courtly audience and asks them to listen to her story: "Oëz, seignur, que dit Marie" ("Hear, my lords, what Marie has to say," *Guigemar*, v. 3). Similarly, the *Roman de Renart* (The Romance of Reynard the Fox, early twelfth-thirteenth centuries) begins with a narrator directly addressing the audience: "Seigneurs, oï avez maint conte / Que maint conteres vos acontes" ("My lords, you have heard many stories told by many storytellers," vv. 1–2). In contrast, such texts hardly ever mention readers or the act of reading. They also contain considerably fewer references to writing and do not present the narrative as a written piece; the narrative is in fact almost always presented as a form of oral storytelling. That is perfectly natural since texts such as *Beowulf* or the French *chansons de geste*, like Homer's epic poems, were meant to be performed orally and enjoyed aurally (by listening). The analysis of "oral" traits first targeted texts in verse for these presented the most obvious cases of oral creation, transmission, and reception. However, it soon became obvious that even prose texts displayed a certain number of "oral" characteristics. In some cases, verse had simply been de-rhymed and turned into *versiprosa* (Godzich and Kittay 1987). In other cases, prose texts such as chronicles were meant to be read aloud in front of courtly audiences (Bratu 2012b), which explains the presence of these "oral" traits.

Although some critics tended to see orality and literacy as polar opposites (Ong 1982), more recent research has shown how complementary voice and writing really were in the Middle Ages. Thus, a song or epic poem could be composed and transmitted *viva voce* for generations and then eventually written down. Very often, the voice was embedded in the very process of writing, as many authors dictated their texts to scribes. Scribes were used both by aristocrats who could not write themselves and by writers (such as Froissart) who occasionally used the services of scribes. Once written down, however, the text was not confined to the written page forever, as the text could be read aloud, whether by individual readers who read the text for themselves or in front of courtly audiences. Paul Saenger (1997) has amply proven that before silent reading

(re)appeared at the end of the Middle Ages, most people would oralize the text that they were reading in a low voice. Princes and kings often had a “prelector,” to use Joyce Coleman’s expression (Coleman 1996), who would read a text out loud for their (often illiterate) master. In general, courtly audiences preferred that texts be read out loud or performed by seasoned readers or actors. For instance, Froissart (1337–1405) writes in the third book of his *Chroniques* (Chronicles) that he personally read passages of his own *Meliador* to count Gaston Febus de Foix-Béarn. Christine de Pizan (1364/65–ca. 1430) notes that Charles V of France had a favorite prelector in the person of Gilles Mallet. Thus, voice and writing were seen by medieval people as two types of support for a text which, far from being inimical, were perfectly compatible and interchangeable, depending on the circumstances. Thus, a text could be dictated orally to a scribe, written down, oralized through reading or performance, written down again in a different form or version, and so on. In some cases, we are dealing with “amphibious” texts which could be both read aloud and silently (see also Bratu 2010). In other cases, as Green (1994) has pointed out, we are dealing with texts which use “oral” terminology simply because of the force of habit, although the authors did not necessarily intend them to be read aloud.

B Manuscripts and *Mouvances*

As we noted earlier, the massive presence of “oral” traits is one of the features that differentiates medieval “literature” from modern texts. The existence of a manuscript culture, as opposed to the culture of print, is another fundamental difference between medieval and modern texts. When discussing Stendhal’s *Le rouge et le noir* (The Red and the Black), nineteenth-century critics could afford to spend most of their time discussing the author’s style, Julien Sorel or Madame de Rênal’s “psychology,” the significance of the two colors mentioned in the title, and so on. That is primarily because for most modern texts, there is such a thing as a unique, final or “official” version of the text, authorized and signed by the author himself. With most medieval texts, however, discussions of style, text structure or ideology are necessarily preceded by a discussion of the available manuscripts (or witnesses).

A number of nineteenth-century critics treated medieval texts as if they were the product of modern authors. Scholars such as Joseph Bédier, for instance, believed that their primary duty was to look for the “original” text authored and authorized, as it were, by the writer himself. Should the “original” not be found, critics took it upon themselves to search for the version that they believed was the closest to the original and discarded the others as “imperfect” or “inferior” copies.

Of course, what these critics ignored was that they were using a methodology that was entirely inappropriate for medieval texts. Like in the case of orality, twentieth-century criticism (Chaytor 1945) saw the emergence of what could be called manuscript studies, which operated a Copernican revolution in the understanding of medieval texts. It soon became obvious that manuscript culture operated differently from print. In a manuscript culture, the author may or may not have been the actual writer or scribe of the manuscript (or one of the manuscripts). In some cases, we do possess autograph manuscripts signed by the original author. Such is the case, for instance, with Lambert de Saint-Omer's *Liber Floridus* (The Book of Flowers, twelfth century), Thomas Hoccleve's (1368–1426) poetry (Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, CA, HM 111 and HM 744, and University Library, Durham, MS Cosin V.III.9), and many of Christine de Pizan's (1364/65–ca. 1430) writings: *Le Livre de deux amans* (The Debate of Two Lovers, Brussels 11034; Chantilly 492; London 4431), *Les Fais d'armes et de chevalerie* (The Book of Deeds of Arms and Chivalry, Paris BNF 603), *La Mutacion de Fortune* (The Book of the Mutation of Fortune, Brussels 9508), and others.

However, even when we do possess autograph manuscripts (which is not the norm in medieval studies), these manuscripts may contain different versions of the same text. Sometimes, these versions represent different stages of the author's work. For the first book of Froissart's *Chronicles*, for instance, critics speak of three text stages: the first stage, represented by a number of manuscripts (Austin 48; New York Pierpont Morgan 804; Paris BNF 2640, 2657, etc.); the second stage in the Amiens manuscript 486; and the third stage in the Rome (BAV 869) manuscript. Medieval authors may have also changed their respective texts in order to adapt them to changing circumstances, to make them more palatable to the audiences, dedicatees or grantees of the day, and so on (on medieval patrons, see Holz knecht 1966; McCash, ed., 1996; Croenen and Ainsworth 2006). In certain cases, critics might be able to argue that a certain manuscript is more faithful to the author's "final" vision of the text (such as the Rome manuscript of Book I of Froissart's *Chronicles*), but even then it is a matter of educated speculation and not an absolute certainty. In most cases, however, we do not possess an autograph manuscript either because that initial witness was lost or because it has simply never existed. As mentioned earlier, many writers dictated their texts to scribes, who often embellished or modified the text as they saw fit (see Avrin 1991). Of course, more meticulous writers were likely to dictate the entire text to the scribe, paying close attention to every detail or at least to the general aspect of the text. Certain authors, such as Christine de Pizan or Guillaume de Machaut, were indeed very attentive to every aspect of their books (including the physical appearance of the manuscript) and to how these fit into their overall *oeuvre*. In other cases, however, it is entirely possible that the "author" may have given the

scribe general indications as to the composition of the book and allowed him to elaborate and embellish on his own. In the latter situation, it is obvious that the border between “author” (as source of the intellectual content of the text) and scribe (as actual scriptor of the text and potential co-author of a certain sections of the book) is rather porous. But even when such “original” texts existed, the vagaries of medieval book production could change the content of the book (see Shailor 1991; Rouse and Rouse 2000). Medieval scribes (Reynolds and Wilson 1974) performed a wide array of changes to the texts that they copied in their *scriptoria*. At a time when literacy differed widely from country to country and from region to region, scribes with varying degrees of orthographic, philological, and literary competence produced (sometimes radically) different versions of the same text. In some cases, scribes chose to “improve” or “update” the spelling of certain words. In vernacular languages, there were no official spelling rules. As a result, scribes from Picardy or from the Anglo-Norman realm often adapted the spelling of a text to their local dialect, in order to make it more easily comprehensible for local audiences. As insignificant as such changes may seem, they could change the overall tone of a text. In *Troilus and Criseyde*, Chaucer (1343–1400) is acutely aware of such issues that may affect an author’s work. He takes leave of his work (“Go, litel bok”) which, although a *topos* found in many medieval writings, expresses perfectly how anxious certain medieval writers must have felt before handing over their work to scribes to have it copied in several exemplars. Then, Chaucer explicitly mentions the lack of spelling standardization in English which, he hopes, will not affect the reception of his work: “And for ther is so gret diversite / In Englissh and in writyng of oure tonge, / So prey I God that non myswrite the, / Ne the mys metre for defaute of tonge ...” (Chaucer 1988, *Troilus and Criseyde*, 5.1793–6). Chaucer voices again such authorial concerns when he addresses Adam, his personal scribe, wishing him a scalp infection unless he improves his copying in the future: “Adam scriveyn, if ever it thee bifalle / Boece [Boethius] or Troylus for to writen newe, / Under thy long lokkes thou most have the scalle / But [unless] after my makyng [composition] thow write more trewe. / So ofte aday I mot thy werk renewe, / It to correcte and eke to rubbe and scrape, / And al is thorough thy negligence and rape [haste]” (Chaucer 1988, Chaucers words unto Adam, his owne scriveyn, 650).

In some cases, scribes did not limit themselves to mere “cosmetic” changes. Oftentimes, they could—and did—change whole passages in order to adapt the text to new circumstances, highlight or diminish the role of a certain fictional or historical character, change the ideological bias of a text, and so on. This naturally led to the existence of a significant number of manuscript “mutations” or *mouvances*, to use Zumthor’s more elegant phrase from his landmark study *Essai de poétique médiévale* (Toward a Medieval Poetics, Zumthor 1972). In the second

chapter of the *Essai*, Zumthor notes that there is a sharp contrast between, on the one hand, the manuscripts of select late-medieval French poets such as Guillaume de Machaut (1300–1377) and Charles d’Orléans (1394–1465), and most other medieval manuscripts on the other. The former manuscripts, Zumthor noted, contained the name of the author in a fairly fixed text with few variants. However, Zumthor believed that most medieval manuscripts presented a combination of authorial anonymity and high textual instability. In many cases, these *mouvances* involved not just spelling or dialectal modifications but also changes in the structure of text. Zumthor believed that anonymity and *mouvances* were closely related phenomena since they were both symptoms of a culture which ignored the (fundamentally modern) idea of “intellectual property.” Thus, many scribes did not see a text as “belonging” to its author and did not deem it inappropriate to change the text as they saw fit (see Heinen, ed., 1989). Zumthor also believed that another reason for this rather nonchalant attitude toward texts was the intrinsically “vocal” (or “oral”) nature of medieval culture. Spoken words did not have an “owner,” only utterers. Similarly, scribes believed that texts were not sacred immutable entities—hence all the modifications that they performed on them (Zumthor 1987, 160–8). Thus, Zumthor believed that *mouvance* or mobility was the intrinsic quality of medieval manuscripts. As a result, our modern notions of “works” or “writings” (*oeuvre*) are paradigmatically inappropriate for a good understanding of medieval “literature.” He argued that we should instead focus on the complex unit constituted by all the extant manuscripts of a “text” and all the traces left behind by the various “authors,” scribes, prelectors, and so on. Thus, a “work” was not a static text but a dynamic process which involved creation, modification, transmission, growth, and re-modification in the process of transmission.

Equally important in this broader conversation on medieval manuscripts is Bernard Cerquiglini’s concept of *variance* (Cerquiglini 1989, trans. 1999). Cerquiglini believed that Zumthor’s *mouvance* evoked oral culture to such an extent that it was not the most suitable term for understanding manuscripts. Variance, that is to say the idea that medieval manuscripts vary from each other, depending on the scribe and on the context in which they were produced, was a more appropriate concept for manuscript culture. Moreover, Cerquiglini insists much more than Zumthor on willful changes performed by scribes because for Cerquiglini, the literary work is fundamentally a “variable” devoid of a primary source (“The literary work, in the Middle Ages, is a variable ... The fact that one hand was the first is sometimes, undoubtedly, less significant than this constant rewriting of a work which belongs to whoever recasts it and gives it a new form,” Cerquiglini 1999, 57). Thus, changes and variants are not scribal “errors”; instead, they are an intrinsic part of what medieval manuscripts are: dynamic, constantly changing *oeuvres*. Machan (1994, 184), too, believes that medievalists have focused too much on the

“original,” “authorized” text instead of analyzing “the work behind a document” (for a similar approach to Cerquiglini and Machan’s, see Millett 1994; for a different perspective, see Jacobs 1998). In essence, Cerquiglini and Machan’s propose to replace the “best-text” method used by Bédier (1928) and other medievalists with an analysis of what we would now call the manuscript tradition of a text.

In an interesting conclusion to his study on variance, Cerquiglini argues that the complexity of medieval manuscripts can be replicated and preserved by modern interactive multi-dimensional technology. While in traditional books, variants tended to be relegated to the bottom of the page or to the appendix, computer technology allows us to create texts with links and hyperlinks which replicate medieval manuscripts much more closely.

C Authorship and Anonymity

When Cerquiglini and others maintained that the initial source of a text is “less significant than this constant rewriting of a work which belongs to whoever recasts it and gives it a new form” (Cerquiglini 1999, 57), it is obvious that the “best-text” method is not the only target of the French author’s criticism. The other target is the very notion of authorship in medieval literature. For many critics of the second half of the twentieth century, medieval literature was quintessentially anonymous or multi-authored to such an extent that it was impossible to speak of a single author or of a clear “authorial intention” (*intentio auctoris*) in a given text. Fortunately or unfortunately, medieval authorship has often been analyzed depending on the critical fashion of the day. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many critics were adepts of Gustave Lanson’s “man-and-work” method, which flourished at a time when biographical information was abundant about contemporary and recent authors. It is relatively easy to discuss, say, Baudelaire’s biography and his work since so much biographical information is available about him. For medieval authors, however, critics did not possess the same amount of biographical information. In the second half of the twentieth century, structuralist and post-structuralist critics essentially argued that even if we did know more about the author’s life, such data would not be relevant to explain a specific text.

As we noted in the case of Bernard Cerquiglini, some structuralists and post-structuralists even believed that the notion of medieval author was cumbersome and needed to be done away with in critical discourse. Like Cerquiglini, many critics argued that the notions of “author” and “authorship” were fundamentally alien to medieval culture (“l’auteur n’est pas une idée médiévale,” Cerquiglini 1989, 25). In fact, the debate on the role of authorship in literature in general

started approximately three decades prior to the publication of Cerquiglini's *Eloge de la variante* (In Praise of the Variant). As we noted elsewhere (Bratu 2012a), the opening salvo of the debate on the "death of the author" was fired in 1968 by Roland Barthes in his famous essay "La Mort de l'auteur" ("The Death of the Author," Barthes 1968). Like Foucault in his "Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?" ("What is an Author?," Foucault 1969), Barthes intended to reorient the attention of readers and literary critics toward the text itself, while eliminating the author from (or at least diminishing his role in) the process of text production. The primary target of Barthes and Foucault's criticism was the empirical author, with his "life" and "psychology" which, the two French critics argued, failed to explain the text itself.

Barthes's and Foucault's manifestoes influenced generations of medievalists, as well as the overall debate on authorship in medieval studies. In some of Paul Zumthor's writings, one cannot fail to notice a certain unease when the critic discusses authorship-related issues. For instance, in the *Essai de poétique médiévale*, when analyzing the use of the first person pronoun in troubadour poetry, Zumthor argued that the "I" of the troubadours was very much impersonal and had little to do with the actual identity of the empirical author. Zumthor even argued, in a nearly Barthesian manner, that the medieval poet was determined by language rather than vice versa ("Le poète [médiéval] est situé dans son langage plutôt que son langage en lui," Zumthor 1972, 68). However, we need to keep in mind that Zumthor's perspective on medieval authorship was informed by his studies on the "oral" nature of medieval culture and, as is well known, "oral" cultures place a premium on efficacious texts and performances rather than authorship. As we noted earlier, "oral" cultures tend to modify texts as they see fit with little concern for what the original "author" or performer intended the text to be. The claim that the notions of "author" and "authorship" were alien to medieval culture as a whole is simply an exaggeration. Like many oral creations omit the name of the "author," many medieval texts do indeed omit the name of the original writer but that is not the case with all medieval texts. Anonymity, whether intentional or not, is indeed widespread in medieval texts but it constitutes only one side of the story.

The other side of the story is, of course, that certain medieval writers made every possible effort to have their name and reputation preserved for posterity. Zumthor himself noted that certain troubadour *razos* and *vidas* show an obvious interest in the poet's identity and life. Of course, the "life" of the poet presented in these texts is often embellished and fictionalized but it is nonetheless obvious that medieval readers were quite interested in the author's literary *persona*, if not also in the "life" of the empirical author. Elsewhere (Zumthor 1975), too, Zumthor admitted that certain medieval writers, such as Eustache Deschamps, Christine de Pizan, or Charles d'Orléans, put considerable effort into constructing a literary

persona that, independently from one's opinions on the empirical author, needed to be discussed as a literary phenomenon.

Another angle of attack against medieval authorship was philological. Cerquiglini (1989) argued that authorship had little to no room in a medieval world where most manuscripts were anonymous and the others were written and modified by so many scribes. As we noted earlier, Cerquiglini argued that even when we know the author of a manuscript, the "initial" text was probably modified so many times by so many different hands that it is nearly impossible to detect the original *intentio auctoris*. While it is true that many medieval manuscripts are fundamentally palimpsestic, this argument too is a sweeping (and very ideological) generalization that does not account for all medieval manuscripts. Cerquiglini's thesis does not take into account autograph manuscripts or the fact that, in spite of interventions performed by different scribes at different times and in different geographical areas, many manuscripts preserve the same text by and large. Of course, in some cases, scribal interventions may have been quite intrusive, but the fact remains that in most cases, scribes performed relatively minor changes while preserving the text in a reasonably faithful manner. It would be more accurate to argue that occasionally, scribes could improvise themselves as (partial) co-authors of the text, but the claim that authorship was a notion alien to the Middle Ages is evidently excessive.

Discussing authorship in a positive manner became more frequent during the 1980s, when a number of landmark studies brought valuable insights into various aspects of medieval authorship. Alastair Minnis noted in his *Medieval Theory of Authorship* (1984) that although the Bible has always been considered a sacred, divinely-inspired text, late-medieval thinkers paid increased attention to the human authors as "efficient causes" of this fundamental text of Christianity. Thus, toward the end of the Middle Ages, Minnis contends, the human author was very much believed to be a topic worthy of intellectual investigation. Michel Zink noted in his *La Subjectivité littéraire* (1985; *The Invention of Literary Subjectivity*,) that many late thirteenth-century French texts revealed what he called an "invasion of authorial subjectivity." Sylvia Huot showed in her *From Song to Book* (Huot 1987) that while early French poems used to be gathered in generic multi-author *chansonniers*, the thirteenth century saw a rise in the number of single-author codices. Huot suggested thus that authors gradually became the central axis around which manuscripts were organized toward the end of the late Middle Ages. Zink and Huot's books were followed by an impressive number of critical works that were equally instrumental in reassessing and redefining medieval authorship (Buschinger, ed., 1991; Berthelot 1991; Dronke 1996; Marnette 1998; Holmes 2000; Zimmermann, ed., 2001; Coxon 2001; Cheney and de Armas, ed., 2002; Calame and Chartier, ed., 2004; Greene, ed., 2006). A number of shorter studies (Marnette

1999; Emerson 2001; Guenée 2005; Kangas et al., ed., 2013) also enriched the conversation on the medieval author. Non-medievalists, too, attempted to reassess the idea of the author in a post-post-structuralist context (Burke 1992).

Finally, beyond our modern interpretations of medieval authorship, it is equally important to remember how medieval people themselves saw this issue. With regard to the issue of anonymity, it might be useful to remember the prologue to the *Vita sancti Martini* (The Life of Saint Martin) by the fourth-century Christian historian Sulpicius Severus (ca. 363–425). In the prologue, Sulpicius Severus asks his spiritual brother Desiderius to erase the title of the book and his name so that readers may pay attention to the text itself (*materia*) and disregard the identity of the author (“suppresso, si tibi videtur, nomine libellus edatur. Quod ut fieri valeat, titulum fronti erade, ut muta sit pagina et, quod sufficit, loquatur materiam, non loquatur auctorem,” in Severus 2010, 8). Also, Gregory the Great (540–604), one of the major authors of the early medieval period, wrote in the preface to the *Moralia in Job* (Morals on the Book of Job) that since the Holy Ghost is the real author of a book, the identity of the human writer (*scriptor*) is irrelevant (“Cum ergo rem cognoscimus, ejusque rei Spiritum sanctum auctorem tenemus, quia scriptorem quaerimus, quid aliud agimus, nisi legentes litteras de calamo percontamur?” in Gregory the Great 1849, 517. “When then we understand the matter, and are persuaded that the Holy Spirit was its Author, in stirring a question about the author, what else do we than in reading a letter enquire about the pen?”). But these were Christian authors for whom anonymity was not a mere literary issue but a matter of faith. Their anonymity (which was not so successful after all ...) was part of the larger religious doctrine on the humility of man before God. Indeed, *humilitas* was a virtue that many medieval writers tried to emulate but not always successfully. In fact, many writers paid lip service to the virtue of humility while cultivating their own literary *persona* and doing their best to have their names publicized as much as possible. As for texts that did not have an author, they were regarded as “apocryphal” and they were believed to “possess an *auctoritas* far inferior to that of works which circulated under the names of *auctores*” (Minnis 1984/2010, 10). In other words, a text without an author was a text void of any authority and authenticity; a text that no one had authorized, as it were; a text on which nobody wanted to stake his or her reputation. It would therefore be erroneous to think that everyone believed, like Sulpicius Severus and Gregory the Great, in the virtues of anonymity.

The word “author” is derived from the Latin *auctor* (from the verb *augere*, “to grow” and possibly from the Greek *authentim*, “authority”) which, according to Marie-Dominique Chenu, means “someone who produces something, such as a state, a building, and more specifically a book” (Chenu 1927, 82). *Auctor* also designated someone who created an authoritative work, as opposed to the word

actor, which referred to an individual who produced something in a material sense (from the Latin *agere*, “to do” or “make”). For example, Livy would have been considered the *auctor* of *Ab urbe condita libri* (The History of Rome), in the sense that he was the source of the ideas developed in the book, while Livy’s scribe, as producer of the book manuscript, would have been the *actor*.

Later, medieval writers differentiated between the actual *auctor* of a text, the *scriptor* (that is to say the scribe or copyist), the *compilator* (that is to say the person who compiled a text from several sources), and the *commentator* (who simply comments on other people’s texts). In the thirteenth century, Saint Bonaventure (1221–1274) discussed and explained these terms in his commentary on Peter Lombard’s *Libri sententiarum* (The Sentences). The discussion started with the question whether Peter Lombard (1096–1164) should be called the “author” (and not, more modestly, the *causa efficiens*) of the *Libri sententiarum*, since God is regarded as the “author” of all things and, more specifically, the supreme author of all teachings (“Ille solus dicendus est auctor libri, qui est doctor sive auctor doctrinae; sed, sicut dicit Augustinus in libro de Magistro: “Solus Christus est doctor”: ergo solus debet dici huius libri auctor,” Bonaventure 1882–1902, 14). Bonaventure points out that there is absolutely no indication that God wrote the *Libri sententiarum* “with his own finger,” which is why Master Peter Lombard is the only one who can be considered the author of this text (“Constat quod Deus hoc opus non scripsit digito suo, ergo habuit alium, creatum auctorem; sed non est dare alium nisi Magistrum,” Bonaventure 1882–1920, 14; It is evident that God did not write this book with His own hand. Therefore, the book had another—human—author, and it can only be attributed to the Master [i.e., Peter Lombard]). Bonaventure then continues his analysis of the differences between the different types of writership and argues that “[t]he method of making a book is fourfold. For someone writes the materials of others, adding or changing nothing, and this person is said to be merely the scribe. Someone else writes the materials of others, adding, but nothing of his own, and this person is said to be the compiler. Someone else writes both the materials of other men, and of his own, but the materials of others as the principal materials, and his own annexed for the purpose of clarifying them, and this person is said to be the commentator, not the author. Someone else writes both his own materials and those of others, but his own as the principal materials, and the materials of others annexed for the purpose of confirming his own, and such must be called the author” (Bonaventure 1882–1902, 14–15; translation from Minnis 1984/2010, 94). Thus, Bonaventure, who was most certainly everything but naïve in regard to what scribes could do with a text, makes a very clear distinction between scribes on the one hand, whose duties he describes as primarily manual and on the other hand the author, who is responsible for the intellectual content of the text. The hierarchy, based on

the amount of intellectual input in the process of writing, is very clear: scribes are at the very bottom, with compilers above them, then commentators (like Bonaventure himself in relationship to Peter Lombard's book), and authors (such as Peter Lombard) at the very top of the pyramid of human authors.

Above this pyramid of human authorship stood, like a watchful eye, Christ himself, the teacher and author ("Christus ... doctor et auctor") of all things. In fact, the hierarchical difference between scribe and author seems so clear for Bonaventure that he does not feel he has to spend too much time elaborating on it. Bonaventure seems much more concerned with distinguishing between the respective roles of God and the human author, for according to Bonaventure, there are two types of teaching. The first consists in restoring one's sight ("visum restituit") and that is God's attribute, whereas the second consists of pointing the finger in a certain direction to show someone something already visible, which is what human authors do.

The *auctores* enjoyed such a prestige that they were assiduously studied in medieval schools. Alastair Minnis (Minnis 1984/2010, 13) correctly points out that "[e]very discipline, every area of study, had its *auctores*. In grammar, there were Priscian and Donatus together with the ancient poets; in rhetoric, Cicero; in dialectic, Aristotle, Porphyry and Boethius; in arithmetic, Boethius and Martianus Capella; in astronomy, Hyginus and Ptolemy; in medicine, Galen and Constantine the African; in Canon Law, Gratian; in theology, the Bible and, subsequently, Peter Lombard' *Sentences* as well." The *auctores*'s texts were considered the most authoritative and they formed the basis of the entire system of education in the Middle Ages. It is obvious from Minnis's list that the first and foremost *auctores* were ancient Greek and Roman writers; however, the presence of Peter Lombard in this list shows that the *auctoritates* system was not a closed one. For a writer to be an *auctor*, his work had to be authentic and to possess intrinsic worth (Minnis 1984/2010, 10). Authenticity, at a time when scribal falsifications were abundant, was indeed a relevant criterion. The intrinsic worth, however, was a somewhat subjective criterion. As we noted elsewhere (Bratu 2012a), one's *auctor* was another's *amateur* and vice versa. Bonaventure did think that Peter Lombard was an *auctor*, but without the accolades bestowed upon him by many other intellectuals, Lombard may have never been considered a major author. However, the lack of very clear criteria for the status of *auctor* prevented the system from ossifying and allowed newcomers such as Peter Lombard and others to enter the Pantheon of authorial excellence.

In the twelfth century, the word "author" appeared in the French vernacular, spelled *acteur*, *auteur* or *auctour*. Thus, Old French did not really differentiate between *auctor* and *actor*, as the vernacular word usually corresponded to the meaning of *auctor*, rather than *actor*. In the fourteenth century, it appears in

Middle English as well, spelled *autor*, *autour*, or *auctor*. As we mentioned elsewhere (Bratu 2012a), the Old French words *acteur*, *auteur* or *auctour* referred primarily to God as creator of the world and moral author of the Bible. Christine de Pizan, for instance, speaks of “our creator, God, father and author of everything” (“nostre createur, Dieu, le pere de tout acteur,” Pizan 1959–1966, II, v. 9010, 183) and as “infinite wisdom and creator of all things” (“Dieu, sapience / infinie, acteur de toute fourme,” Pizan 1936–1940, I, 32). In Guillaume de Machaut’s *Prise d’Alexandrie* (The Capture of Alexandria), God is also mentioned as “creator and author of the whole world” (“creatour, / Qui de tout le monde est actour,” Machaut 1877, 237). Such examples appear not only in French, for Dante, too, refers to God as the “true author” (“verace autore”) in the *Paradiso* (canto XXVI, v. 40). In *The Parson’s Tale*, Chaucer speaks of “[t]he auctour of matrimonye, that is Crist” (v. 808). Naturally, the famous authors (*auctores* or *auctoritates*) of the ancient world, such as Aristotle, Ovid, Virgil, Cato, and Caesar, were also called *auteurs* or *autours*. In Christine de Pizan’s *Livre de la paix* (The Book of Peace), the word *auteur* appears next to Seneca’s name (Pizan 1958, 175; see also Tobler and Lommatzsch, ed., I, 687–88).

Given the prestige associated with this word, a vernacular writer from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries would have never dared compare himself to God or to ancient authors by calling himself or herself an *auteur*. Although many vernacular writers from this period such as Marie de France, Wace or Benoît de Sainte-Maure did suggest that they deserved this title, they could not commit the literary heresy to call themselves authors. However, Alastair Minnis (Minnis 1984) was certainly right to argue that as the prestige of vernacular writers reached its zenith during the late Middle Ages, many of them came to be considered “authors” as well.

Several centuries after the emergence of literature in vernacular languages, many vernacular authors felt that their time had come to be recognized as authors as well. Indeed, as we showed elsewhere (Bratu 2012a), toward the end of the Middle Ages, an increasing number of vernacular writers, such as Froissart and Christine de Pizan, were bold enough to claim the prestigious title of author.

D Latin and/versus Vernacular

In the early Middle Ages, most European literature was written in Latin. Even after the decline and eventual demise of the Roman Empire in the West in the fifth century C.E., Latin remained the *lingua franca* of European intellectuals. Although the Empire that had quasigeneralized the use of Latin had collapsed, the fast-growing Christian church continued to use Latin—paradoxically, the language of

their former oppressors—as its language of communication, culture, and ritual. It is therefore not surprising that the early Middle Ages produced an abundance of theological, philosophical, and literary texts in Latin. Although nowadays we would consider theology and philosophy as separate disciplines from literature, many medieval scholars did not see their writings as strictly religious texts. Many of their writings were informed by classical authors; moreover, many of them wrote a variety of texts, from poems to letters and from religious to philosophical treatises. For instance, Jerome (347–420), known primarily for his translation of the *Bible* into Latin (known as the Vulgate), also wrote a number of chronicles, several *vitae* (*Vita Pauli monachi*, *Vita patrum*, *Vita Malchi monachi captivi*, *Vita Hilarionis*), as well as a *De viri illustribus* (*On Illustrious Men*) in which he adapted the classical model of the book dedicated to outstanding men to the needs of Christian hagiography. Classical authors had produced a number of such works. Besides the numerous anonymous texts bearing the title *De viris illustribus* or *De hominibus illustribus*, it is important to remember that Cornelius Nepos had written a *De viris illustribus* and an *Excellentium imperatorum vitae* (*Lives of Illustrious Emperors*), while Suetonius's *Lives* also served as a model for Jerome's work and later for Gennadius of Massilia's *De viris illustribus* (fifth century). Thus, like classical authors, early medieval writers had encyclopedic tendencies and many early medieval texts, whether theological, philosophical, polemical or poetic, were inspired from the rhetorical and literary tradition of the ancient world. The same model of encyclopedic erudition is evident in the writings of Augustine of Hippo (354–430), author of a number of works which are religious, philosophical, and literary at the same time: *De beata vita* (*The Happy Life*), *Contra academicos* (*Against the Academicians*), *Soliloquia* (*Soliloquies*), *De libero arbitrio* (*On Free Will*), *De magistro* (*On the Teacher*), *Confessiones* (*Confessions*), *De civitate Dei* (*The City of God*), *Epistulae* (*Letters*), to name only the most important ones. Prosper of Aquitaine (ca. 390–455), too, authored religious texts, such as *De vocatione omnium gentium* (*The Calling of All Nations*) and *Capitula*, as well as a history of the world (*Epitoma Chronicon*), instead of several texts that are both religious and literary (the *Sententia*, which are a collection of sentences or maxims, and the *Epigrammata*, which contain 106 verse epigrams). The writings of Venantius Fortunatus (530–600) follow the same pattern: he wrote eleven books of poetry, a poem on the life of Saint Martin of Tours, church hymns such as *Vexilla Regis prodeunt* (*Royal Banners*) and *Pange lingua gloriosi corporis mysterium* (*Sing, My Tongue, the Savior's Glory*), prose *vitae* on the lives of Saint Germain of Paris, Saint Rémi of Rheims, Saint Médard of Noyon, Saint Aubin of Angers, saints Marcel and Radegund, a poem on the cathedral of Paris (*De ecclesia Parisiaca*), and four panegyrics in honor of four Frankish kings (Sigibert, Charibert, Chilperic, and Childebert II).

Other writers, such as Gregory of Tours (ca. 538–594) found it useful to write down the history of their time, and it is thanks to Gregory's *Historia Francorum* (The History of the Franks) that we possess a wealth of information on the history of early Frankish kings. A great admirer of the ancient world, Gregory complained that his contemporaries did not appreciate literature and arts as much as past generations. In addition to his history of the Franks in ten books, he also wrote the *Septem libri miraculorum* (Seven Books of Miracles), a collection of legends on Christian martyrs and confessors, a treatise on stars (*De cursu stellarum*), and several other texts that are now lost (a commentary on the Psalter, a preface to a treatise by Sidonius Apollinaris, etc.). His intellectual formation owed a great deal to Virgil, Martianus Capella, and Sallust (the latter being constantly quoted by Gregory in his works). Gregory of Tours was not the only one who believed that it was his duty to continue the intellectual endeavors of times past and reverse the cultural decline of his age. Considerable efforts were made to preserve the culture of the ancient world by the likes of Boethius (480–525), who translated some of Aristotle's works into Latin, and Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636), who collected in his *Etymologiae* (The Etymologies) most of the knowledge available during his time.

Of course, not all early medieval writers were encyclopedic intellectuals. Although an ecclesiastic, Sidonius Apollinaris (430–ca. 490) wrote mostly literary texts. His *Carmina* contain 24 poems, including a few panegyrics on different emperors inspired from authors such as Statius, Ausonius, and Claudian. These texts were all written before 469, that is to say prior to the date when Sidonius Apollinaris became bishop of Clermont. In addition to the *Carmina*, he also wrote a considerable number of *Epistulae* (Letters) based on the Symmachian model.

Once again, most of these early medieval Latinate intellectuals were associated one way or the other with the Church. Augustine was bishop of Hippo; though a layman, Prosper of Aquitaine was a disciple of Augustine; Sidonius Apollinaris was bishop of Clermont; Venantius Fortunatus was bishop of Poitiers, and Gregory had the same function in Tours; Isidore was Archbishop of Seville. Others were simple monks, such as Bede (673–735), the author of the *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (The Ecclesiastical History of the English People). This was normal at a time when the Church was not only a religious institution but also one of the few institutions that preserved classical and medieval manuscripts in their monasteries.

It would be useful to remember here the case of Cassiodorus (ca. 485–585), the founder of the monastery and the monastery school of Vivarium, in southern Italy. This monastery possessed an impressive number of manuscripts for according to Cassiodorus, a good Christian needed to be familiar with secular texts as well. In his *Institutiones* (The Institutes), he made it very clear that classical authors could be in certain cases just as useful (and certainly as eloquent) as the

Bible. Of course, a Christian like Cassiodorus did not believe that classical authors could supplant Scripture but he most definitely saw them as an important supplement. That is why he considered that it was a monk's duty to help preserve classical and contemporary manuscripts by copying and, if possible, decorating or illuminating them (on medieval illuminators, see Alexander 1992). At a time when Italy's relics were being destroyed by Ostrogothic armies, Cassiodorus took it upon himself to (at least attempted to) reverse the decline and destruction of the arts. Of course, not all medieval monks shared Cassiodorus's love of ancient (secular) literature but it is most definitely thanks to people like Cassiodorus that monasteries became active centers of preservation and production of culture in the Middle Ages.

During the Carolingian era, too, most intellectuals were associated with the Church in one way or the other. Eginhard (ca. 775–840), the historian of the Carolingian court and later secretary of Louis the Pious, was educated by the monks of the abbey of Fulda. After completing the *Vita Karoli Magni* (The Life of Charlemagne), he founded a Benedictine monastery and served as its abbot until his death. Alcuin (ca. 735–804), the man that Einhard called “the most learned man in the world” and the author of numerous poems, epistles, didactic and hagiographic writings, was the student of Archbishop Ecgbert of York and became abbot of Tours. Hrabanus Maurus (ca. 780–856), a Benedictine monk and later archbishop of Mainz, authored an important encyclopedia titled *De rerum naturis* (On the Nature of Things) and many treatises on education, grammar, as well as scriptural commentaries. Hincmar (806–882), also a prolific writer, author of theological and political texts (on predestination and free will, on churches and chapels, on the governance of the palace, on the person of the king, and much more—*De praedestinatione Dei et libero arbitrio*, *De ecclesiis et capellis*, *De ordine palatii*, *De regis persona et regio ministerio*, *Instructio ad Ludovicum regem*), was archbishop of Rheims. At this time, literature in vernacular languages, though not inexistent, was far from the level of sophistication reached by Latin literature. Maybe only in Greek (or Byzantine) literature can we find a significant number of literary, historical, and encyclopedic texts that could come close to the level attained by Latin literature. Thus, the Hellenophone areas of Europe produced a remarkable number of historians such as Evagrius (sixth century), Agathias (530–end of the sixth century), emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (905–959, author of two treatises, *On Ceremonies* and *On the Governance of the Empire*), Michael Attaliates (eleventh century), princess Anna Komnena (eleventh–twelfth centuries, author of the *Alexiad*), John Kinnamus (twelfth-century continuator of Komnena's history), Nicetas Choniates (ca. 1155–1215), George Akropolites (thirteenth century), George Pachymeres (thirteenth–fourteenth centuries), and emperor John VI Kantakouzenos (thirteenth–fourteenth centuries, author of a *History* in four books).

We should also mention here the Greek-Byzantine tradition of chronicling, which began with the *Chronographiai* (Chronicle) in five books of Sextus Julius Africanus (ca. 160–240), and was continued later by John Malalas (ca. 491–578), Theophanes the Confessor (ca. 760–818), and John Zonaras (twelfth century). Like the Latin West, Byzantium could boast a number of encyclopedic scholars. Photius (ca. 810–893), also known as Photius I of Constantinople since he exercised the function of Patriarch on Constantinople between 858–867 and 877–886, was the author of the *Myriobiblion* (The Library), in which Photius essentially reviewed and summarized 279 books that he had read. Michael Psellos (1018–1078), known primarily for his *Chronographia*, also wrote a number of philosophical and religious texts, didactic poems, epitaphs for several patriarchs, panegyrics, epistles, satires, and other texts. Of the lesser-known encyclopedists, we should mention Maximus Planudes. Planudes was a thirteenth-century compiler of a collection of texts known as the *Greek Anthology* and author of treatises on Greek grammar and syntax, of a biography of Aesop. He also translated Claudius Ptolemaeus's *Geography* into Latin and several other texts into Greek: Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* (The Dream of Scipio), Caesar's *De bello gallico* (The Gallic War), Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Boethius's *De consolazione philosophiae* (The Consolation of Philosophy), and Augustine's *De trinitate* (On Trinity).

In addition, there were numerous other literary genres that flourished in Byzantium. Such is the case with poetry (see, for instance, John Geometres, or Theodore Metochites's *Poems*), epigrammatic literature (the epigrams of Agathias, Georgius Pisides, Christopher of Mitylene, Theodore the Studite), panegyrics (a major name here is Paul the Silentiary, from the sixth century), begging poems (Theodore Prodromos in the twelfth century and Manuel Philes in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries), satires, and popular poetry or folksongs (such as the *Digenis Akritas*). The discussion on Byzantine literature would be incomplete without mentioning another important genre, which is the Byzantine novel. In the twelfth century, during the Comnenian period, the ancient Greek romance novel was rediscovered and brought back to life in a Christianized form. Of the many novels that were created during the Middle Ages, only a few survive: *Aristandros and Kallithea* by Constantine Manasses, *Hysimine and Hysimines* by Eusthathios Makrembolites, *Rodanthe and Dosikles* by Theodore Prodromos, and *Drosilla and Charikles* by Niketas Eugenianos. As we will see later, the twelfth century marks the rise of vernacular novels in the West as well. Toward the end of the Middle Ages, we have several other Greek novels: *Belthandros and Chrysantza*, *Kallimachos and Chrysorroï*, and *Livistros and Rodamini*. However, just like Latin literature flourished in the areas where the Roman Empire had once existed and where the Catholic Church was still dominant, Greek literature flourished in part thanks to the Byzantine Empire. Like Latin, Greek literature benefitted from the presence of

an imperial institutional architecture to back it up. But the other vernacular languages, such as German, English or French, took much longer to create their own vernacular literary tradition.

In the wider Germanic realm, we have a certain number of texts pre-dating the twelfth century. It should be mentioned that we possess a number of Runic inscriptions that, while not necessarily literary, attest to the existence of writing in this area. The number of Runic inscriptions, from the British Isles to Scandinavia and what is now Germany nears a total of 6,500. Out of these, over 300 are written in Elder Futhark (from the second to the eighth centuries). The oldest surviving rune is on the Vimose Comb and dates to ca. 160 C.E. The Vimose Comb is a large comb found in the bog of Vimose, on the island of Funen in Denmark, and the inscription reads “harja,” which is believed to be either a personal name or maybe simply the word for comb (“harjaz”). We also have approximately 100 items with inscriptions in Anglo-Frisian Futhorc from the fifth to the eleventh centuries and nearly 6,000 items in Younger Futhark, most of them on rune stones and dating from the eighth to the twelfth centuries. We know that literary texts were recorded in Runic script but very little has survived. There are, for instance, Old English rune poems from the eighth or ninth century. Unfortunately, the only manuscript recording the poems, the Cotton Otho B.x. was destroyed in a fire in 1731, and all subsequent editions of the poems are based on George Hickes’s 1705 facsimile.

However, *Caedmon’s Hymn*, apparently composed in the seventh century, is considered to be the oldest text in Old English. The *Hymn* is a short poem composed by a certain Caedmon, who is considered the first Old English poet. The poem was preserved both in Latin and in vernacular in Bede’s *Historia ecclesiastica* and, according to Bede, its author lived at the abbey of Whitby (Northumbria) in the seventh century. In short, the *Hymn* is a religious poem in which the poet praises God as the guardian of heavens (“hefaenricaes uard”). *Beowulf*, one of the most famous poems of English and world literature, is contained in a single manuscript (the Nowell codex) and was composed by an anonymous Anglo-Saxon poet some time between the eighth and the eleventh century. It would be impossible to speak of Old English literature without mentioning Alfred the Great (849–899), whose intellectual abilities were absolutely remarkable. One of the declared purposes of his reign was the improvement of education in England and, in particular, of education in the native tongue of his country. It is thanks to Alfred’s determination that fifty Psalms, together with Gregory the Great’s *Liber regulae pastoralis* (The Book of Pastoral Care), Boethius’s *De consolazione philosophiae*, Augustine’s *Soliloquia*, Orosius’s *Historiae adversum paganos libri septem* (Seven Books of History against the Pagans) and other texts were translated into Old English. It is also during Alfred’s reign that the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was

composed. Literature in Old English did not cease to exist after the Norman conquest of 1066 but it was certainly transformed after this event, just like the country itself.

In the German-speaking realm, the Codex Abrogans is the oldest book written in Old High German, dating back to the second half of the eighth century. The manuscript (Codex 911), now preserved at the Stiftsbibliothek in St. Gall, is a glossary from Latin to Old High German. The codex, attributed to Ardeo, Bishop of Freising, contains approximately 3,670 Old High German words (and ca. 14,600 examples) and it is an essential text for the history of the German language. We should also mention the *Merseburger Zaubersprüche* (Merseburg Incantations), which are two magic (pre-Christian, pagan) spells which are believed to date back to the eighth or ninth century and are recorded in a theological manuscript from Fulda (Codex 136 f. 85a) dating from the ninth or tenth century. *Das Wessobrunner Gebet* or *Wessobrunner Schöpfungsgedicht* (The Wessobrunn Prayer), dating from approximately 790 and recorded in a manuscript produced around 814 (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich, Clm. 22053 III, fols. 65b-66a), is also among the earliest recorded texts in Old High German. Named after the Benedictine Wessobrunn Abbey in Bavaria and composed by an anonymous author, the poem contains a praise of Creation in verse in the first part and a prayer in prose in the second part.

The first truly literary text is generally considered to be the heroic *Hildebrandslied* or *Lay of Hildebrand* from the ninth century. The lay contains 68 lines of alliterative verse and it tells the story of two warriors who meet on the battlefield. The older warrior, Hildebrand, asks his younger opponent, Hadubrand, who he is. Not knowing who his adversary is, Hadubrand responds that he did not know his father but the elders and sailors had told him that his father was a certain Hildebrand. The latter answers that he would not fight a kinsman, thus implying that Hadubrand is his son. However, Hadubrand believes this is only a ruse and engages in battle with his opponent. Unfortunately, as this is only a fragment from a larger poem, we do not know the outcome of the battle, though we can be certain that it will be tragic (see Haubrichs, ed., 1988; Classen 2002). Another important example of ninth-century epic poetry is the *Muspilli*, a fragment of which survived as marginalia in a codex which belonged to Louis the German (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich, cim. 14098). The poem is believed to be a Christianization of the pagan *Ragnarök*. In the first part, the poem discusses the life of the soul after the death, whereas the second part describes a battle between heaven and hell over a human's soul. This is followed by another battle between the Antichrist and Elijah, and the poem ends with a description of the Resurrection and Judgment Day. In addition to these important epic poems, we also possess a few other texts, such as the *Kasseler Gespräche* (Kassel Conversations, a collection of Latin phrases

translated into Old High German, ca. 810), Hrabanus Maurus's Old High German translation of Tatian's *Diatessaron* (ca. 830), Otfrid of Weissenburg's gospel harmony known as the *Evangelienbuch* (composed between 863–871), the religious *Petruslied* (Song of Saint Peter, ca. 880, from Bavaria), the *Georgslied* on the life of Saint George (from the 880s), and the *Ludwigslied* (The Song of Louis, ca. 881–882, which describes and celebrates the victory of Louis III of France over the Vikings at the Battle of Saucourt-en-Vimeu on August 3, 881). Interestingly enough, the *Ludwigslied* is preserved in a ninth-century manuscript (formerly belonging to the Saint-Amand monastery, now Bibliothèque Municipale de Valenciennes, Codex 150, fols. 141v–143r) which also contains one of the oldest texts in Old French, the *Sequence of Saint Eulalia*, which we will discuss shortly. Although literary creations in Old High German are more numerous than in other vernacular languages, they still cannot compare to the sheer amount of texts produced in Latin. Moreover, like in French literature, it is really from the end of the eleventh century on that German vernacular literature develops at a dramatic pace.

In France, there are relatively few texts prior to the twelfth century, and the texts that we inherited from this period could hardly compete with the output in Latin. Ironically, what is considered to be the very first text in “French” (or Romance), the *Serments de Strasbourg* (Oaths of Strasbourg), appears in a Latin text from the tenth or eleventh century, Nithard's *De dissensionibus filiorum Ludovici pii* (On the Dissensions of the Sons of Louis the Pious, Bibliothèque Nationale de France ms. cod. lat. 9768). In fact, the very first poem in Old English was mentioned in a Latin text as well. The Oaths of Strasbourg were taken in 842 and they were an agreement between two of Charlemagne's grandsons, Charles the Bald, the king of West Francia, and Louis the German, ruler of East Francia. Moreover, the two half-brothers pledged to oppose the eldest brother, Lothair I. The oaths were recorded in three languages: medieval Latin, Old French, and Old High German. The Old French text still strikes modern readers as an intermediate form between Latin and French (“Pro Deo amur et pro christian poblo et nostro commun saluament, d'ist di in auant, in quant Deus sauir et podir me dunat, si saluarai eo cist meon fradre Karlo, et in adiudha et in cadhuna cosa si cum om per dreit son fradra saluar dist, in o quid il mi altresi fazet. Et ab Ludher nul plaid nunquam prindrai qui meon uol cist meon fradre Karle in damno sit”). It should be noted, however, that it is far from certain whether this is the actual oath that the two brothers took; also, since the Old French text was written by a Latinate who essentially had to improvise in order to render the Old French text, it is also uncertain whether this was indeed how the text sounded in Old French. Between the ninth and the twelfth centuries, there are very few texts in Old French. The *Cantilène de Sainte-Eulalie*, for instance, is the oldest piece of Old French hagiography and it was composed around 880, that is to say a few decades after the

Oaths of Strasbourg. Also known as the *Sequence of Saint Eulalia*, the text is a 29-verse poem on Eulalia, a Christian martyr killed during Diocletian's repression. In the poem, however, she is allegedly martyred by emperor Maximian. Although she survived being burned at the stake, she was eventually decapitated and her soul ascended to heaven. Also in terms of hagiography, we have *La vie de Saint Léger* (The Life of Saint Leger) from the end of the tenth century, and *La vie de Saint Alexis* (The Life of Saint Alexis) from the eleventh century. It is only from the twelfth century on that literary productions in Old French become more numerous and more consistent.

Thus, the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century marks a new phase in the development of vernacular literatures. From this period on, the amount of vernacular literary texts increases dramatically and the gap between texts written in Latin and respectively in vernacular languages is gradually narrowing. In spite of the emergence of vernacular literatures, Latin literature continued to exist—and thrive—until the end of the Middle Ages (and far beyond that mark, if we consider that texts in Latin—or neo-Latin—were written well into the nineteenth century). Most religious and philosophical treatises continued to be written in Latin, along with many historical writings. Eleventh-century prelates such as Berengar of Tours and Marbodus of Rennes (author of various saints' lives and theological treatises and also of many hymns and lyric poems) wrote their works in Latin; the same can be said about the historians Marianus Scotus (author of a universal history named *Chronicon*) and Adam of Bremen (author of a history of the bishops of Hamburg, the *Gesta Hamburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*). In the twelfth century, too, Latin continued to be the *lingua franca* of European philosophers and theologians, as we can gather from the works of Abelard (author of numerous treatises on dialectics, theology, and ethics, such as *Dialectica*, *Theologia christiana*, *Ethica*, and of a more personal story focused on his misfortunes, the *Historia calamitatum*) and Aelred de Rievaulx (author of several religious treatises, such as *De anima* or *On the Soul*). Among twelfth-century Latin historians, we should mention Abbot Suger (author of a history of Louis the Fat, the *Vita Ludovici regis*), Aelred of Rievaulx once again (in addition to his religious treatises, he also wrote a genealogy of the English kings and a life of Edward the Confessor, known as *Genealogia regum anglorum* and *Vita Sancti Eduardi, regis et confessoris* respectively), Otto of Freising (wrote a history of the Emperor Frederick I, *Gesta Frederici imperatoris*), and William of Tyre (author of a *Historia*, later translated into Old French), to name only a few. Adam of Saint Victor, the Archpoet, and Peter of Blois wrote poems, hymns, and sequences in Latin.

In the thirteenth century, too, major theologians continued the tradition of Latinate erudition. Such was the case with Albertus Magnus, Roger Bacon (see his main work, the *Opus maius*), Thomas Aquinas (author of a summa against the

Gentiles, *Summa contra gentiles*, of a theological treatise known as the *Summa theologia*, and of a work on being and essence, *De ente et essentia*, to name only the most important ones), Siger of Brabant (wrote on the soul, logic, nature, and the eternity of the world respectively in his treatises *De anima intellectiva*, *Quaestiones logicae*, *Quaestiones naturales*, and *De aeternitate mundi*), and Duns Scotus (see his treatise on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, *Quaestiones subtilissimae super Metaphysicam Aristotelis*). Also in the thirteenth century, Saxo Grammaticus wrote the first full history of Denmark under the title *Gesta Danorum*.

In the fourteenth century, the philosopher William of Ockham wrote his treatises, quite predictably, in Latin: *Summa logicae* (The Sum of Logic), *Quaestiones in octo libros physicorum Aristotelis* (On the Eighth Book of Aristotle's Physics), *Expositio aurea super artem veterem Aristotelis* (Golden Exposition of the Ancient Art of Aristotle), and others. The historian Ranulf Higden wrote his *Polychronicon* in the same language. In fact, Latin literature was revived under the influence of humanism, which led to the emergence of what is sometimes referred to as Renaissance Latin. Renaissance humanists believed that medieval Latin had added too many terms that were not in the spirit of the Latin language and that these terms had to be purged from "pure" Latin. Moreover, such purification could be achieved by returning *ad fontes* (Tracy 1987), that is to say to the sources of Latin antiquity. Thus, they believed that Latin could be de-Gothicized, as it were, by returning to Virgil, Cicero, and Horace. Moreover, one needed to spell Latin correctly: *aevum* and *etiam*; not, as medieval scribes often wrote, *evum* and *eciam*; gothic script needed to make way for the humanist minuscule, inspired from the Carolingian minuscule which, in turn, was inspired from ancient Latin script. Major vernacular writers, such as Dante (see his *De vulgari eloquentia*), Petrarch (author of *De viris illustribus*, *De remediis utriusque fortunae* or Remedies for Fortune Fair and Foul, and of a guide to the Holy Land known as the *Itinerarium*), and Boccaccio (*Genealogia deorum gentilium*, that is to say On the Genealogy of the Gods of the Gentiles), wrote in Latin as well as in vernacular. In the fifteenth century, the works of humanists such as Lorenzo Valla (author of a book on the elegance of Latin, *De elegantissimae Latinae linguae*), Leonardo Bruni (author of a history of Florence, *Historia Florentini populi*), Antonio de Nebrija (an introduction to Latin known as *Introductiones latinae*), and Marsilio Ficino (author of a treatise on the Platonic theology of the immortality of the soul, the *Theologia platonica de immortalitate animae*) show how vibrant Latin remained until the autumn of the Middle Ages and beyond.

In parallel, interest in vernacular languages increases toward the end of the Middle Ages and during the Renaissance. Antonio Nebrija, whom we mentioned earlier as the author of the *Introductiones latinae*, also wrote the very first grammar of the Spanish language, *La Gramática de la lengua castellana* (The

Grammar of the Castilian Language) in 1492—the same year as Columbus’s voyage to the Americas. In addition, he also wrote a Latin-Spanish (1492) and a Spanish-Latin (1495) dictionary. In 1517, he published a book on spelling in Spanish (*Reglas de ortografía española*, that is to say The Rules of Spanish Spelling). Nebrija’s work was crucial for the development of critical and intellectual interest in vernacular languages—Spanish in particular. Thus, the sixteenth century in Spain was a period of intense debates on the nature of the Spanish language, on orthographic and stylistic rules, and proof thereof are the numerous books published on this subject, such as Juan de Valdés’s *Diálogo de la Lengua* (Dialogue on Language, 1535), Andrés Flórez’s *Arte para bien leer y escribir* (The Art of Reading and Writing Well, 1552), Martín Cordero’s *La manera de escribir en castellano* (How to Write in Castilian, 1556), and Cristóbal de Villalón’s *Gramática castellana* (Castilian Grammar, 1558). In Italy, Pietro Bembo argued in his *Prose della volgar lingua* (Writings on Vernacular Eloquence, 1525) that Petrarch should be considered as the perfect model for writing in Italian. In north-western Europe, the rise of Protestantism, with its insistence on the need for the common folk to be able to understand the Gospel and mass in their own language, was crucial in the development of “national” vernacular languages. Martin Luther’s translation of the New Testament into German in 1522 and of the Old Testament in 1534 was a crucial landmark in the history of the German language.

In France, too, the debate on the importance of the vernacular language is intensifying. In 1529, Geoffroy Tory defended the French language in his *Champ-fleury*. It is after the publication of this book that Francis I of France chose Tory as his official publisher and printer in 1531. Eight years later, on August 10, 1539, Francis I adopted the edict of Villers-Cotterêts which, in articles 110 and 111, prescribed that French (not Latin) be used in all judicial and official documents. This was indeed a landmark decision in the history of the French language. The debate on the literary merits of French continued well into the second half of the sixteenth century, and one of the most notable texts in this debate was Joachim du Bellay’s *Défense et illustration de la langue française* (Defense and Illustration of the French Language, 1549). Du Bellay’s *Défense et illustration* is an excellent example of the confidence that vernacular writers mustered all over Europe during the Renaissance but it also illustrates some of the dilemmas and paradoxes of the vernacular-versus-Latin debate. On the one hand, Du Bellay argued that writing in French was at least as worthy an endeavor as writing in Latin; on the other, Du Bellay claimed that French had to purge its “Gothic” accretions and purify itself by drawing inspiration from the classics, most from notably Greek and Latin *auctores*. Thus, although reviled as the archrival of vernacular languages, Latin literature did not cease to be seen as a worthy source of inspiration.

E Major Genres of Medieval Literature

I Epic and Lyrical Poetry

As we noticed earlier, some of the early medieval poems, such as *Caedmon's Hymn* and the *Cantilène de Sainte Eulalie*, were religious in nature. But the “bestsellers” of the day were, in fact, epic poems narrating battles between armies or individual heroes. Such was the case with the German *Hildebrandslied* or the Old English *Beowulf*. The latter poem is the story of Beowulf, a Scandinavian Geat hero, who comes to the rescue of the Danish King Hrothgar by killing Grendel, Hrothgar's enemy. The victorious Beowulf then returns to Geatland in Sweden and becomes king of the Geats. Fifty years later, Beowulf defeats a dragon but he dies from the wounds sustained from the battle and is buried in a tumulus in Geatland (see Orchard 2003; Carruthers 2011).

In France, epic poems were called *chansons de geste* because they usually glorified the deeds (*gesta* in Latin, *geste* in Old French) of various heroes. Initially, many of these poems circulated orally and were written down at a later date, between the eleventh and the twelfth centuries. One of the most famous *chansons de geste*, the *Chanson de Roland* (The Song of Roland), narrates events which supposedly took place during Charlemagne's reign. In the Song, Charlemagne is portrayed fighting the Muslims in Spain. The last pocket of Muslim resistance is in Saragossa, ruled by king Marsilla, who promises to convert to Christianity if the Franks return to their homeland. Charlemagne accepts the offer and needs to select a messenger to Marsilla's court. Roland, one of Charlemagne's best warriors, proposes Ganelon, his father-in-law, as a messenger but Ganelon is not at all happy to embark on such a dangerous mission. Plotting his revenge against Roland, Ganelon tells the Saracens how to ambush Charlemagne's rear guard which will surely be led by Roland. The Saracens ambush the vastly outnumbered Franks in Roncevaux (Roncesvalles). The “wise Oliver” asks Roland to blow his “olifant,” a horn made from an elephant tusk, but the all-too-proud Roland refuses to ask for help. Later, Roland realizes that he cannot possibly win this battle and belatedly blows the olifant so hard that his temples burst; alas, Roland dies but the saints take his soul to Heaven. Charlemagne kills Baligant, a major Muslim leader, then conquers Saragossa and returns to Aix, where Ganelon is eventually sentenced to death for treason and killed (see Delbouille 1954; Duggan 1973; 1976; Haidu 1993).

Chansons de gestes were so popular that they gave birth to numerous cycles of *gestes*. The King's *geste*, which includes the *Chanson de Roland*, the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* (The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne), *Fierabras*, *Aspremont*, the *Chanson de Saisnes* (The Song of the Saxons) by Jean Bodel, *Huon de Bordeaux*,

Berthe aux grands pieds (Bertha Broadfoot) and *Les Enfances Ogier* (Ogier's Youth) by Adenet le Roi, *Ogier le Danois* (Ogier the Dane) by Raimbert de Paris, and others), usually focuses on Charlemagne or one of his successors. The *geste* of Garin of Monglane narrates the deeds of William of Orange and includes, among others, *La Chanson de Guillaume* (The Song of William), *Le Couronnement de Louis* (The Coronation of Louis), *Le Charroi de Nîmes* (The Cartage of Nîmes), *La Prise d'Orange* (The Capture of Orange), *Aliscans*, *Le Moniage Rainouart* (Rainouart in the Monastery) by Graindor de Brie, *Floovant*, *Aymeri de Narbonne* by Bertrand de Bar-sur-Aube, *Les Enfances Guillaume* (William's Youth), *Le Moniage Guillaume* (William in the Monastery). The *geste* of Doon of Mayence (*Gormond et Isembart*, *Girart de Roussillon*, *Raoul de Cambrai*, *Doon de Mayence*) focuses on rebels, traitors, and revolts. In addition to these three main cycles, there is also the Lorraine cycle (see *Garin le Loherain*) and the Crusade cycle, which includes *La Chanson d'Antioche* (The Song of Antioch), *Les Enfances Godefroi* (Godfrey's Youth), *La Mort de Godefroi de Bouillon* (The Death of Godfrey of Bouillon), *Matabrune*, etc. Most of these texts were composed between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries but *chansons de geste* were composed until the end of the medieval period, which shows just how popular these poems were.

Indeed, epic poems were composed, transmitted, and enjoyed all over Europe. In Spain, *El Cantar de Myo Çid* (or the Poem of the Cid), presumably composed in the twelfth century, narrates the story of El Cid, a Castilian hero who married Doña Ximena, the cousin of King Alfonso VI, and was sent into exile by the King for allegedly stealing money from him. In order to restore his honor, El Cid fought against the Moors and reconquered Valencia for the King of Castile and Leon. Later in the *Poem*, El Cid's daughters marry the princes of Navarre and Aragon, thus laying the bases for the unification of Spain (see Menéndez Pidal 1963; Lacarra 1980; Deyermond 1987; Fletcher 1989). In Scandinavia, the *Poetic Edda* contains a number of mythological poems but also a series of lays focusing on the deeds of mortal heroes, which form three cycles: the Helgi Hundingsbani cycle, the Niflung (or Nibelungs) cycle, and the lays of Jörmunrekkr, the king of the Goths (see Glendinning and Bessason, ed., 1983; Acker and Larrington 2002).

Another type of epic narrative are romances. However, unlike in the *chansons de geste*, the authors of most romances did not draw inspiration from medieval historical events. Many romances tend to focus on the courtly behavior of the heroes, and their topics are often inspired from ancient texts or local folklore. Thus, romances possess a certain number of features that differentiate them from other types of epic, which is why we will discuss them in the next section.

Lyric poetry is the other major type of text in verse practiced in the Middle Ages. Some lyric poems were, as we mentioned earlier, religious in nature, while others were mostly secular in terms of content. Such is the case with the trouba-

dour poetry, which emerged in eleventh-century Occitania, and later spread to northern France (where such poets were known as *trouvères*), Italy, Spain, Portugal, Germany (this type of poetry was known as *Minnesang*). The word troubadour comes from the Occitan verb *trobare*, which means to compose, create, discuss, or invent, and it is related to the northern French verb *trouver*, to the Italian *trovare*, etc. The verb is presumably derived from the late or medieval Latin verb *tropare*, which meant to compose a poem (by using tropes, hence *tropare*). There is a wide range of theories regarding the sources of troubadour poetry, and many critics detected various (possible) influences on troubadour lyric, such as Arabic, pre-Christian, Christian Marianist, Cathar, Neoplatonic, Goliardic, and folkloric influences (see Riquer 1975; Boase 1977; Akehurst and Davis, ed., 1995; Gaunt and Kay, ed., 1999).

The earliest known troubadour is the Duke William IX of Aquitaine (1071–1126), although it is believed that Eble II of Ventadorn, whose works have not survived, composed troubadour poetry before William. The tradition seems to have originated in an area consisting of Aquitaine and Poitou, and spread from there to all of Languedoc, Catalonia, northern Italy, and northern France. Many of the early troubadours, such as William of Aquitaine, Cercamon, Marcabru, Jaufre Rudel, were noblemen, some of very high rank. Others, such as Peire de Maensac, Peirol, Uc de Pena, and Raimon de Miraval, were poor knights. Lower-class troubadours, such as Elias de Barjols, Salh d'Escola, Perdigon, or Arnaut de Mareuil, became more common later in the Middle Ages.

The favorite topics of troubadour songs were chivalry and courtly love, and there were several styles of troubadour poetry: *trobar leu* (light), *trobar ric* (rich), and *trobar clus* (hermetic). This type of poetry could be practiced in a very wide variety of subgenres, such as *albas* (morning or dawn songs, in which dawn approaches while someone alerts the lover that the jealous husband is nearby), *cansos* (love songs), *canso de crozada* (crusader songs), *dansas* or *balladas* (dance songs), *ensenhamens* (didactic poems), *gaps* (boasting songs), *maldits* (a song in which the lover is complaining about the lady's behavior, refusal, etc.), *sirventes* (usually a satire narrated by a soldier), *tensos* (debates), and others. Although the golden age of troubadour poetry is situated between the 1170s and the 1220s, troubadour poems continued to be produced until the late thirteenth century by poets such as Bernart d'Auriac, Joan Miralhas, Raimon Gaucelm, and Joan Esteve (known as the "school of Béziers").

However, the influence of troubadour poetry extended far beyond the thirteenth century, and also far beyond the borders of Occitania. In Germany, for instance, the earliest *Minnesänger*, Der von Kürenberg and Dietmar von Aist, composed *Minnelieder* in the late twelfth century. At that time, many *Minnesänger*, such as Friedrich von Hausen, were influenced by Occitan troubadours. Later

poets, such as Heinrich von Morungen, Reinmar von Hagenau, Walther von der Vogelweide, and Neidhart innovated and tried to break away from the Occitan influence (see Taylor 1968; Sayce 1982; and Schweikle 1989/1995). In Italy, many a city magistrate (*podestà*), such as Rambertino Buvaelli, Luca Grimaldi, Perceval, and Simon Doria, wrote troubadour poetry as well (on troubadour music, see Aubrey 1996).

Dante Alighieri (ca. 1265–1321) himself was tremendously influenced by troubadour poetry. In his *De vulgari eloquentia* (On Eloquence in the Vernacular), Dante constantly cites Giraut de Bornelh, Thibaut de Navarre, Bertrand de Born, and Arnaud Daniel, calling them “viri illustri” and “doctores eloquentes,” along with classical authors such as Ovid, Virgil, and others. Some themes of troubadour poetry also influenced the Italian *dolce stil novo* or *stilnovismo*, which emphasized love (*amore*) and *gentilezza* (gentleness, noblemindedness). But whereas love in troubadour poetry was both emotional and physical, stilnovist love was more intellectual, if not metaphysical (for a poet who rejects stilnovist ideals, see Cecco Angiolieri). The main representatives of stilnovist poetry were Guido Guinizzelli, Guido Cavalcanti—both of them are also quoted abundantly in Dante’s *De vulgari eloquentia*—and Dante himself. Love is also the main topic of Dante’s *Vita nuova* (The New Life, ca. 1295), which contains 42 chapters with commentaries on one ballata, four songs, and 25 sonnets. One of the songs is left unfinished, as it is interrupted by the death of Beatrice (di Folco) Portinari, Dante’s muse. Naturally, Dante’s most famous poetic work is the *Divina Commedia* (The Divine Comedy), a massive lyric-cum-epic poem that Dante composed between ca. 1308 and his death, in 1321. This first-person poem, divided into three canticas, Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise (each composed of 33 cantos), narrates Dante’s travels through Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven. These travels have been interpreted in different ways: as a fictional imaginary trip by the narrator, as a means for Dante to settle scores or promote various writers and historical characters, as an allegorical journey of the soul toward God. Undoubtedly, the *Divine Comedy* is one of the most important poems of the Middle Ages, which draws on various intellectual sources, such as Christian theology, Thomistic philosophy (which is why it has often been called a *Summa* in verse), and other literary texts of the ancient and medieval world.

The *Divine Comedy* also became a prime example of writing in Tuscan vernacular, a foundation which Petrarch and Boccaccio later built upon. With Petrarch (1304–1374), Italian literature enters the era of humanism—an era of rediscovery of classical texts. Indeed, Petrarch’s classical education vastly influenced his poetic works, known collectively as the *Canzoniere* (Song Book). The *Canzoniere* consists of three parts: poems composed during the lifetime of his own muse, Laura; poems written after Laura’s death; and the final part, also known as

the *Trionfi* (Triumphs). Like troubadour poetry (the other major source of inspiration for Petrarch), the poems of the *Canzoniere* focus on love. However, Petrarchan love is neither primarily physical like in (some) troubadour poetry nor mostly intellectual as in Dante. The influence of Petrarch on medieval and later literature was tremendous. Let us not forget that Chaucer adopted and used a section of the *Canzoniere* in his *Troilus and Criseyde*, while French Renaissance writers Clément Marot and Joachim du Bellay were great admirers (and, in part, imitators) of Petrarch. It is also Petrarch who developed the pattern and structure of what is nowadays known as the Italian sonnet. The sonnet's fourteen lines were divided into an octave (the first eight lines of the poem, sometimes subdivided into two quatrains) and a sestet (the remaining six lines). The octave usually has an a b b a / a b b a rhyme pattern, while the sestet generally has a c d e / c d e pattern. Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375), the other important member of the triad of major medieval Italian writers, is primarily known for his *Decameron*, but we should also remember him for his poetry. Among his most important poetic works are the narrative poems *Filostrato* (written in the 1330s, and which served as a source of inspiration for Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*), the *Teseida delle nozze d'Emilia* (The Theseid, Concerning the Nuptials of Emily, ca. 1340–1341, and which, again, inspired Chaucer for his own *Knight's Tale* from the *Canterbury Tales*), the *Amorosa visione* (Vision of Love, 1342), a collection of sixteen eclogues known as the *Bucolicum carmen* (Bucolic Poem, written in the late 1360s), and a collection of *Rime* (Rhymes, finished in ca. 1374).

As we noted earlier, Italian writers were a major influence on Geoffrey Chaucer (1343–ca. 1400), England's most celebrated medieval writer. Next to Petrarch and Boccaccio, the *Romance of the Rose* (Chaucer seems to have translated part of it into English) and Greek-Roman mythology were the other major sources of inspiration for the English writer. For instance, one of his early poems, the *Book of the Duchess* (written between 1369 and 1374), which commemorates the death of Blanche of Lancaster (John of Gaunt's wife), is replete with mythological characters; moreover, the poet dreams that he awakens in a room with stained glass windows which depict scenes from the history of Troy and from the *Romance of the Rose*. His *Anelida and Arcite* (written in the late 1370s) draws on Boccaccio's *Teseida* and Statius's *Thebaid*, while his *House of Fame* dream-vision poem (written ca 1379) echoes the works of Ovid, Virgil's *Aeneid*, Boccaccio, and Dante's *Divine Comedy*. In the incipit of Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules*, the narrator is reading from Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* (The Dream of Scipio), and when he falls asleep, Scipio Africanus guides him thorough the celestial spheres just like Virgil had guided Dante in the *Divine Comedy*. We mentioned earlier the sources for Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*; in the *Legend of Good Women*, too, which contains ten stories on virtuous women, Chaucer draws inspiration from

the *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, as well as from Vincent of Beauvais and Guido delle Colonne's *Historia destructionis Trojae* (History of the Destruction of Troy). Even in his most famous work, the *Canterbury Tales*, written in the 1380s, there are numerous parallels with other texts. This collection of tales (most of them in verse) is presented as the result of a storytelling contest organized by pilgrims traveling together from Southwark to Canterbury; the parallel with Boccaccio's *Decameron*, in which narrators tell tales during their journey away from plague-ridden Florence, is quite obvious; moreover, just like Boccaccio who ended the *Decameron* with an apology, Chaucer wrote a *Retraction*. In many of the *Canterbury Tales*, literary influences range from the Bible and classical authors such as Ovid and Virgil, to Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* and the triad of Italian writers that we mentioned earlier. Later, Chaucer himself became a source of inspiration for other writers, such as John Lydgate, who wrote sequels to Chaucer's unfinished *Canterbury Tales*, Robert Henryson, John Dryden, and others.

Thus, with names such as Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Chaucer, and others (such as Jean Froissart, Guillaume de Machaut, Juan Ruiz, John Gower, the [anonymous] Monk of Salzburg), the fourteenth century is a period of major intellectual and literary achievements, which bears certain resemblances with what is often called the "twelfth-century Renaissance" (the troubadours, the Goliards, Marie de France, Chrétien de Troyes, Jean Bodel—see Haskins 1927; Benson et al. 1991; Swanson 1999; for a different view on this topic, see Jaeger 2003).

The last medieval century, too, boasts a considerable number of major poets. We should mention here Christine de Pizan, author of poems such as *L'Epistre au Dieu d'Amours* (Letter to the God of Love), *L'Epistre de Othéa a Hector* (The Epistle of Othea to Hector), *Le Chemin de longue estude* (The Long Road of Learning), and others (on other medieval female poets, primarily German, see Classen 1991; 1999; 2000; 2004; 2007). Other famous poets of this period were Alain Chartier (authored numerous poems, the most famous being *La Belle dame sans merci* or The Beautiful Lady Without Mercy), Martin le Franc, François Villon (known primarily for his *Testaments* and his *Ballade des pendus* or Ballad of the Hanged Men), and the "Grands Rhétoriciens" (Georges Chastellain, Jean Molinet, Jean Marot, Jean Meschinot, Guillaume Crétin, Jean Lemaire de Belges, and others—see Doutrepont 1909) in France; Hugo von Montfort, Oswald von Wolkenstein, and Michael Beheim in the German-speaking realm; John Lydgate (wrote *The Siege of Thebes* and *The Fall of Princes*) and Thomas Malory (known for his *Le Morte d'Arthur*) in England; Leonardo da Vinci, Lorenzo de' Medici, Angelo Poliziano (see his *Stanze per la giostra* or Joust Stanzas), Luigi Pulci (author of *Morgante*), Iacopo Sannazaro, and Matteo Maria Boiardo in Italy; Juan de Mena (author of the *Laberinto de fortuna* or Labyrinth of Fortune, inspired from the

Divine Comedy), Diego de San Pedro, Jorge Manrique, and Íñigo López de Mendoza y de la Vega (also known as Marquis of Santillana) in Spain; and Ausiàs March (author of poems on love, death, and morality, known as *Cants d'amor*, *Cants de mort*, and *Cant spiritual*) in the Catalan-Valencian realm.

II Romance, Short Stories, and Prose

The word “romance” comes from the Old French word “romanz,” which initially referred to any text written in Romance (that is to say Old French), as opposed to Latin. The phrase “mettre en romanz,” for instance, meant writing something in French or translating a text from Latin (or another language) into French. Over time, however, the word “romanz” came to refer to larger pieces written in French, which are indeed the medieval precursors of early modern and modern novels.

As we mentioned earlier, romances constitute the other major type of epic narrative. However, whereas most of the *chansons de geste* and many epic narratives from the Matter of France clearly had a bellicious, nearly “nationalistic” message, texts belonging to the Matter of Britain and the Matter of Rome dealt with heroes from far-away lands and often from a remote past (especially in the Matter of Rome). Let us mention that medieval audiences were very much aware of the difference in tone between the three types of epic narratives or “matters”; the first discussion of this tripartition of epic appears in the twelfth century in Jean Bodel’s *Chanson de Saisnes*, where he writes of the three Matters of France, Britain, and Rome (“Ne sont que III matières à nul homme atendant, / De France et de Bretagne, et de Rome la grant”). If the texts of the Matter of France could be interpreted as fictional-cum-political texts, in which the role of the emperor or of the king, of the vassals, and the actions of such and such character could be read in a political key, the Matter of Britain and of Rome *seemed* more fictional and less political. Moreover, with their emphasis on courteousness and courtly values, these romances really struck readers (or listeners) as different from the more muscled *chansons de geste*. One could argue that modern novels evolved out of medieval romances, in particular out of the Matters of Britain and Rome (although, in truth, certain texts of the Matter of France could strike the reader as fairly romanesque as well).

Unlike what its name suggests, the Matter of Rome contained texts pertaining to the ancient world, both ancient Greece and Rome. Since Homer’s actual works were not available to medieval audiences, most of the information on the ancient world came from other sources, such as Dictys Cretensis and Dares Phrygius’s narratives of the Trojan war. Although these narratives were far from reliable, the

twelfth-century poet Benoît de Sainte-Maure based most of his *Roman de Troie* (The Romance of Troy) on these texts. Together with the anonymous *Roman de Thèbes* (The Romance of Thebes), the *Roman d'Enéas* (The Romance of Eneas) and the *Roman d'Alexandre* (The Romance of Alexander), these French romances were known as *romans antiques* because the action took place in ancient times. Although these romances pretended to inform medieval audiences on the deeds and love affairs of ancient heroes, it is quite obvious that they contain a great deal of anachronistic elements. In the *romans antiques* and, later, in the anonymous *Sir Orfeo* and in Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, "ancient" heroes often participate in knightly tournaments and engage in knight-errantry, just like the heroes of romances from the Matters of France and Britain; thus, these "ancient" heroes are in fact the embodiment of medieval ideals of chivalry.

The Matter of Britain is the name given to a collection of stories set in Britain, Brittany, and Wales. Most of the texts which compose the Matter of Britain derive their content from a series of Latin texts, the most important being the ninth-century *Historia Brittonum* (The History of the Britons, usually attributed to Nennius), and Geoffrey of Monmouth's twelfth-century *Historia regum Britanniae* (The History of the Kings of Britain). The *Historia Brittonum* is a fictional (though presented as historical) account of the settlement of Britain by Brutus, a Trojan descendant of Aeneas. Geoffrey of Monmouth incorporated and adapted this account, including the story of King Arthur, into his own *Historia Regum Britanniae*. For instance, Geoffrey of Monmouth argued that the Celtic tribe of the Trinovantes derived their name from *Troi-novant*, that is to say "New Troy." That is how the legend of King Arthur was born; according to this legend, Arthur was the legendary leader of the Britons who fought against the Saxon invaders, whose alleged castle was in Camelot (the Britonic *locus* of both chivalry and courtliness), and whose knights would gather around the Round Table, embark on chivalric quests (the most virtuous of whom, such as Perceval and Galahad, would eventually find the Holy Grail).

Geoffrey of Monmouth's text was quickly translated/adapted into Anglo-Norman by Wace in his *Roman de Brut* (The Romance of Brut) and *Roman de Rou* (The Romance of Rou), and later into a plethora of other texts in different languages: Bérout's *Tristan*, Chrétien de Troyes's *Erec et Enide* (Erec and Enide), Cligès, *Lancelot*, *Yvain*, *Perceval*, in some of Marie de France's *Lais* (such as the *Lai de Yonec*, *Lai de Lanval*, *Lai de Frêne*), Robert de Boron's *Estoire dou Graal* (The Story of the Grail), Hartmann von Aue's *Erec* and *Iwein*, Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*, Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan*, Thomas of Britain's *Tristan et Iseult*; the anonymous *L'âtre périlleux* (The Perilous Cemetery), Layamon's *Brut*, Ulrich von Zatzikhoven's *Lanzelet*, Rustichello da Pisa's *Roman de Roi Artus* (The Romance of King Arthur), *Gyron le courtois*, and *Meliadus de Leonnoys*, as well as

the *Post-Vulgate Cycle* in the thirteenth century; the anonymous *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, and some of Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* in the fourteenth century; Malory's *Le Morte d'Arthur* in the fifteenth century. Needless to say, many of the authors (whether known or anonymous) of these romances adapted the text to their needs and according to their imagination, and added or eliminated characters and events as they saw fit. Some stories emphasize chivalric or courtly values, while others emphasize spiritual, Christian values. In some stories, Arthur is the main character while in many others, he is a marginal character, and other times Arthur is barely mentioned (see Norris, ed., 1991).

It should also be mentioned that up to the early 1200s, Arthurian literature was written primarily in verse. From the thirteenth century on, however, an increasing number of Arthurian (and other) texts were written in prose. For instance, the Vulgate (or Lancelot-Grail) cycle, which comprised the *Estoire del Saint Graal* (The Story of the Holy Grail), the *Estoire de Merlin* (The Story of Merlin), the prose *Lancelot*, the *Queste del Saint Graal* (The Quest for the Holy Grail) and the *Mort Artu* (The Death of Arthur), were written in French prose. This cycle was followed by the Post-Vulgate Cycle, which was also written in prose. Of course, all romances were not written in prose after the thirteenth century. The tremendously important thirteenth-century *Roman de la Rose* (Romance of the Rose), for instance, was written in verse. This allegorical dream-vision romance was composed in two stages. The first part, containing 4,058 lines, was composed by Guillaume de Lorris around 1230, while the second part, containing over 17,000 lines, was composed by Jean de Meung around 1275. In the first part, a courtier woos the lady he loves in a walled garden, while in the second part, we are introduced to a number of allegorical characters (Reason, Genius, Love, and many others).

It is obvious that the prose romances of the thirteenth century announce early modern and modern prose novels, while certain types of short texts, such as Marie de France's *lais*, Chaucer's tales or the *mæren* by Heinrich Kaufringer (ca. 1400) and by other late medieval German poets constitute the embryos of what will later be called novellas (see Grubmüller 2006). The genre of the *fabliaux*, too, could be considered as a precursor to the modern short story (they are also related to fables, though they often contain theatrical elements that would relate them to drama as well). The word *fabliau* (*fabliaux* in the plural) is of Picard origin and it is derived from the Latin *fabula*. *Fabliaux* were short comic tales of approximately three to five hundred lines composed (usually in octosyllabic verse) by clerks and jongleurs from the northeast of France. Most *fabliaux* were anonymous but some of them were composed by well-known poets, such as Jean Bodel, Rutebeuf, and Philippe de Beaumanoir. This was a fairly long-lived genre, which had its golden age between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries, and gradually disappeared after the sixteenth century. Joseph Bédier (1893) counted approximately 150

fabliaux written between 1150 and 1340, most of them originating in Picardy, Artois, and Flanders. The content of the *fabliaux* was usually satirical and often included sexual, obscene, and scatological references. A typical *fabliau* would thus contain references to avaricious priests, thieves, adulterous men and women, cuckolded husbands, rustic-mannered peasants, etc. Although the tongue-in-cheek humor of the *fabliaux* made it popular with the masses, writers did not shy away from incorporating *fabliau* material into their works. Such is the case with Boccaccio and Chaucer, who wrote *fabliau*-type tales in their writings—the *Decameron* and the *Canterbury Tales* respectively. Later, Molière and Voltaire will also incorporate *fabliau* material into their own creations (Dubin, trans., 2013; Crocker, ed., 2006; Burr et al., ed., 2007).

Wlad Godzich and Jeffrey Kittay (Godzich and Kittay 1987) have explained very well in their excellent study the processes that led to the success of prose in the Middle Ages. In the first place, we need to remember that the opposition between verse and prose in the Middle Ages was not as stark as we might imagine. In fact, we find examples of *prosimetrum*, that is to say a mix of verse and prose, in many medieval texts, such as in Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, the chantefable *Aucassin et Nicolette* (Aucassin and Nicolette, from the twelfth-thirteenth century), in Philippe de Novare's chronicle (thirteenth century) or in Dante's *Vita nuova* from 1295 (see also Godzich and Kittay 1987, 46–70). In other cases, Godzich and Kittay show that many versified composition went through a process of *dérimage* in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which implied the elimination of rhyme from a versified text and its transformation into prose (Godzich and Kittay 1987, 27–45). However, it is also true that for many writers, such as historians, chroniclers, authors of religious texts and some authors of romances, prose seemed a more appropriate medium for their creations. For historians and chroniclers especially, prose seemed a more serious medium, as opposed to the verse used in the *chansons de geste*, which were replete with legends instead of actual historical facts (see Godzich and Kittay 1987, 139–75). After all, most of the Bible itself was written in prose, so prose must have been, from a medieval perspective at least, the medium of truth, as opposed to verse, which served to embellish and exaggerate. Moreover, political and administrative texts were also written in prose, as verse would have obviously undermined the seriousness of the document. Thus, toward the end of the Middle Ages, verse compositions remain extremely popular but overall, verse is retreating and gradually yielding the passage to prose. Indeed, during the autumn of the Middle Ages, most historical (as opposed to literary-legendary), religious, political, philosophical, and autobiographical texts tended to be written in prose, and an increasing number of romances and (what we would nowadays call) novellas were equally written in prose.

III Medieval Theater

In the ancient world, theater was extremely popular. After the fall of the Roman Empire, theater entered a period of decline and it was only toward the end of the Middle Ages that it started becoming popular again. In the eastern half of the Roman Empire, theatrical performances in the form of mime, pantomime, tragedies, and comedies, continued to be staged until the sixth century, when Emperor Justinian decided to shut down all theaters. It should be remembered that Justinian saw himself as a Christian emperor and, for certain theologians, theater was a pre-Christian remnant that was regarded with suspicion. Furthermore, actors were impersonating characters that could be evil or immoral, which could constitute an impediment for their salvation. It was also widely believed that actors, especially itinerant ones, led dissolute lives. Tertullian, Tatian, and Augustine, for instance, believed that acting was sinful because it mocked God's creation (Wise and Walker, ed., 2003, 184). As a result, theaters were shut down, actors were excommunicated, denied the sacraments (marriage, burial, etc.), and forbidden to have any relationship whatsoever with Christian women.

However, the attitude of the Church gradually became more flexible. Over time, the shadow of the "immoral" theater from imperial Rome disappeared or at least faded. Moreover, the Church was in dire need of new ways to instruct the poor and illiterate; after all, mass itself was a performance meant to allow the congregation to experience God. At a time when the vast majority of the population was illiterate, dramatized Bible passages seemed the best way to allow the common folk to become familiar with the content of the Bible. At first, local churches and priests dramatized the Passion of Christ for Easter and Jesus's birth for Christmas. Such is the case with the dramatic passage known as the *Quem quaeritis?* (Whom Do You Seek?), which was used for Easter or Christmas mass. This dialogue dates back to the tenth century and it consists of a short exchange between an angel and the three Maries who come to look for Jesus in the sepulcher. The angel asked, "*Quem quaeritis in sepulchro, o Christicolae?*" ("Who are you seeking in the sepulcher, o followers of Christ?"). The answer was "*Jesum Nazarenum crucifixum, o caelicolae!*" ("Jesus of Nazareth the crucified, o Heavenly Ones!"). The angel replied, "*Non est hic; surrexit, sicut praedixerat. Ite, nuntiate quia surrexit de sepulchro*" ("He is not here, for He has risen, just as He foretold. Go and announce that He is risen from the sepulcher," see Petersen 2000). We also know that around the same time, Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester between 963 and 964, composed a text titled *Regularis Concordia* (The Monastic Rule) which contains a short play accompanied by directing advice. We should also mention here the German canoness Hrotsvit of Gandersheim (ca. 935-ca. 973), who wrote, apart from religious narratives and chronicle text, six plays

as a counter-model for Terence's pagan comedies. Interestingly enough, Hrotsvit wrote in the preface of her plays that she composed them in order to allow Christians, that is, mostly her fellow sister in the monastery, but then also elsewhere, to read classical literature without feeling guilty. Hrotsvit's preface is proof of the ambivalent attitude of medieval scholars toward theater: awareness of the non-Christian nature of (some) theater (plays) and desire to revive (and Christianize) a form of literature that had fallen into neglect. Nonetheless, the very fact that a bishop such as Æthelwold and a canoness like Hrotsvit saw theater favorably attests to the changing attitude of the Church toward theater.

By the twelfth century, liturgical dramas were played in front of churches and cathedrals by fraternities and groups of lay folk all across Europe. The Church not only approved of but also sponsored such events, sometimes on its own, and other times with the help of the local community. In England, for instance, plays were sometimes patronized by both the Church and local guilds of craftsmen. The first French drama, written also in the twelfth century by an unknown author, was the *Jeu d'Adam* (The Play of Adam). This is a play narrating the story of mankind, from the fall of man up to the prophets who foresee Christ's arrival and redemption of humanity through his crucifixion. In addition to these plays, a few other theatrical texts survived from this period, all religious in nature: *La seinte resurrection* (The Holy Resurrection, in Norman French), the *Sponsus* (The Bridegroom, in French), and the *Auto de los reyes magos* (The Play of the Magi Kings, in Spanish).

Mystery (plays in which the gates of hell and the entrance to Paradise were generally depicted) and morality plays (plays with a clear moral message, mostly inspired from the Bible or from saints' lives) were also remarkably popular during the central and late Middle Ages. Hildegard von Bingen (ca. 1098–1179), for instance, was the author of a morality play, the *Ordo virtutum* or Order of the Virtues (on the patronage and writings of medieval nuns and abbesses, see Caviness 1996; Martin, ed., 2012). Such plays were staged all over Europe; according to Brockett and Hildy (Brockett and Hildy 2003, 86), approximately 127 European towns hosted and produced mystery and morality plays. In some cases, the plays were part of larger cycles of plays which were often staged as part of what we would nowadays call a festival. Thus, in the British Isles, the city of York hosted and produced 48 plays, Wakefield 32, Chester 24. However, in 1210, Pope Innocent III banned the clergy from performing in public, which led not to a secularization of theater but to the transfer of the duty to perform in plays from clergy to laity. Innocent III's papal bull notwithstanding, moralities, miracles (plays focusing on saints' lives), and mysteries continued to be written and performed by laymen near churches and cathedrals, and the Church continued to support such events.

Indeed, mysteries and morality plays remained popular throughout the Middle Ages (Julleville 1880). In fifteenth-century France, there are numerous exam-

ples of mysteries written by consecrated writers (Rutebeuf, Jean Bodel, Eustache Marcadé, Simon and Arnoul Gréban) and performed over several days by hundreds of actors. Such is the case, for instance, with the *Mystère de la Passion* (The Mystery of the Passion, 1420–1430), generally attributed to Eustache Marcadé, the anonymous *Mystère du siege d'Orléans* (The Mystery of the Siege of Orleans), the *Passion* by Arnoul Gréban (written in 1452, it had four hundred characters and was performed over four days), the *Mystère des Actes des Apôtres* (The Mystery of the Acts of the Apostles) by the Gréban brothers (nearly five hundred characters), Jean Michel's *Passion* and *Résurrection* (late fifteenth century). Around the same time in England, the *Castle of Perseverance* and *Everyman* were two popular morality plays. Like *Le Jeu d'Adam*, the *Castle of Perseverance* narrates the story of mankind from birth to death, whereas in *Everyman*, the character Everyman manages to escape death but eventually resigns himself to the unavoidable nature of death. Pierre Gringoire's *Mystère de Saint Louis* (The Mystery of Saint Louis), written around 1514, proves that mysteries were popular even during the Renaissance. Miracles and mysteries have been played all over Europe, from Spain (the *Misteri d'Elx* or The Mystery Play of Elche) to Germany, where the Oberammergau Passion Play has been played since 1634 (the most recent representation dates back to 2010 and the next one is scheduled for 2020).

In terms of non-religious plays, farces, sotties (short satirical plays), and pastourelles (short plays involving a shepherdess) were the most popular genres. Among these, the most prominent are Adam de la Halle's pastourelle *Jeu de Robin et Marion* (The Play of Robin and Marion, 1288), the anonymous farce *Le Garçon et l'aveugle* (The Boy and the Blind Man, the earliest French farce, dating back to the 1260s–1280s), Eustache Deschamps's *Farce de maître Trubert et d'Antrongnart* (The Farce of Master Trubert and Antrongnart), and several fifteenth-century farces such as *La farce de maître Pathelin* (The Farce of Master Pathelin, 1464–1469) and *La Farce du cuvier* (The Farce of the Washtub).

Also during the late Middle Ages, the stigma associated with theater actors is gradually starting to wear off and clusters of professional actors are starting to emerge. Both Richard III and Henry VII of England, for instance, had small companies of professional actors who performed at court. These groups usually performed in the great halls of aristocratic or royal residences, and their growing success created the need for permanent theaters that were built in England in the sixteenth century. Thus, little by little, theater regained its deserved place in the republic of letters by the end of the medieval period, and it is this very late-medieval effervescence that paved the way for English Renaissance theater, for the Italian *commedia dell'arte* and the Spanish Golden Age theater, as well as for France's Renaissance and neo-classical theater.

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Albrecht Classen

Love, Sex, and Marriage

A Historical Time Frame and Theoretical Reflections

I The Critical Issues, Worldly Society, the Church, Literature, and Medieval Culture

Every society, and medieval society as well, has been deeply concerned with the legal and social implications of sex and marriage as two of the most powerful forces determining human life. People have approached these two critical aspects of human society with suspicion, but also with great curiosity, whether we consider eighth-century Ireland (*Cáin Lánamna*) or fifteenth-century Italy (Poggio Bracciolini; Franco Sacchetti). Most law books are filled with concrete stipulations as to who can marry whom at what time and under what circumstances (Duby 1994; P.L. Reynolds 1994; McCarthy, ed., 2004; McSheffrey 2006), especially because marriage arrangements have a deep impact on property and inheritance rights with respect to the progeny. Contrasted with this, we can deduce how free-ranging love was, as encapsulated by the idea of courtly love, an idea regarded with great suspicion and disapproval, although the Church never succeeded in suppressing it—far from it. In fact, from the high Middle Ages onwards we find a plethora of historical, literary, and artistic documents that confirm overwhelmingly the fundamental relevance of sex and love, especially outside of the bonds of marriage, in determining many aspects of social life, causing countless problems as a matter of course, and also creating much excitement (Salisbury, ed., 1991; Payer 1993; Karras 2005).

The Christian Church struggled hard from very early on to control weddings and marriages, and it managed to accomplish a part of this goal—having the priest serving as the only authoritative figure concluding a marriage—by the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as reflected by an emerging matrimonial liturgy. This followed directly upon the establishment of the Gregorian reform which instituted strict celibacy for all ecclesiastics, thus separating them from the laity, as Honorius Augustodunensis formulated it most clearly (Cartlidge 1997, 15; Reddy 2012). Major legal aspects played a significant role, pertaining to the bride's consent, betrothal, dowry agreement, the wedding feast, and other rituals (Brundage 1987a, 34). These, however, did not leave any room for the issue of the erotic within love, which subsequently courtly poets explored extensively. The famous

legal and theological scholastic Peter Lombard (ca. 1100–ca. 1160) subordinated sex to *consensus*, which later Pope Alexander III (1159–1189) confirmed. Marriage thereby assumed a didactic, theological, ethical, and moral function, allowing both partners to work together in the improvement of their religious standing (D'Avray 2008). Not surprisingly, divorce was completely out of the question for the average person, although we know of a number of papal dispensations in the case of special circumstances, such as the woman's or man's infertility (e.g., Eleonore of Aquitaine [1122/1124–1204]). Perhaps for this, and many other reasons, we witness the rise of a public discourse on emotions, primarily about love, only by the twelfth century, a time when courtliness developed, chivalry gained public recognition, and the themes of eroticism and sexuality gained their first foothold in medieval Europe (Dinzelsbacher 1986). Although previous scholarship tended to identify the Provence or France as the cradle of courtly love and the public discourse on marriage, we can now confirm that the same ideas and new emotional concepts gained traction in Old Norse society (Bandlien 2005) and elsewhere as well. In the centuries before, however, the dominant idea, strongly advocated by the Church, the scholastics, and other intellectuals, focused on celibacy or purely spiritual relationships (Brooke 1989).

Gaston Paris, in a seminal article from 1883, had outlined the points that courtly love was defined by: a. by illegitimacy; b. by the man's submissiveness under his beloved lady; c. by the demands on the male lover to strive for an improvement of his inner character and outer behavior in ethical and social terms; and d. by a kind of performative element. These categories can be confirmed and yet also contradicted, as scholarship has argued vehemently over the true meaning of (courtly) love in the Middle Ages ever since (Bumke 1991, 360–413). There are certainly some fundamental features commonly shared by all poets of courtly love, but by way of a closer analysis, we would have to accept that virtually every literary text and every theological treatise approached the topic from a somewhat different angle and pursued varying concepts. This means that the topic of 'love and marriage' can only be dealt with if we recognize it as a huge kaleidoscope with an endless number of facets, many contradictory to the other, perhaps best defined as a discourse to which a multitude of poets, philosophers, theologians, as well as artists and composers, contributed (Lazar 1964; Cátedra 1989; Classen, ed., 2004; Schultz 2006). Some scholars even question the full existence of that discourse, or challenge their colleagues to test their claims based on literary and art-historical evidence in light of legal and religious conditions (Newman, ed., 1972).

The discussion of love and sexuality only gains in importance once a society can enjoy the leisure and resources necessary for the development of a love discourse both within and outside of the bonds of marriage. This observation holds particularly true in light of the development of courtly literature since the

early twelfth century when the relationship between the genders gained in new importance as reflected, above all, by *troubadour* poetry. Certainly, the Church increasingly imposed its will on the ordinary people by way of forcing them in the course of time to accept the priest as the only person fully in charge of carrying out a legal wedding, and this especially since the twelfth century. But contemporaneously secular society created significant spaces for the exploration of illegitimate love, that is, for courtly love, but for the joys of sexual satisfaction outside of the bonds of marriage as well (D'Avray, 2008).

II Early Middle Ages

Revealingly, we cannot say much about love and marriage in the early Middle Ages because the literary vernacular sources remain mostly silent about these aspects; instead, we hear mostly about religious and military themes. Legal documents, by contrast, are more explicit with regard to marriage contracts since those regulated the most powerful political, dynastic relationships and had a considerable impact on the development of influential families across Europe (Sheehan 1991; Meek and Simms, ed., 1996; Bullough and Brundage, ed., 2000). Heroic epics and war poems reflect on existential strife, honor, and military conflicts, while religious narratives focus on the soul's salvation, on protecting it from evil, and on the dangers resulting from this world's temptations. Both legal and religious documents, by contrast, constantly addressed the conditions that made marriage possible among what people, but this will not concern us here (Brundage 1987a).

By contrast, neither Beowulf nor Roland, neither Siegfried nor El Cid (Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar) in their respective national epics from the early Middle Ages or, when composed in the twelfth century, harking back to older times or continuing archaic traditions, ever fully turns his attention to courtly love or is interested in wooing a woman; instead, each of them is concerned with his own honor, with the struggle to survive existential threats, and with the military challenges determining his life. Admittedly, both Siegfried (*Nibelungenlied*, ca. 1200) and Rodrigo (*El Poema de Mio Cid*, ca. 1207) are married, but in their public lives, they are only concerned with their male roles as warriors and knights, which certainly involves protecting their wives while we do not hear anything about their erotic relationship or passions. They have to prove themselves in competition with other men, which dominates those narratives. This does not mean that there are no comments on their love affairs and marriages (see Roland in the eponymous *Chanson de Roland*, who is supposed to marry his beloved Aude, his comrade Oliver's sister, but he dies, like Oliver, in the brutal battle with the Saracens). These,

however, only figure in the background and have no specific bearing on the hero's comportment and public performance.

III The High Middle Ages

Next to the focus on God and the quest for the soul's salvation, no other topic was of greater concern and interest for aristocratic audiences since at least the high Middle Ages than courtly love, normally associated with an extra-marital affair, hence also sex. After all, medieval society practically knew only arranged marriages which primarily served to create progeny and hence to secure and stabilize the continuation of the family/dynasty under the law. Honorius Augustodunensis emphasized in his *Elucidarium* (Book II, *questio* 48), completed shortly before 1200, the need to marry outside of one's own kin to avoid any form of incest. Countless Church synods and councils examined what issues would prohibit marriage, and a plethora of book illustrations provided further instructions throughout the Middle Ages (Lett 2011, 102–06). Perhaps just because there was probably little excitement in and with this model, however, irrespective of the countless legal complications that would have resulted from it, poets were invited, or at least allowed, to develop alternative concepts or to probe critically what love and marriage might mean outside of the purview of the Catholic Church. The literary canon is filled with narratives, poems, and plays that address love in a myriad of manifestations; we could almost write the history of that entire cultural period in light of this topic alone. Love and marriage, hence the relationship between the genders—here disregarding the highly problematic issue of sodomy/homosexuality—constitute some of the most critical concerns for every adult person both in the past and today in Europe. Medieval art, though mostly determined by religious themes, also reflects, whenever secular themes were allowed to enter the 'stage,' the great interest in eroticism, sexuality, and marriage. The most famous example proves to be the *Codex Manesse*, or the *Manesse Songbook* (early fourteenth century, today housed in the University Library of Heidelberg, Germany), but there are countless other manuscript illustrations, miniatures, initials, wood (misericords) and ivory carvings (combs, mirrors, etc.), stone sculptures, tapestry (*Tristan* tapestries in the convent of Wienhausen, near Celle, northern Germany), and other artistic media where the themes of love, sex, and marriage found vivid expression. Numerous wall frescoes in castles and later in urban dwellings as well depict erotic scenes, often directly borrowed from the literary canon of that time.

C. S. Lewis had already observed this remarkable fact in 1936, drawing direct lines of connection between the world of courtly love and love in our modern

times, emphasizing, however, how little the Germanic cultures untouched by Roman values and ideas contributed to the discourse of love (Lewis 1938, 3). Modern scholarship has not disagreed with him in essence, but has considerably widened the perspective and recognized the often rather radical contradictions, diatribes, tensions, conflicts, and even intellectual and literary fights over the true meaning of courtly love, conjugal love, *fin' amor*, bridal mysticism, eroticism, and sexual passions (Boase 1977; Baldwin 1994; Cartlidge 1997; Classen 2004b). Courtly love can also be regarded as a rhetorical exercise, or as the result of public imagination, as Douglas Kelly has suggested (Kelly 1981). By the same token, it would not be too far-fetched to recognize in courtly love simply the other side of the same coin, that is, the theological and medical discourse prevalent at that time, aiming at the physical and spiritual well-being of all people (Busse 1975). To be sure, love itself proved to be the essential catalyst for an individual's character development and his/her striving toward personal perfection; hence, it carried a strong ethical, moral, religious, and even political meaning, irrespective of the seemingly highly intimate expressions by the poets (Ferrante et al., ed., 1975). Yet, there was always an element of playfulness, or performativity, associated with love, too; hence, the countless allusions to sex more or less hidden in the background of all erotic discourse. These became increasingly stronger and more revealing in the late Middle Ages (Marty-Dufaut 2002; Ruhe and Behrens, ed., 1985; Classen 2011b).

IV Twelfth-Century Literary Topics

Similarly, in the twelfth-century vernacular culture the issue of erotic passions, sexuality, and marriage did not matter for a long time; instead, we commonly hear of the *matière de Troie*, the *matière de Rome*, hence of the adventures of Aeneas/Eneas escaping from a burning Troy, meeting Queen Dido of Carthage, reaching the shores of Italy, fighting for the hand of the princess Lavinia, defeating his opponent Turnus, and ultimately establishing the foundation of Rome (*Roman d'Eneas* [ca. 1170] or Heinrich von Veldeke's *Eneit* [ca. 1180–1190]). Likewise attractive were the accounts of Alexander the Great's conquest of the Persian Empire, until the new theme of the bridal quest in the goliardic epics (Byzantine narratives) gained traction in the late twelfth century (*Oswald*, *Orendel*, *Herzog Ernst* [ca. 1170–1220]). Finally, King Arthur and his Round Table, as introduced by Chrétien de Troyes, deeply occupied the public's mind, but even in that fictional sphere, the main focus regularly rests on the individual knight's adventures which he experiences outside of the court and about which he reports after his return. Middle High German poets such as Hartmann von Aue (*Erec* [ca. 1180] and

Iwein [ca. 1200]) expressed as much their interest in these themes as the Middle English ‘father of the English language,’ the late medieval Geoffrey Chaucer (e.g. *Troilus and Criseyde* [ca. 1390]).

The theme of courtly love, in all its intensity and perhaps even in its destructiveness, entered the picture only with the figures of Tristan and Isolde, and Lancelot and his love of Guinevere. Similarly, in the anonymous Old French *Partonopeus de Blois* (ca. 1160–1170) and in its various European variants, such as Konrad von Würzburg’s *Partonopier und Meliur* (ca. 1280), the male protagonist struggles long and hard to win the hand of his beloved. Dante was to reflect on this phenomenon as well in the fifth canto of his *Inferno* (ca. 1310–1320) with the appearance of the lovers Paolo and Francesca who were lost once they had read about courtly love and began to kiss each other (Edwards and Spector, ed., 1991).

Significantly, the theme of love was also embraced by twelfth- and thirteenth-century scholars and theologians, though not narrowly in the erotic sense of the word. Hugh of St. Victor’s (d. 1141) *The Praise of Charity*; his *The Betrothal Gift of the Soul*; *In Praise of the Spouse*; *On the Substance of Love*; and his *What Truly Should Be Loved?*, then Richard of St Victor’s (d. 1173) *On the Four Degrees of Violent Love*, Achard of St. Victor’s (d. 1170) *Sermon 5* and Adam of St. Victor’s two sermons might serve here as prime examples of the religious interpretation of love, which often carried strong sexual tones, as the unification with the Godhead was at times explicitly described in terms of copulation (Feiss, ed., 2011). Moreover, the ideal of friendship, as developed, above all, by the Cistercian abbot Aelred of Rievaulx (ca. 1130–1167), aimed at loving relationships among intellectuals and then at building strong bonds between the human individual and God (Classen and Sandidge, ed., 2010; see also the contribution on ‘Friendship’ to this Handbook). In the thirteenth century, many female and some male mystics embraced the concept of love in order to express their ardent desire to merge with the divine bridegroom, Christ (Hollywood 1995; Kocher 2008).

B Survival and Continuation of Classical Love Poetry in Medieval Latin Poetry

In learned literature, however, composed in Latin, the memory of what Roman poets such as Ovid, Catullus, or Tibullus had already said about erotic love was preserved and handed down throughout the generations because the study of Latin in monastic schools required a variety of reading materials from the classical period in preparation for the study of the Bible (Gibson et al., ed., 2006). This

is expressed in two fairly late examples, the Latin songs compiled in the *Cambridge Songs* (*Carmina cantabrigiensia*, end of the eleventh century), and those preserved in the *Carmina Burana* (ca. 1220–1240), mostly in Latin, but a good number of them also in a hybrid of Latin and Middle High German.

The former are a collection of poems copied by English scribes who drew from a wide range of classical sources. Nearly three dozen of them have not been recorded anywhere else, and their themes range from panegyrics and dirges to political poems, comic tales, religious poems, admonitory poems, didactic songs, Spring poems, as well as to love poems (nos. 27–28, 39–40, 46, 48–49). The poets treat common erotic pleadings to a young woman (“amica”) to join the man in revelry (nos. 27, 29), they praise a woman’s beauty (no. 39), deal with a man’s hope that his beloved will join him in the season of Spring (no. 40), discuss basic behavioral ideals in matters of love which young women should obey (no. 46), and describe a lover’s sorrows (no. 48). Most poignantly, perhaps, “Ven<i> d<ilectis-sim>e” (no. 49) formulates a man’s passionate desire and longing for his lady, the verses filled with sighs and laments: “in languore pereo” (1, 5; I am dying with desire). These erotic songs might well be among the earliest in medieval Latin poetry in which heterosexual desire finds its literary expression. As C. Stephen Jaeger notes, “They are poems of longing and suffering in love, and it is not at all unlikely that that mode of feeling was gaining acceptance among the forms of ennobling love ...” (Jaeger 1999, 57).

The *Carmina Burana*, compiled sometime during the early thirteenth century (perhaps ca. 1230) on the basis of earlier, twelfth-century sources, follow more or less the same design, bringing together songs treating a wide range of topics, mostly adding a hilarious tone of voice, a new kind of playfulness, and an experimentation with classical motifs, images, and metaphors (Walsh, ed. and trans., 1993). The collection is divided into three major sections: the first comprising moral-satirical songs; the second love songs; and the third, drinking and gambling songs.

The erotic songs describe male longing and desire, which at times translates into aggressive efforts to force the woman to grant her love, i.e., her sexual body for his pleasure. Although these songs are all composed from a male perspective, there is no doubt that some of them virtually idealize rape. At times, however, the female voice rejects the man and ridicules his wooing, such as in no. 79, “Estivali sub feruore.” Typical Spring motifs often characterize these songs, as we can often observe in courtly love poetry, but these do not blind us to the obvious sexual allusions everywhere, although the male perspective dominates throughout. The rich web of allusions to classical mythology underscores the definite interest in utilizing the love discourse to familiarize the readers/listeners with this knowledge, here presented in the vein of love poetry.

Even grammatical explanations enter the picture, such as for the direct object and a transitive verb, which refers, however, to the beloved, such as in no. 88 (“Lvdo cum Cecilia, nichil timeatis!”). We clearly sense the basic interest in utilizing this classicizing love poetry for pragmatic, didactic purposes within a university or school setting where young clerics were trained for their future service to the Church and had to study Latin, here by means of composing their own love songs. This explains the vast range of themes in these love songs that deal with conflicts with the ladies and shed light on the competition with the clerics who also woo the young women. Moreover, the poets refer to dance scenes, engage in discussions with their mistresses, appeal to their friends to be bold enough to take their girls to a dance (no. 96), discuss the love affair between Dido and Eneas (no. 98), and the history of Paris who had chosen Aphrodite, and thus had been granted Helena as his beloved (no. 101).

Love is regarded as a sickness (*amor heroës*) which the goddess Venus imposed on the singer (no. 104) whom Cupid wounded with his arrow (no. 105). Love emerges as a threatening power against which no human strength can achieve anything (no. 107). In other songs love seems to be a fury causing the man to lose his mind (no. 110). Whatever the case might be, the poets never consider marriage as an option; instead, love is a game which they all enjoy playing. In almost every song, a new thematic strand is touched upon, all intimately correlated with love, including references to the multitude of birds and animals, to the season of Spring, to the many friends who also like to join a dance or the game of love (no. 162), to the pain which love can cause (no. 164), and to the stunning beauty of the beloved (multiple times).

The degree of experimentation with the wide gamut of images and topics, which ranges from complaints about love pangs to drastic descriptions of violent, sexual conquests (no. 185), confirms the overarching interest in exploring the love discourse as a basis for learning Latin, classical mythology, and rhetoric, all major topics in twelfth-century church and monastic schools. In other words, here we encounter learned poetry that fulfilled specific didactic purposes that are hidden behind the primary erotic motifs. Although we can discover at times an interest in conquering women’s love by brute force, all these songs are characterized by a lightness in tone and a willingness to play with the erotic subject matter—all of them, of course, from a male perspective.

This phenomenon coincided with or brought about the rise of courtly culture, first manifesting itself in southern France in the early twelfth century. There, courtly poets, commonly identified as *troubadours*, later accompanied by female counterparts, called *trobairitz* (such as the Comtesse de Dia, see below), began to explore the meaning of love and eroticism, involving all members of the secular courts. In other words, the relationship of the genders emerged as a significant

topic for the public discourse, hence courtly love poetry. The first known poet, William the Ninth (Guillaume le Neuf, 1071–1126), still experimented in almost extreme fashion, with various genres and the essence of the poetic discourse, combining fairly simple expressions of erotic longing with astoundingly entertaining songs in which sexual conquest and playfulness dominate.

C Poetic Manifestations of Courtly Love

I Troubadours

Subsequent generations of courtly love poets limited themselves to a variety of genres determined by the themes of desire and longing, such as Bernart de Ventadorn, Peire Vidal, or Bertran de Born. However, some poets also explored specific genres in which sexual fulfillment was conceived as a concrete possibility. In the dawn songs, we normally hear of a couple waking up early in the morning, alerted by the guardsman, and after lamenting the need to separate, they join one more time in love making, before he then departs. In the *pastourelle*, a nobleman encounters a country maid, talks to her, seduces her, and returns home to the court to brag about his experience.

All these general statements would need further analysis, since many poets pursued variant approaches to the individual genres, themes, and topics. However, we know for sure that courtly love poetry basically ignored the topic of marriage, which was of much greater interest for authors of courtly romances. We would have to wait until the late Middle Ages for the topic of marriage to enter the world of erotic poetry as well (Hugo von Montfort, Oswald von Wolkenstein, see below), while marriage itself was examined from many different perspectives throughout the late Middle Ages in theological, philosophical, and literary texts.

Much depends, of course, on the genre in which the gender relationship was explored. In most courtly romances the knightly protagonists strive hard to win the hands of their beloveds, to marry, and then to encounter social problems because they have ignored their public obligations (Chrétien de Troyes's *Erec et Enide*, or his *Yvain*; parallel to them the German translations by Hartmann von Aue). However, some romances such as Gottfried von Straßburg's *Tristan* or Chrétien's *Lancelot* operate with the concept of adultery and problematize adulterous love altogether, radically contrasting it with the theme of arranged marriage, which is viewed negatively, bringing about suffering for those forced to accept an old man as husband. Of course, high medieval aristocracy was deeply concerned with standardizing its marriage practices in order to close off its own

estate from those in lower levels, to guarantee the dominance of patriarchy, and to accommodate the rule of the Church even within people's private lives. Many courtly romances confirm this observation drawn from historical sources, while courtly love poetry radically contradicted it. However, we could also argue, based on Georges Duby's conclusions, that the idea of courtly love served as a kind of compensation for the considerable tensions within aristocratic society and provided some space for free game with the human emotions (Duby 1978, 15–22).

II Courtly Values in *troubadour* Poetry

In early love poetry we detect, quite surprisingly, a heavy emphasis on ethical ideals because the concept of courtly love often aimed at social values. The love doctrine as espoused by poets and romane writers, identified *amor* as *cortezia*, and *cortezia* as *amor*. The knight and lover addresses a lady, and in that way attempts to demonstrate his *cortezia*, his courtliness, which is defined by his *valor* (personal value), social recognition, or honor (*pretz*), virtuosity and prowess (*proeza*), generosity (*largueza*), self-containment and self-control (*mezura*), reason and rationality (*pretz*), and youthfulness (*joven*), joyfulness (*joi*), proper behavior (*bel captenemen*), and the ability to express himself in a courtly fashion through verse and song). Disregarding the *pastourelle* and the *alba*, courtly love poetry aims at formulating the ideals of service in the name of love (as a verb: *servir*). This service finds expression in humility (*umilitas*) and obedience (*obediensa*) toward the courtly lady (*domna*), who could easily be stand-in for the court at large, the lord, and courtly society in general. The treatment of love thus proved to be a powerful instrument in the education process of the young people of the aristocratic class. The lover is expected to sing a song of praise of his lady (*lauzar*) and yet to keep her name a secret (*celar*).

Despite this obvious contradiction, the culture of courtly love made perfect sense for courtly society because they were thus able to play with one of the strongest human drives and feelings, the erotic instinct, without being forced to live out the often difficult consequences in reality, which would have led to endless complications and conflicts among the members of the nobility. To add a significant note of tension, essential for the dramatic development of this public performance, the poets regularly refer in highly negative terms to the jealous husband (*gilos*) and to courtly spies (*lauzengiers*). The request for sexual fulfillment can be observed everywhere, and many poets openly toyed with uninhibited allusion to sexuality (Classen 2011b), but in most cases it is denied, viewed as contemptible (*fals' amor*), or it simply remains in the narrative shadow. However, a close analysis of many courtly love poems, beginning with those by Guillaume

le Neuf, reveals how much sexuality lurks behind the polite and refined language of courtly love (Mölk 1981, 24–25; Paterson 1993; Paterson, ed., 2010).

III Women's Voices in Courtly Love: The *trobairitz*

Similar observations can be made with regard to northern French poetry, generally identified as *trouvère* songs, and to Middle High German poems, known collectively as *Minnesang* (see the classic anthology Moser and Tervooren, ed., 1977; Müller, ed., 2009). This genre also found great favor at Italian courts, especially in the south and the north, and belonged to the school of the “dolce stil nuovo.”

Wherever we look, we face a mostly male world in which the poets might grant a female voice to surface, but only within the fictional dimension. The only remarkable exception proved to be the Old Occitan female poets, the *trobairitz*, many of whom voiced rather negative views about the entire notion of ‘courtly love’ because they lament women’s unfair treatment at the hands of men, resulting in social slander and contempt. These women poets generally pursued highly ethical values through their poetry and emphasized, for instance, the relevance of sincere and honest love, which they as women ought to be entitled to (Rieger, ed., 1991). Thus, the typical female perspective adds remarkable components to the discourse on love, such as in the dialogue poem involving N’Alaisina Yselda and Na Carenza (no. 1) where the two women debate whether marriage is to be pursued or not, since living alone would be a very hard way of life, while bearing children would be equally difficult and unpleasant. The issue is not resolved, although Carenza emphasizes that Yselda should at least choose a worthy nobleman from whom she would then receive a noble son. In many *tensos*, debate poems, a male lover tries to convince his lady to listen to his wooing and accept him as her lover. This led to many variations, such as in “S.ie . us quier conseil, bell’ami’ Alamanda” (no. 4), where the man appeals to this woman to serve as his go-between and to convince her lady to embrace his love.

When individual women appear as speakers—historically verifiable or not—they tend to explore the ethical dimension of love, such as N’Azalais de Porcairagues who insists in “At em al freg tems vengut” (no. 27) that women would be well advised not to entrust their love to high ranking lords; instead they should only look for men who honestly loves them irrespective of social status.

In her case, as she explains, her friend commands a heart of gold and can be fully relied on as a lover. Na Castelloza, by contrast, bitterly complains about her former lover’s distance from her, whom she now proceeds to praise in public to attract his love. Although she is aware of how much society disapproves of a

woman actively pursuing a man, she does so out of deep love (no. 29), insisting on the deep feeling which she has for him. Nevertheless, she still criticizes him because he has not yet responded to her own wooing, which makes him appear cold and unappreciative. In “Ia de chantar non degr’aver talan” (no. 30) she goes even one step further and appeals to her lover to grant her at least a friendly face, otherwise she would die from grief. She announces that she would always hold him dear in her heart, irrespective of whether he would ever respond to her requests.

From the moment in which she has caught sight of him she has been completely in his power. Full of desperation, the singer begs her beloved to turn his attention to her, otherwise her grief would drive her crazy. Clara d’ Anduza, in her “En greu esmay et en greu pessamen” (no. 33) underscores the intensity of her love, which is in danger of being destroyed by envious courtly spies. The poem serves as a testimony of her absolute loyalty, which no one would be able to undermine. She assures her friend that she would never waver in her love for him or might take another man as her lover. To confirm her deep feelings, she concludes her song with a reference to the profound anger and wrath that fill her heart because she cannot see her friend.

Most famously, the Comtessa de Dia sings a song about the joys of love and youth which inspire her (“Ab ioi et ab ioven m’apai,” no. 34). She openly announces that her friend is the happiest man on earth, which in turn makes her happy and joyful as well. To her own delight, she knows that she can trust his loyalty, and in turn she pledges her own to him. She knows of his ethical values and warns people not to try telling her anything negative about him because that would be only lies. Not embarrassed or ashamed of admitting it openly, the Comtessa emphasizes that it is completely proper for a lady who strives for high honors to grant her love to a knight who stands out through his nobility, bravery, and generosity.

Once a noble lady would publicly confess her love, those who are friendly to her would then only say friendly things to her. For her love in its ideal form is characterized by ethical values and makes the one who loves embrace these him/herself. Only in the last stanza does the poet address her lover by name, Floris, emphasizing his noble spirit (“valensa”), and begging him to come to her and accept her as his mistress (“vostra mantenesa”). However, in the subsequent poem, “A chantar m’er de so q’ieu no volria” (no. 35), the Comtessa bitterly complains about having been betrayed by him who seems to have disregarded all her dedication to him and her own courtly education (“cortesia”). But she insists that he would never be able to criticize her for having failed in her love of him. Moreover, she is proud of the superlativedegree of her love, which superseded even his, and yet she chastises him for his arrogance and hubris (“orguolla”).

The Comtessa bitterly comments that it was not right that another woman won his love and stole him away from her. In fact, she challenges all other women, claiming that she herself commands the highest degree of loyal love. With her song she still hopes to reach out to him and reawaken his love for her, yet not without adding the subtle warning that “trop d’orguoiil ant gran dan maintas gens” (37; to great arrogance brings damage to people).

Most curiously, in “Estat ai en greu cossirier” (no. 36), she reflects on a lost lover whom she had denied sexual satisfaction, although now she would be more than willing to grant him his wish and hold him in her arms, naked. She assures him, through this poem, that she would have great desire to embrace him instead of her husband, if only he had promised her to fulfill all her wishes. The Comtessa indicates that true love cannot be found in marriage, a theme which echoed throughout all courtly love poetry (and is also fervently supported by the contemporary learned Abbess Heloise, Abelard’s mistress and later wife; see below), but is here expressed more explicitly than elsewhere, and which adds another dimension, as it is spoken by a female poet. In “Quan vei los praz verdesir” (no. 38), she projects herself as a woman who easily awakens at night, filled with deep desire for her lover. She puts this in most direct terms: “A Deus, com serai garida / s’aissi devengues / una noit per escarida / qu’a me s’en vengues” (13–16; Oh God, how happy I would be if it would be possible that he could come to me one night). However, this would require from her, or any other woman longing for such an experience, absolute loyalty. The Comtessa then warns women who do not have a lover to guard themselves against the force of love because it would hurt badly and brutally, killing its innocent victim as the love wound could not be healed by any medical doctor.

The opposite situation can be encountered in the anonymous song “Ab lo cor trist environat d’esmay” (no. 42) because here the lover seems to have died, which fills the singer with endless pain. She pledges never to love any other man here in this world. With his death she turns her back toward all love and happiness: “d’amor e de ioi me depart” (16). In fact, she would like to retire from this world and die herself. While everyone else around her enjoys life by singing, dancing, and dressing nicely, she has plunged into mourning and laments the love of all of her own happiness. She emphasizes the dead man’s extraordinary virtues and honors, which make her pledge never to love any other man again.

The fact by itself that we encounter female voices who contributed in such an outspoken manner to the discourse of love in the early twelfth century deserves full attention, alerting us to the need to probe more deeply whether we could not find other women poets in medieval Europe (Klinck and Rasmussen, ed., 2002). This seems to be case at least in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Germany where a number of voluminous song books contain a good number of anonymous songs

that strongly suggest female authorship, especially because they pursue very similar themes and use, though in German, very much the same language (Classen 2004b).

Parallel cases can also be discovered in Old Norse poetry (Straubhaar, ed., 2011), though there the poets rarely, if ever, talk about love. Instead, in line with all Norse literature, the themes focus on fighting, exile, conflicts, strife, prophecies, and threats. Overall, these Norse poems present women as monstrous figures, as challenges and dangers to the men folk, while the *trobairitz* and their late medieval German counterparts explore essentially the whole gamut of issues pertaining to love, sex, and marriage, mostly from a characteristically female perspective (Doss-Quinby et al., ed. and trans., 2011).

IV Courtly Love Poetry in Northern France: The *trouvères*

Apart from the early *troubadours*, in the middle of the twelfth century French poets to the north embarked on the same project—obviously influenced by their southern predecessors and contemporaries—to discuss the issue of love in a multitude of poems (van Deusen, ed., 1994; Payen 1966–1967; Wilkins 1988; Doss-Quinby 1994). These *trouvères* composed ca. 2,100 songs between the twelfth and the thirteenth century, focusing on the traditional concept of courtly love in its myriad of manifestation (Rosenberg et al., ed., 1998; Sigal 1999). Some of the major figures were Marcabru, Jaufre Rudel, Rigaut de Berbezilh, Bernart de Ventadorn, Gaucelm Faidit, Conon de Béthune, Bertran de Born, Jehan Bodel, Audefroï le Bastart, Adam le Bossu, Gace Brulé, Thibaut de Champagne, Perrin d'Angicourt, and Adam la Halle. They enjoyed, above all, utilizing the genre of the *pastourella*, and this considerably more than their Provençal and German coevals, but they quickly varied the essential set-up, eliminating the debate between shepherdess and knight, or focusing on a debate between shepherds and their female counterparts only. Sometimes we encounter poems in which the female protagonist does not belong to the peasant class, and others in which she laments being married to an old and jealous husband (*malmariée*; even Christine de Pizan includes such a poem, a “balade,” in her collections of poems, ca. 1400–1405, and again others which reflect on a variety of love conflicts and sexual seductions (Mölk 1981, 37–48).

As is rather typical of the entire genre, irrespective of the language used, the poets express the lovers' laments, their despair and frustration, and yet also underscore their continued hope to win their ladies' love, such as in the anonymous “Li chastelains de Couci ama tant” (no. 82). If the dream of love cannot be fulfilled, the poet warns about deadly consequences. Gace Brulé refers to the

birds that he had heard singing back home in the Bretagne, while he himself now lives in the Champagne. They remind him of his unfulfilled love and awaken the old erotic dreams that remain so elusive for him (no. 99). Sorrow and sadness permeate many of these songs because the lover feels deeply frustrated and does not perceive much hope of realizing his desires, such as Gontier de Soignies who is even thinking about retiring into an hermit's cell (no. 113). His song does not address pleasurable topics, but he still hopes that it will please his audience.

Love captures, wounds, and bounds its victims, not demonstrating, as Gautier de Dargies emphasizes in “Cançon ferai molt maris” (no. 117), any mercy. But some poets also voiced criticism against their societies because, as we hear from Thibaut de Blaison in his “Amors, que porra devenir” (no. 121), he cannot afford to reveal the name of his beloved, even if he were quartered, because hypocrisy and treachery rule everywhere, which would destroy the anonymous lady's reputation. Then again we hear of exorbitant praise of the beloved lady's beauty, such as in Guiot de Dijon's “Chanteir m'estuet por la plux belle” (no. 125), or of a lover's desperate plea to his lady to grant him her love, such as in Moniot d'Arras's “Dame, ains ke je voise en ma contree” (no. 128).

Thibaut de Champagne emphasizes in his “Mauvez arbres ne puet florir” (no. 148) that life without love is not possible, and that a man who does not love would not, symbolically speaking, bear fruit and would then die. God Himself would see to it that the lover would be rewarded, although the poet does not specify what that would imply concretely. In this regard, even the greatest love pangs would have to be regarded as worthwhile because they transform and improve him like gold that is refined. Richard de Fornival praises his lady for two character qualities in his “Gente m'est la saisons d'esté” (no. 150), her noble heart and her noble appearance, one conditioning the other: “De gentil cuer gentil pensé, / De gent cors gent contement” (10–11).

V Courtly and Post-Courtly Middle High German Love Poetry: *Minnesang*

Insofar as the purpose here cannot be to discuss the many different genres utilized by the Middle High German love poets, or *Minnesänger*, suffice it here to examine briefly the various approaches to the topics of love and marriage, if the latter even attracted any interest. Similarly as in the Old Occitan (*troubadours*) and Old French (*trouvères*) regions, in medieval Germany many poets came forward who composed, especially between ca. 1170 and 1220, the bulk of the most famous Middle High German courtly love poetry: *Minnesang*. The majority of them were collected in the early fourteenth century in the *Manesse song book*, but

the tradition of love poetry did not, of course, come to an end by then (Effinger et al., ed., 2010).

Minnesänger such as Der von Kürenberg, Friedrich von Hausen, Heinrich Veldeke, Heinrich von Morungen, Albrecht von Johansdorf, Rudolf von Fenis, Hartmann von Aue, Wolfram von Eschenbach, and Otto von Botenlauben entered a heated poetic competition as to who was capable of composing the most innovative, passionate, and emotional love poems in which a male voice mostly formulates his suffering and longing for a lady. Sometimes the genre changes from a wooing song to a messenger song, and then there were crusade songs, debate songs, dawn songs, and so forth, but none of the *Minnesänger* ever turned to the theme of marriage in any specific way. Instead, just as in the Medieval Occitan and Old French traditions, the Middle High German poets ignored marital bonds altogether and delighted in playing with the range of possible emotions between men and women, perhaps everything in the vein of a game for didactic, political, or ethical purposes (Schweikle 1995; Müller 2001; Boll 2007; Müller, ed., 1986).

Several remarkable exceptions, however, deserve to be mentioned here, any one of which might have paved the way for future developments in the history of medieval German love poetry. On the one hand, Wolfram von Eschenbach signals in one of his dawn songs how much it would help if the two lovers could wake up early in the morning, knowing that they would not have to separate avoiding being caught because they would be married (Bumke 2004, 34–39; Sayce 1982, 213). In all of his seven dawn songs, Wolfram succeeds in providing more intensive and passionate images of the erotic situation early in the morning, with the two lovers mourning the necessity to depart from each other, but then joining one more time in love making. But in “Der helnden minne ir klage” (no. V), the narrative voice addresses the watchman, who has traditionally served to alert the lovers to the imminent danger resulting from the dawn, and suggests that the entire situation would be better if the lovers were actually married and hence would not have any need “to leap up / and get away because of morning” (2, 4–5). Love and marriage should not be polar opposites, as the entire genre of courtly love poetry, and especially of the sub-genre of dawn songs, implies. Wolfram suggests, instead, that lovers should marry each other and enjoy a happy life together, fully in the open: “ein offeniu süeziu wirtes wîp / kan solhe minne geben” (2, 9–10; a man’s sweet wife, acknowledged openly, / is able to provide such love) (Bumke 2004).

The other example, Walther von der Vogelweide, deserves particular attention (Walther von der Vogelweide 1996). On the one hand he added remarkable critical reflections on the meaning of love in his poetry; on the other, he revealed the extent to which this kind of love poetry was not only an esoteric, aesthetic discourse, but in reality predicated as well on physical, bodily desire, such as in

“Si hât ein küssen, daz ist rô” (no. 30, IV). Instead of talking about his beloved lady in generic terms, praising her beauty in topical terms, Walther refers to a specific situation in which he had been able to spy her naked. Here we encounter a voyeur who admits that he would have been disinclined to advise her to cover herself because he delighted in gazing at her exposed body. However, she did not notice him, and yet her appearance made him fall in love with her. As a poet, he now can only remember the passion that filled him when he had seen her stepping out of the bath.

In “Herzeliebe frowelin” (no. 26) Walther launches both a defense of his personal approach to love and a biting attack against all the other courtly poets who turn their attention only to ladies of high social standing without comprehending what the true feeling of love would be like. Walther identifies his lady as a “Herzeliebe frowelin” (heart-beloved young lady), and he bitterly rejects all his critics who had reprimanded him of improperly directing his song to a person of a lower social status. Defending himself, he underscores that the other poets would not even know the meaning of true love or might never have felt it themselves in the true sense of the word because they have always paid attention only to the lady’s wealth and physical appearance. However, a lady who commands nothing but her bodily beauty would not be worth of being loved, especially because hatred could easily follow among all her wooers. True love, by contrast, begins in the heart, and the perception of beauty would then be only of secondary importance. A man who loves a woman would automatically regard her as beautiful, while a beautiful woman would not necessarily be able to attract love.

Walther emphasizes that he would rather take a ring out of glass, an object of lesser material value, as a gift from his lady than a ring out of gold from a queen, and this irrespective of any public criticism. What matters in love amounts to loyalty and constancy because these two ethical values would protect him from ever feeling heart aches. He would never even consider a woman as a potential mistress if she were not to command those qualities. In short, Walther associates true love, whether courtly or not, with deep and honest feelings which would not be conditioned by external, material, or social factors.

In his typically brilliant fashion, Walther even goes so far as to raise the fundamental question as to what the basic meaning of “minne” (courtly love) might be in his song “Saget mir ieman, waz ist minne?” (no. 44). Although he claims to have an inkling, he still would like to know more, especially because love hurts so badly in his heart. He would prefer to identify love as a sensation that produces happiness, whereas painfulness should not be associated with love. The only true goal should be true love in which both hearts share the same feeling: “minne ist zweier herzen wunne” (II, 3; love is the delight of two hearts). In other words, love cannot be harbored by one heart alone, hence he appeals to

his lady to carry a part of his burden, that is, to love him back (III), but he feels deeply confused about his lady and attributes this bad condition to his own status as lover who cannot fully perceive reality anymore (V, 7).

Moreover, in “Nement, frowe, disen cranz” (no. 51) Walther projects a love relationship characterized by simplicity, honesty, and mutual love. As a proof of that ideal, he refers to a wreath of flowers which he had presented her with and which she had happily accepted although he had only picked the flowers on a meadow where he hopes to pick more with her. Her response spoke volumes, as the poet emphasizes, because she demonstrated her inner nobility, blushed, bowed her head toward him, displayed embarrassment, and yet indicated her love for him. Tragically, however, as the poet then reveals, he had only dreamt of this experience and felt deeply disappointed upon waking up (IV). Subsequently, he searches throughout the entire summer for the one woman whom he had seen in a vision, and is asking each lady to lift their headgear for him so that he can better recognize the one whom he is looking for.

Most famously, Walther also created a true love utopia in his song “Under der linden” (no. 16), in which a female voice reflects upon her love experience far away from the court in a meadow near the edge of the forest. She went there all by herself, and was welcomed by her lover who had already prepared a bed out of petals for them. The two lovers kissed each other a thousand times, and then obviously turned to love making, as the impression of her head on the petals still can reveal. Although the female voice pretends that she would be deeply embarrassed if anyone would find out what they both had done together in the bed of flowers, the entire poem is predicated on poetic voyeurism and most skillfully operates with elements of fictionality and imagination to enhance the erotic dimension (Köbele 2009).

Only a nightingale had been their witness, and yet now the woman sings about this erotic adventure herself, seemingly all by herself, but apparently addressing, in a dramatic setting, the entire court society. The more she insists on the secrecy, the more the audience is invited to share her erotic and sexual joys, as the onomatopoetic refrain “tandaradei” clearly signals. Moreover, resorting to the second personal plural in “seht, wie rôt mir ist der munt” (II, 9; see how red my lips are), she herself gives away that secret. The evidence of the bed also speaks a clear message because everyone who would pass by it would be able to recognize where her head had been resting (III, 7–9), which would trigger a sympathetic laughter (III, 3–6) (Classen, ed., 2010). As A.C. Spearing has observed, “The poem purports to exclude possible watchers, yet its secrecy has been penetrated not only by the nightingale but by these persons named as *ir* and *ieman*. Each stanza not only reveals what the poem claims to conceal, but calls attention to that revelation by its very words” (Spearing 1993, 28).

Taking both poets into consideration, we observe how much their love poems intricately intertwine the erotic with the metapoetic discourse, examining both the role of the poet within his society and the relevance of courtly love and its social function. Whereas Wolfram suggests, at least in one of his dawn songs, that a happy marriage would be by far preferable over an illicit love affair, Walther indicates how much he is concerned with freeing himself from the constraints of traditional love discourse, experimenting with astounding variations in the customary gender relationship, trying to achieve a new degree of emotional intensity based on veritable trust, loyalty, hence love outside of the courtly world.

VI Italian Contributions to Courtly Love: *Dolce stil nuovo*

We also would have to address the large corpus of love poetry composed by South Italian, Sicilian—Dante was the first to coin the term “Sicilian School” in his *De vulgari eloquentia* (ca. 1303–1304; 1996, 1.12.2)—, and other Italian poets (ca. 1230–ca. 1250), but they basically varied from their European neighbors only to some degree, and they did not embark on any radically innovative approaches to the topics of love, marriage, and sexuality. This is not deny their extraordinary poetic beauty and relevance for medieval Italian literature, or the innovative nature of their work reflecting a new political-cultural unity at the *Magna Curia* under the rule of the Hohenstaufen Emperor Frederick II, but poets such as Guido delle Colonne, Pietro della Vigna, Giacomino Pugliese, Frederick himself, or Percivalle Doria did not essentially add much innovative material to the discourse at stake here, disregarding various attempts to spiritualize the beloved, as later specifically promoted by Dante Alighieri in his *Vita nuova* (ca. 1283–1293/95) and Petrarch (1304–1374) in his sonnets collected in his *Canzoniere* (ca. 1348–) (Blanco Valdés 1996; Savona 1973; Bertelli 1987). Scholars have agreed on the major efforts by these poets to innovate the formal structure of their songs, especially with the development of the sonnet, the simplification of the Provencal canzone, and a very rich utilization of vernacular metaphors, allegorical references, and motifs, but this is not the topic of our investigation (Leonardo, ed., 2000–2001; Favati 1975; Suitner 1977; Bertelli 1987).

However, the *Dolce stil nuovo* provided a range of more passionate images and metaphors of love, reflecting on the intensification of the artificiality of that culture, which was deeply influenced by their Provencal predecessors, the German *Minnesang*, and possibly even Arabic lyrics (Ruta, ed., 2001; Antonelli et al., ed., 2008; Jensen, ed. and trans., 1985). Once again, these male poets lament the coldness of their ladies, praise their beauty, invoke the torment which they themselves suffer from love—both here and in many other courtly love poems an

essential ingredient—and implore their female addressees to have mercy on them, otherwise they would die from their unfulfilled desires (see, esp., Guido delle Colonne, “Ancor che l’aigua per lo foco lasse”). Nevertheless, despite all grief, these poets clearly express the deep joy which these feelings of love create in them (Rinaldo d’Aquino, “Per fin’ amore vao sì allegramente”). To be sure, erotic love necessitates loyal service, patience, and trust, all of which might eventually lead to a reward, though we never hear of an actual fulfillment. After all, courtly love is predicated at large on secrecy and concealment, even though all these erotic poems served for public performance, as Jacopo Mostacci expressed explicitly in “Mostrar vorria in parvenza”: “Amor si de’ celare / per zo che più fine ene / ca nulla gioi’ c’ a esto mondo sia” (3, 1–3) (see also Walther von der Vogelweide’s poem “Under der linden”).

D Theory of Courtly Love, Literary Games, or Scholastic Masterpieces

I Andreas Capellanus

One of the most enigmatic treatises on courtly love was composed by the Parisian cleric Andreas Capellanus, *De amore*, ca. 1180–1190 for the French court of Philip Augustus, perhaps at the request of Marie de Champagne, daughter of King Louis VII of France and of Eleanor of Aquitaine, if we want to believe the author’s own statement. He closely followed the model created by Ovid (43 B.C.E–18 C.E.), *Ars amatoria* from ca. 2 C.E. in which he offers, probably satirically, advice to men on how to select a woman whom he could love, how to win that person in love, and finally how to preserve that love. After all, as the poet emphasizes, “Love is a kind of warfare; avant, ye laggards! these banners are not for timid men to guard” (II, 233–34, here p. 85).

Andreas claims to follow Ovid’s example, who informs women how to be attractive to men in body and mind, how to respond to a wooer, and how to keep that love (Ovid 2003; Ovidio 2007). Ovid suggested to his male readers to submit themselves under women like in a military order, while he encouraged women to arouse jealousy in their lovers to maintain their attention. Ovid went even one step further and discussed the various positions women should take during love-making to take advantage of their own womanly bodies (Ovidio 2007, 769ff.). Subsequently, however, in his *Remedies for Love*, Ovid outlines his precepts of how to avoid love if that is a person’s wish, which involves, first of all, avoiding leisure as the surest path toward kindling love, staying away from erotic litera-

ture, especially love poetry, or letters from the beloved, and being aware of solitary places because solitude can easily reawaken the memory of love.

Andreas, on the other hand, mostly presents dialogues involving a male lover and his recalcitrant lady, intermingled with specific rules pertaining to love, formulated by the God of Love, King Arthur, and also his own patron, Marie de Champagne (Capellanus 1982; Andreas aulæ regiae capellanus 2006). Andreas concludes the second book with a short and beautiful Arthurian tale illustrating how a man (a Briton) can win his lady's love through valiant, knightly behavior, conquering a hawk for her by overcoming a number of challenges by guardsmen and knights. Once he has taken hold of the hawk, he perceives a scroll attached to a golden chain hanging from the perch. The rules of love, formulated in specific, unambiguous, almost legal language, are written on the scroll, which he brings his lady as well. Afterwards, upon her urging, he makes these rules known to all lovers who are thus informed, for instance, that "Marriage does not constitute a proper excuse for not loving" (1). The rules also declare that jealousy is an essential component of love (2); that one can only love one person only (3); that love cannot be forcefully exacted (5); that "One should not seek love with ladies with whom it is disgraceful to seek marriage" (11); that honesty forms an essential component of love (18); that a person truly in love is always in fear of losing his beloved (20); and "There is nothing to prevent one woman being loved by two men, or one man by two women" (31).

Once the Briton has handed over these rules to his lady, she calls in the entire court and shares the rules with every member, and all agree that these rules should determine love's practice throughout the entire world. Love outside of the bonds of marriage is thus announced to be the central value, in complete reconfirmation of virtually everything which has been argued about in all the dialogues in the previous text. However, Andreas expressed a rather ambiguous position vis-à-vis love in the prologue, and emphasized its problematic nature. He declared his willingness to expound on its essence and character because he himself commands much experience in this area, and because he is driven by didactic ideals, being in charge of educating his student Walter, who was suddenly gripped by the power of love ("novum amoris militem") and afraid of losing control over his life. Andreas affirms that this is the effect which love can truly have, as he knows through personal experience—just as Ovid had posited (I, 29)—and that he feels impelled by the mutual affection between them to provide a thorough critical discussion of this curious phenomenon. But he does not indicate what the ultimate purpose of his treatise might be, concluding with the comment that ultimately Walter's "progress in love will be more circumspect if you are learned in its lore" (31).

Andreas seems to view love rather critically because it subjugates man, prevents any clear thinking, and would be inappropriate for a "man of sense" (31).

Nevertheless, knowing that Walther is in the clutches of love causes Andreas “mental anxiety” and worry for which he finds no words (31). This is a strong statement for a master in rhetoric like him, but it might simply underscore the satiric nature of this text. Nevertheless, for a long stretch the author approaches the topic of love in the most serious and learned of terms, defining its name, origin, and nature, illustrating its effects on people, and presenting many different dialogues between a man and a woman in which the former consistently, though virtually never with any tangible success, woos for a lady’s love. In most cases, the social class difference makes it practically impossible for the man to achieve his goal, but the dialogues themselves still present powerful rhetorical models which could be easily adapted by a wide range of readers for their own purposes. Even when a nobleman addresses a common woman, she rejects his pleadings for a number of cogent arguments, though the conclusion remains ambiguous, as when she points out: “I shall reflect, and be careful to let in the worthier man only after much weighing of counsel” (95). Surprisingly, not even in those situations where there is no social barrier between the two, the woman remains resistant and does not grant him his wish. In order to cut through the ongoing dilemma, especially with regard to love versus marriage, two speakers, a man of higher nobility and a noble lady, write a letter to the Countess Marie of Champagne who unequivocally responds by writing on the first of May, 1174 (157) “that love cannot extend its sway over a married couple. Lovers bestow all they have on each other freely, and without the compulsion of any consideration of necessity, whereas married partners are forced to comply with each other’s desires as an obligation, and under no circumstances to refuse their persons to each other” (157).

Most amazingly and puzzlingly, at the end Andreas turns around completely and condemns love outside of the bonds of marriage in the strongest possible terms, contradicting himself in unmistakable terms, thus demonstrating his skills as a dialectician also in the area of courtly love. Devoting one’s efforts to love would be a waste of one’s talents and inappropriate for the learned person. His own rules and literary debates should only be regarded as reading material offering entertainment and recreation (287). His student Walter should realize that by filling a woman’s heart with love he himself would be able to restrain from it and gain eternal rewards from God. In his estimation, “Each and every wise man is bound to renounce all acts of love, and always to oppose Love’s commands for many reasons, but especially for one ... No person could be pleasing to God by any good works as long as he seeks to devote himself to Love’s services, for God loathes ... those whom He sees committed to Venus’ tasks or engaged in any form of sensual pleasure outside marriage-relations” (287).

Those who abandon the eternal joys of salvation for a moment of sensual pleasure here on earth would be utter fools (289). The entire third book is filled

with a pervasive diatribe against the erotic element, against love outside of the bonds of marriage, against women at large, and against carnal pleasures altogether: “Love gives rise to hateful indigence, and paves the way to the prison of poverty” (293). Speaking the language of a priest, Andreas notes: “Love causes everyone unbearable suffering in this life, and infinitely greater pains after death” (293). Addressing Walter directly, he wonders: “Why then do you look for love, if it causes you to be accounted wicked and blasphemous before God and men?” (295). Andreas sharply rebukes all clerics who devote themselves to love as grave sinners, and lambasts the laity if they turn to love because it would deprive them of wisdom, honor, and public respect (297).

Truly astoundingly, after having presented countless women in the previous dialogues as highly intelligent, wise, rhetorically endowed, chaste and virtuous, clearly opposed to the male wooers and their inappropriate appeals to grant them love, Andreas has only negative things to say about all women, for instance: “There is no woman to be found who is bound to you with such affection and firm constancy that she will remain loyal to her love if some man approaches her with the slightest offer of gifts” (307). In fact, Andreas reveals his own satirical approach even here when he makes absolute his remarks about women, casting a negative shroud over all of them: “All women are thieves through avarice; we know they have pockets. There is no woman alive ... that an offer of money does not breach her virtue” (307). Or: “all women are drunkards, fond of drinking wine” (317), or: “All women are also free with their tongues” (317), or: “no woman can keep a secret” (317).

Although Andreas claimed to follow Ovid, and although he had made the greatest effort to present women as vastly superior to men in their ethics, intelligence, morals, and rhetoric, he ridicules them all in the end, and rejects love outright, urging Walter to guard himself from loving women under any circumstances, keeping only God in mind as the only one worthy of being loved. Ultimately, we face a treatise that escapes critical investigation and constantly assumes new positions that contradict each other. Any one-sided interpretation is in grave danger of misleading us, albeit many scholars went just that way, or simply abandoned all hope to pin down Andreas’s treatise in their interpretive efforts (Cherchi 1994; Monson 2005; Allen 1992; Haug 2004; with an emphasis on communication theory, Classen 2002c, 53–107). We can be certain that Andreas’s treatise was of central significance for the learned culture of its time, either prescriptively or descriptively, but we cannot say for sure how he truly viewed courtly love, marriage, or sexuality. He might have harbored stronger affections for Walter than he could admit openly, or he might have played a genial literary game with the entire notion of courtly love. Then again, he also might have enjoyed displaying his own rhetorical skills and his mastery of classical Roman

literature (Ovid). C.S. Lewis famously remarked that for Andreas “Love is, *in saeculo*, as God is, in eternity. *Cordis affectio* is to the acts of love as charity is to good works” (Lewis 1938, 42).

Ultimately, here we can identify a critical point in the discourse of courtly love, drawing from many different sources, and primarily addressing a learned audience, skillfully experimenting with a range of rhetorical approaches and literary genres (letter, definitions, dialogues, rules and laws, Arthurian narrative, didactic teaching, etc.). Significantly, Andreas was not at all the first or the last to invest in this discourse on love and to examine critically, if not rather satirically, the issue of love versus marriage. Fritz Peter Knapp now concludes that Andreas did not announce a double truth; instead, he formulated a double untruth. His treatise represents an effort to bring to light the impossibility of straddling the abyss between, on the one hand, the Christian world view, combined with the concept of the afterlife, and the need, on the other, to come to terms with the natural demands of this world, especially with sexual lust. Much speaks in favor of this reading, but it does not convince either completely (Andreas aulae regiae capellanus 2006, 591–632). I myself have argued that Andreas played out a brilliant game of rhetorical strategies to demonstrate how much basic human communication underlies all existential concerns and concepts, as illustrated by the fundamental contradictions which characterize this treatise, since communication continuously faces contradictions, dialectical approaches, and confusion (Classen 2002c, 53–107; Classen 2013a).

II Abelard and Heloise

Several decades before him, the two famous lovers, the philosopher Peter Abelard (1079–1142) and his student, then mistress, finally his wife, and subsequently the Abbess of the Paraclete monastery, Heloise had exchanged famous letters in which they explored in a highly sophisticated and learned manner what the meaning of their relationship was really like and so had explored in great detail how these topics fit into the domain of theology and philosophy. After they had fallen in love with each other, and after she had conceived a child with him, they had been forced by her uncle Fulbert to get married. This was certainly not out of the ordinary, but for a clerical philosopher, like Abelard, this was rather embarrassing and disapproved of by the Church. They tried to keep their marriage a secret, which infuriated Fulbert so much that he had a gang of men break into Abelard’s quarters and castrate him, which caused a huge uproar in Paris. Later, Abelard arranged for Heloise to become the abbess of a new foundation (Paraclete), while he retired to a monastery as well. After she had learned of his

autobiographical treatise, *Historia calamitatum* (History of My Miseries), she embarked on a correspondence with him, in which she addressed the issues of love and marriage, insisting that she had never wanted to marry him in order to preserve the purity of their love.

Whether this famous correspondence was authentic or not, whether Abelard created it himself or whether a later writer, such as Jean de Meun, might have made it up, cannot be discussed here (Mews 2005; Kolmer 2008; Godman 2009; Oberson 2010). What matters, by contrast, is the great interest by the intellectual elite during the twelfth century in the topics of love and marriage, and later throughout the entire Middle Ages and beyond, considering its fundamentally dialectic nature (Classen 2013a). It might not be possible to draw a direct connection between the letters, which these two lovers exchanged, and Andreas's treatise. We can be certain, however, that all these texts belong to the same learned discourse, which developed parallel to the explosion of vernacular love poetry and made the topic of courtly love to a most learned matter which deeply concerned the intellectuals as well.

III Matfre Ermengaud and Juan Ruiz

Matfre Ermengaud pursued very similar strategies in his *Breviari d'amor* (begun 1288), presenting an orthodox, scholastic treatise of almost encyclopedic properties, yet containing also clear references to courtly love. As Michel Bolduc now argues, "Matfre's *Breviari*, while teaching *caritas*, simultaneously shields the primary figures of *fin' amors*" (Bolduc 2004, 68). The highly contradictory nature of courtly love found its most poignant expression in the Spanish work by Juan Ruiz, *Libro del buen amor* (ca. 1340), where we can never be sure whether he is talking with tongue-in-cheek or seriously, promoting the ethical value of love in contrast to conjugal love, or whether he intended his verse narrative as a warning and criticism of courtly love.

E Love and Marriage in Courtly Romances

In most courtly romances, the central issue does not hinge on the experience of love, but on honor and individual performance within the social context of the court. In many of the Middle High German pre-courtly romances, such as *Oswald*, *Orendel*, or *König Rother*, the protagonist explores the East in a quest to find a bride. In the romances created by Chrétien de Troyes, which soon became the model for all European Arthurian poets, especially in *Erec* and *Yvain/Iwein*, the

hero quickly wins the hand of a lady, marries her, and then faces serious problems regarding his social standing as a knight. Many times the marriage ultimately proves to be the central framework for the ethical and religious problems at stake, especially because the hero's wife regularly comes to his rescue and supports him in many ways. Most curiously, however, in the many different *Tristan* romances, marriage emerges as the most painful hindrance to the protagonists' happiness, similar to the case of Abelard and Heloise, and the love which affects both partners equally is of profound power, far removed from the concept of courtly love as discussed in the *troubadour* or *Minnesang* tradition. However, it still proves to be opposed to marriage and hence to society which tends to impose rigid limits and always attempts to regulate and channel that love into marriage (Tomasek 2007, 196–204).

In Gottfried von Straßburg's version from ca. 1210, we encounter a whole series of married couples, each representing a different approach to marriage. Tristan's father Rivalin falls in love with King Mark's sister, Blanchefflor, but he marries her only after he has learned that the war back home had been renewed and that she has become pregnant. He joins hands with her, however, only once his advisor Rual has pointed out the danger for his dynasty and his illegitimate son if he does not publicly marry Blanchefflor. Tragically, both parents then die, and young Tristan is raised by Rual and his wife Floræte, who represent an ideal married couple. Later in his life, Tristan reaches his uncle Mark's court and proves to be a kind of prodigal child. Mark is so charmed by his nephew that he pledges never to marry and to make the young man his heir. But soon the circumstances change, and Tristan arranges Mark's marriage with the Irish princess Isolde. Tragically, however, the two young people have inadvertently drunk a love potion—certainly a powerful symbol—and begin an affair that will last until the end of their lives.

Sadly, in the meantime, Mark himself is deeply in love with his own wife, and soon realizes that she does not return his feelings, which results in many conflicts and mortal danger for the lovers. In none of the many versions throughout the Middle Ages does this most problematic relationship find a happy outcome, despite numerous references to Tristan's subsequent marriage to another woman, also called Isolde (Gottfried von Straßburg 1980).

Both in Chrétien de Troyes' *Perceval* (ca. 1170) and in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* (ca. 1205) the protagonist happily marries, but then departs on quest to find his mother, who has actually died long ago. Subsequently, it takes the protagonist years to achieve the predestined goal of his life, to relieve the suffering Grail king by asking a crucial question. Once that has finally happened, Perceval/Parzival is appointed as the successor, and only then can he finally rejoin with his wife, whom he had dearly missed over the many years. The focus,

however, rests only marginally on marriage, although the narrators refer to it numerous times. Parzival's father first marries the black queen Belacane, then the Christian queen Herzeloyde, impregnating both, but he never stays and dies during some battle in which he fights on behalf of an Eastern prince. The topics of chivalry, knighthood, religion, and the quest for the Grail dominate this romance in Old French and Middle High German, while marriage figures only as an institution of some narrative, but certainly not central importance (Schumacher 1967).

By contrast, the contemporary Anglo-Norman writer Marie de France (fl. ca. 1160–ca. 1200) examined this issue from quite a different perspective when she composed her short verse narratives, her *lais* (Burgess 1987). Some are determined by utopian and fairy-tale like features, such as “Guigemar” and “Lanval,” in which rather fanciful love relationships develop, the first resulting in a happy marriage, the other in a dream-like escape with the beloved to Avalon. In others, the lovers prove to be deeply troubled and have difficulties in achieving their amatory goals, waiting many years to realize their wishes (“Milun”), or dying in their efforts out of a lack of self-control and rationality (“Equitan”). In “Equitan,” we observe debates between the king and his seneschal's wife which bear considerable parallels with those contained in Andreas Capellanus's treatise. In “Le Fresne,” the lovers almost lose each other because the social constraints force the prince to marry another woman. Only because Le Fresne is recognized at the last minute as of high noble birth, can she marry the man whom she deeply loves. However, we do not hear anything else about her future life as wife and queen. The hope of the two young people in “Deus amanz” to get married is dashed because he fights too hard and arrogantly tries to prove his strength during a public challenge, refusing to take the wonder drug that would have allowed him to carry her up to the top of a mountain, which no other man has ever accomplished. He achieves that feat, but then dies because of heart failure, whereupon she follows him out of grief into his death.

Most remarkably, in “Eliduc” we encounter several marriage arrangements. At first Eliduc is happily married, but must leave his country because he has lost his lord's favors. Fighting for another lord, he meets a young princess who falls in love with him, which he accepts, feeling the same passion for her. Later, he elopes with her, but she seems to die during the voyage across the sea once she has learnt from a sailor, who is scared of drowning due to the stormy weather and who regards her as responsible for God's wrath, that Eliduc is already married. Once he has reached dry land, the protagonist places the body of his new beloved on an altar in a former hermit's cell, where his actual wife later discovers the young woman and revives her. Realizing how deeply Eliduc is in love with the new princess, she abdicates her position as wife out of love for him, and enters a

monastery, granting Eliduc and the young woman the right to marry and to lead a happy life together. At the end, however, both join the older woman and a convent, which overcomes all possible conflicts and makes us believe that God approved this odd arrangement in the name of love (Whalen, ed., 2011; Kinoshita and McCracken, 2012).

Marriage itself, whether dealt with explicitly or only indirectly, is often described as the social norm for the romance heroes during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. But we hardly hear more details about actual married life. In the pan-European verse narrative *Floire and Blancheflor*, for instance, two young people are raised together, although she is the daughter of a Christian slave (formerly a queen) and the son of a pagan king. When his parents decide to sell Blancheflor, their son almost commits suicide, but his mother prevents the act at the last minute, and then the parents allow him to go on a search for his beloved. He ultimately finds her in the harem of the Babylonian king and can convince the latter to grant them freedom and the right to get married. Soon after, Floire's father dies and he succeeds him on the throne, taking his wife with him as the new queen (Grieve 1997).

The situation is fairly similar in the Old French "chanteable" *Aucassin et Nicolette*, where again the narrative concludes with the protagonists' wedding and a quick comment on their long life in a happy marriage (Pensom 1999). In the late thirteenth-century verse romance *Mai und Beafloir*, the female protagonist marries her beloved Mai, Count of Greece and conceives a son from him. However, subsequent complications force her to leave the country secretly and to return home to Rome with her son without revealing her identity to her father; the latter had earlier tried to rape her, which had forced her to escape, setting the narrative into motion. Believing that she has died, Mai travels to Italy to request forgiveness for his matricide, which he had committed out of revenge for her evil plotting against her daughter-in-law, from the Pope. In Italy he encounters his young son, and then recognizes, to his great delight, his wife again. When her father confesses his guilt publicly and then resigns, Mai succeeds him as the new Emperor of Rome, making room for this idealized married couple.

In the pan-European *Amis et Amiloun*—also *Amicus and Amelius*; in the German version by Konrad von Würzburg (ca. 1270–1285), the title is by then *Engelhard*—two friends face severe challenges and help each other to the utmost, proving their true friendship. The first can marry his beloved, the Danish king's daughter, after his friend has killed an envious courtier on behalf of the other. Since both friends look so much alike, no one has surmised that the person fighting against the accuser was not the one who was truly the culprit. Years later, this friend contracts leprosy and becomes terribly disfigured, whereupon he is virtually ostracized. When he seeks help from his friend, he has already given up

all hope because he knows that he could never ask his friend for the blood of his two children. However, the other immediately kills them, heals his friend, and then God resuscitates the two little ones, approving the absolute value of friendship. The narrative, however, is predicated on the critical fact that both of these friends are happily married and have children of their own. We are not even informed about how the friend, who is in the meantime suffering from leprosy, found his wife and what his relationship might be with her. Nevertheless, the essential background of this romance proves to be the happy marriage which even results in progeny, a fact which is often ignored by other romance writers.

If we turn to the highly unusual late-medieval heroic epic *Kudrun* (ca. 1250), which certainly belongs to a very different genre and yet provides us with good evidence in the present context, we can learn much more about marriage and the standard gender relationship prevalent at that time. This might be the more surprising feature of this text, considering the heroic framework in which, as we have seen above, love and marriage play the least important roles. In the first section, the narrator presents a royal couple whose son Hagen is kidnapped by a dragon. While the king is about to break down in tears, although a major courtly festival is underway, his wife reprimands him and sustains him in this difficult, almost heart-breaking moment. In the subsequent sections, we are told about one generation after the other, each determined by a powerful couple who have gotten together after bitter heroic battles, supporting each other and living a good life.

In the end, however, the main protagonist Kudrun is kidnapped by one of her woosers whom she had rejected. After a devastating battle in which her father is killed, it takes ten years for a new army to grow up with which Kudrun can eventually be rescued, but subsequently, she embraces a completely new marriage policy and establishes peace through unheard-of diplomatic links connecting the various families by way of marriages. In *Kudrun*, there are no specific traces of a love discourse, since the major interest rests in the heroic features and military operations. However, solid marriages prove to be the key instrument in that profoundly military society to overcome major conflicts and to establish peace—the very opposite proves to be the case in the earlier *Nibelungenlied* where conflictual, mismatched marriages lead to the downfall of the entire society. In fact, here marriages are concluded not out of love at all, but because it serves powerful political agendas and strategies.

Considering yet another genre, in the contemporary verse narrative *Mauritius von Craûn* (ca. 1220–1230) courtly love clashes with marital love, and the outcome is the destruction of both. Mauritius makes every possible effort to convince his lady, the Countess of Beamont, to love him, and organizes a fabulous tournament on her behalf, which she had demanded from him as the ultimate condition for a love affair (Fischer 2006). But in the evening, when Mauritius is waiting for his

lady to arrive, he briefly falls asleep, and at that very moment she enters the room, observing the sleeping man. She immediately decides to reject him and all future lovers, affirming that she is content with her marriage. Although the chambermaid tries to convince her not to go that route, warning her of serious consequences for the whole concept of courtly love, the Countess leaves her sleeping lover and returns to her husband. After Mauritius has awoken, he eventually tries to force his way into the marital bedroom, scares the husband out of his wits, and lies down next to his lady, while the Count rests unconsciously on the ground. The subsequent sexual tryst could be read as rape, or simply as a grotesque travesty of courtly love (Classen 2011b, 53–82). But whatever it might be, Mauritius afterwards gets up from bed, returns the symbolic ring, and abandons his lady for good because he felt betrayed by her. Nothing remains for her but to lament and mourn the loss of her lover. Although the final scene with her standing on the buttresses of the castle clearly echoes the setting of a traditional dawn song, there is no hope for her that Mauritius will ever return. Love has come to a tragic end, and this also seems to apply to the erotic relationship between the genders at large because the social foundations of courtly society seem to have been undermined as well (Classen 2006).

F Love, Sex, and Marriage in the Late Middle Ages

However, the late Middle Ages witnessed the enormously prolific development of the short verse or prose novella, as represented by Boccaccio's *Decameron* (ca. 1350), Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (ca. 1400), Heinrich Kaufringer's tales (ca. 1400), Franco Sacchetti's *Trecento Novelle* (ca. 1410–1420), Poggio Bracciolini's *Facetie* (ca. 1460), and Marguerite de Navarre's *Heptaméron* (1560), not to mention the large number of jest narratives from the sixteenth century which continued the medieval tradition in a variety of ways (Classen 2009a). A significant majority of them are predicated on the intense negotiations and debates between men and women as to sexuality, marriage, social and economic issues, and then also as to the individual power position within the communal framework (Grubmüller 2006). The gamut of themes found in these intriguing and popular collections of narratives proves to be astounding, but at closer analysis we can identify very few yet powerful issues common to them all, insofar as the question as to the proper, happy, fulfilling, or necessary relationship between the genders has occupied people's minds throughout times, at least since the high Middle Ages (Kiefer, ed., 2009). Virtually everywhere, we observe conflicts, tensions, and strife, but what would be literature all about if not basic problems people have always faced with each other. Mismatched marriages as to person-

ality, social status, religion, and culture are the topics of countless tales. Cotermiously, age discrepancies, adultery, revenge taken by cuckolded husbands, and many other topics occurring in everyday life are the central themes which Chaucer or Kaufringer pursue.

I Late-Medieval Reflections on Marital Love

Many late-medieval authors addressed the topic of marital love, without completely ignoring the issue of adulterous love. Christine de Pizan (1363–ca. 1430) lost her husband Etienne du Castel early in her life in 1390, and mourned this loss in many of her ballads and other texts (Willard 1984; Margolis 2011). In her *Livre du duc des vrais amans* (Book of the Duke of True Lovers), however, she thematizes the conflict a young princess incurs through her love affair long before her marriage and the criticism which she faces publicly and privately (Christine de Pizan 1995). Most famously, Christine has a Dame de la Tour, Sebile de Mont Hault, send her several letters in which she reflects long and hard on the nature of love and its dangers for unmarried people, threatening to undermine their social status (“deshonneure,” 176).

In strong contrast, Johannes of Tepl (ca. 1350–ca. 1415), a famous German Humanist in Bohemia, based his brilliant debate poem *Der Ackermann aus Böhmen* (The Plowman from Bohemia), in which Everyman (Plowman) argues with Death over the meaning of life, on the mournful experience of having lost his wife. In fact, many of the early statements constitute a paean on his wonderful wife, the mother of his children. Her loss motivates him to attack Death most bitterly and to praise his marital partner in most laudatory terms (Kiening 1998, 367–403). Contemporarily, the Swiss public notary Heinrich Wittenwiler includes a whole chapter on the precepts of marriage in his peasant satire, or moral allegory, *Der Ring* (ca. 1400; The Ring). These are highly detailed, but ultimately do not profit the foolish peasant couple Bertschi Triefnas (translated as ‘Bert with the Dripping Nose’) and Mätzli Rüerenzumpf (translated as ‘Metzli Who Touches the Penis’) because, during their wedding festivities, a fight breaks out between two farmers which quickly explodes into a veritable war between the two villages. The conflict results into complete Armageddon, and while Mätzli is killed along with all other peasants of her community, Bertschi withdraws into the Black Forest and ends his life as an hermit, without having learned anything about how to lead a better life (Lutz 1990).

The highly regarded German-Tyrolian poet Oswald von Wolkenstein (1376/77–1445) was the first to develop some extraordinary marital songs in which he depicts the happiness which he and his newly-wed wife Margaretha of Schwan-

gau enjoy together (Müller and Springeth, ed., 2011; Spicker 2011). In these songs Oswald does not even shy away from openly talking about sexual pleasures, describing them in graphic terms, resorting to the generic framework of the *pastourelle*, detailing how they both enjoyed their time together either in a bath tub or in the meadow (Müller 2011). We might even get a glimpse into their subsequent marital life, as when the poet later felt deeply frustrated about his lonely existence in the Alpine world and turned to beating his children, when their mother comes rushing to their defense against her violent husband (Schwob 1977; Baasch and Nürnberger 1986). However, either way, we cannot ignore the literary nature of these statements intended for public performance; hence, they are not to be confused with straightforward autobiographical comments.

Chaucer included a number of tales in his *Canterbury Tales* in which the issues of sexuality, loyalty, and trust within marriage play a significant role, such as in “The Miller’s Tale,” “The Franklin’s Tale,” and “The Merchant’s Tale.” The Wife of Bath, in the prologue to her own tale, makes astonishingly frank remarks about the sexual component in marriage, and then focuses in the tale itself, on what all women really want from men in married life, that is, sovereignty (Pakkala-Weckström 2005; Beidler 1996; Desmond 2006). Not surprisingly, the entire romance *Troilus and Criseyde* is predicated on the same range of issues, love, loyalty, passion, and sexuality, although the outcome for the male protagonist proves to be rather tragic since he is losing in the battle for Criseyde’s love in the competition with his male opponent in the Greek camp (Pugh and Weisl, ed., 2007; Pugh and Smith Marzec, ed., 2008).

A profoundly problematic relationship between husband and wife comes to the fore in the Old Spanish, Old French, and Early Modern German version of *Queen Sibille* (*Königin Sibille*), the latter translated from French into German by the Countess Elisabeth von Nassau-Saarbrücken in 1437. Here Charlemagne is misled by the false impression that his wife might have committed adultery with another man, actually a monstrous looking black dwarf. Apart from the latter’s ardent desire, indeed, to sleep with the queen, in reality the representatives of a political group opposed to the king utilize this strange figure to endanger the queen’s life and hence to undermine the king’s position. Charlemagne at first wants his pregnant wife to be burnt at the stake, but then ‘only’ expels her from his court, forcing her to deliver their son in the wilderness, and then to seek help against her own husband from her father, the Emperor of Constantinople, the pope, and many other people, including her son, by then grown up to a strong warrior. In the end, Charlemagne is forced to acknowledge that he has been wrong, and then accepts his wife once again. Throughout the prose novel we sense deep frustration over the irrational distrust, jealousy, and personal insecurity which determine the king’s exasperating reactions, constantly pitting him

against the one person whom he actually loves the most in his life (Bloch 2002; Haubrichs and Oster, ed., 2013).

We encounter the same interest in the topic of marriage virtually everywhere in the late Middle Ages, both in literary texts and in travelogues, in Shrovetide plays and pilgrimage accounts. For instance, Marco Polo repeatedly discusses marriage in his famous account about his travels to China (ca. 1298), informing us about different practices in the East, offering strong contrasts, we may say, to the Western world, in a way Orientalizing the Asian cultures. When a husband goes on a journey for more than twenty days, his wife immediately takes another husband. “And the men, wherever they go, take wives in the same way” (Polo 1958, 83). Both here and in countless subsequent travel accounts sexual practices and forms of marriages serve as cultural markers to identify differences especially to the European countries (Polo 1958, 175). To intensify the exotic character of the Khan’s court in China, Polo reports that the ruler has many concubines, and adds that the suburbs are filled with prostitutes: “For I assure you that there are fully 20,000 of them, all serving the needs of men for money” (Polo 1958, 129). But Polo also reports about marital customs among other peoples very similar to those practiced in the West. With respect to the Tartars, he comments: “The wives are true and loyal to their husbands and very good at their household tasks” (Polo 1958, 98). Nevertheless, he still thought it most curious and exciting to remark on the large number of prostitutes in the cities and the concubines at court.

Much in the same vein, John Mandeville delighted his audience with references to the Emperor’s sexual escapades, choosing a new woman every night for his pleasures (trans.1983, 132–33). Two hundred years later the Low German knight Arnold von Harff includes in his pilgrimage account many examples of how to ask women/prostitutes in different languages for their sexual favors. Late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century verse and prose novels such as *Melusine* (Jean d’Arras, 1393; Couldrette, ca. 1400; Thüring von Ringoltingen, 1456) and the anonymous *Fortunatus* (first printed in 1509) are characterized by their strong emphasis on marital love (Classen 2014b).

II Contradictions in the Discourse of Love and Marriage

It would be hard to search for any text from the Middle Ages in which there is no word about love, sex, and marriage. Theologians such as St. Augustine and Thomas Aquinas dealt with that complex of issues just as much as chroniclers, legal authors, allegorical writers (Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun in their *Roman de la rose*), and poets and romancers (see *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*). The interest in everything associated with sexuality and marriage went so

far as to incorporate critical reflections upon gender transgressions or cross-dressing, as in the anonymous *Roman de Silence* and in John Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (McCarthy, ed., 2004). But we must not overlook the deeply contradictory tension permeating medieval society because we can cite as many examples which confirm the broad fascination with the erotic and sexual in all their manifestations, as we can list examples which underscore the vehement opposition to and reaction to everything associated with these aspects (Karras 2005, 2–3; 158–59). We have seen this already in Andreas Capellanus's treatise and in Juan Ruiz's *Libro de buen amor*.

The prose novel *Melusine* (1456) by the Swiss writer Thüring von Ringoltingen, based on the French verse romance by Couldrette (ca. 1400) and, more distantly, on the prose version by Jean d'Arras (ca. 1392–1394), examines the problematic nature of marriage between a man and a woman who is half human and half snake (Schnyder, ed., 2008; Tang 2009). Together they have twelve children, and they seem to be happily married, but finally he learns of her true nature and, in a rage, reveals it to the public, which constitutes a breach of his own oath not to investigate her whereabouts on Saturdays, and forces her to abandon the human world, to the great chagrin of her husband. For a long time, love, marriage, and sexuality form a harmonious unity, granting happiness to the couple, but her otherness can no longer be hidden, and in a most tense situation, he curses her as a member of the fairy world, which catapults her out of the human sphere, causing severe suffering for both of them. Marriage fails here, but not because of a lack of love. Instead, Melusine's foreignness and Raymund's personal weakness ultimately destroy all emotional bonds and make it impossible for the wife to sustain her human existence, irrespective of her husband's incessant pleadings.

The number of further literary examples in which love and marriage constitute the central interest is legion, so we had better break off here, and try to reach at least a preliminary conclusion. The tradition of courtly love poetry, for instance, continued well into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as documented, for instance, by a wealth of song books, most of which are dominated by rather common love songs expressing the wide range of emotions involved (that is, longing, anger, frustration, delight, loneliness, sorrow, lust, and passion), and operating with the usual genres, such as dawn songs, pastourelles, wooing songs, messenger songs, and the like (Classen and Richter 2010). But we also observe a growing interest in marital songs that address the husband's or the wife's negative character traits or misbehavior respectively. When we turn to prose narratives and plays, love and marriage everywhere become the central concern (Schnell 2002; Schnell, ed., 1997; Classen 2005a).

At the same time, we discover an increasing interest in discussing sexual themes more openly, as demonstrated, for instance, in the anonymous *Cent*

Nouvelles Nouvelles (ca. 1450–1460) or in Poggio Bracciolini's *Facetiae* (ca. 1450) (Classen 2011b). Concurrently, didactic writers published treatises on how to lead a happy married life, such as Albrecht von Eyb (ca. 1473) (2008; for contemporary texts, see Jansen et al., ed., 2009, 1008–78), while many others satirized it in stark and drastic terms. This also finds its confirmation in late-medieval art, whether we think of allegorical drawings, book illustrations, gargoyles, misericords, or corbels, many of which openly reflect sexual themes for a range of moral, didactic, and religious reasons (Bein 2003; Harpe, ed., 2008; Salisbury, ed., 1991).

G Conclusion

While the topics of love and marriage were exclusively of interest to noble and, to some extent, clerical audiences during the high Middle Ages, in later centuries urban authors increasingly addressed them as well, generally reflecting a significant shift in power to the cities, which soon enough became the new centers of literary production and performance. Here, of course, a different but rather restrictive set of ethical norms played a major role, and yet the literary texts are filled with sexual allusions and accounts of transgressive behavior inside and outside of marriage. Anticlerical criticism, which became so popular during the fifteenth century, mostly targeted monks or priests who committed adultery with women in their parishes or were guilty of sexual crimes, violating their own vows of celibacy (Beine 1999). At the same time, prostitution, brothels, and the crime of rape seem to have been very common considering the many literary and chronicle accounts, and legal documents about these aspects (Bullough 1964; Karras 1998; Hemmie 2007). And, more than ever before, the theme of marriage was publicly debated and investigated from many different perspectives especially since the fifteenth century (Murray, ed., 2001; Donahue 2007; Rasmussen and Westphal-Wihl, ed. and trans., 2010).

In short, there is no denying that the topics of love, sex, and marriage were of central significance for the medieval and also for the early modern world, and they have proven ever since to be foundational for all of Western literature and culture, touching upon religion, ethics, morality, philosophy, medicine, pharmacy, art history, and even the history of architecture, of food, clothing, music, etc. Studying the history of sexuality, love, and marriage offers enormous opportunities to understand the fundamental value system, culture, mentality, and socio-economic structures of any given society (Toulalan and Fisher, ed., 2013).

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Magic and Divination

A The Notion of Magic in Antiquity

In the ancient Mediterranean world, magic was considered a morally neutral act that a person could carry out toward either beneficial or harmful ends; the Greco-Roman world condemned only harmful sorcery as illegal. Literary and non-literary sources cast some light on the figure of the classical sorcerer, offering a wide array of terms in both Greek and Latin. In Greek, practitioners of magic were called *goetes*, *magoi*, and *pharmakeis*; their craft is called *goeteia*, *mageia*, and *pharmakeia*. Each term and craft had a distinct meaning. It has been argued that *goetes* were originally shamans, who in an ecstatic state conveyed the spirits of the dead on their perilous journey to the other world (Luck 1990, 15–21). Another meaning of *goetia*, as used and understood in medieval and early modern times, was summoning up corpses, i.e., necromancy whereas the often conflated term necromancy became the synonym for black magic in the Middle Ages (Harmening 1979, 205–07).

In antiquity it was known that the term *magos* derived from Persia and originally denoted a Medie priest and his ritual performance. Herodot (480/490–424 B.C.E.) mentions magicians as Medie priests, dream interpreters, and royal advisers. Xanthos of Lydia (mid-fifth century B.C.E.) relates violations of incest taboos and a relation to Zoroaster. In later sources, magicians are predominantly Persian (Strabo 2000–2001, 16; 2; 39). The etymology of Old Persian *magu* is unclear; presumably it is related to Indo-German * *magh*, meaning “being able.” (Frenschkowski 2010, 857–957).

The term “sorcerer” in Pre-Hellenic Greek was used with the pejorative meaning of “charlatan” and occasionally “court schemer” (Bremmer 1999, 1–12; 2002, 1–11; and 267–71; Frenschkowski 2010, 857–957). Old Persian inscriptions use *magu-* for Zoroastrian priests. The Persian sorcerer is connoted negatively as *jadūg*, meaning demon worshipper. In his *Natural History* (Pliny 1944–1969, 30; 1–18) Pliny (23–79 C.E.) claims a relation between Iranian magic, folk-medicine and magic. Generally speaking, the early Greek concept of magicians concerns the magic of non-Greek, that is, of aliens. Authors such as Strabo (64–24 B.C.E.), Plutarch (46–120 C.E.), and Pausanias (110–180 C.E.) reported that Eastern Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, and Persia had knowledge about magic and magicians. In Sassanid times religious dialogues with Christianity are evident; educated Christians reported irritating customs of magicians like incest and the exposure of corpses for consumption by vultures.

The semantic field of magic in Roman culture is not generally thought of as deriving from an Iranian background, but is explained as the exertion of power, thus becoming a central abbreviation for illegitimate practices. Antique languages express different connotations for the semantic field of magic. Greek *goes* originally meaning “shaman” soon took on the meaning of “sorcerer” and later “charlatan” and “juggler.” *Goes* was later replaced by the term *magos*. Neo-Platonism especially strove toward precise notions. In Latin a rich semantic field of words opened up but soon the term *magia* and *magus* were generally used (Dickie 2001, 12–17; Luck 1990, 15–21).

Stoic philosophy provided the concept of sympathy, a theoretical frames that allowed the interpretation of magical rites as sympathetic interdependances and was used to legitimate divination. The development of a philosophical theology and scientific medicine led to a differentiation and limitation of the term magic (Graf 1996, 35). In his *Natural History*, Pliny (23–79 C.E.) assumed that different opinions of magic coexist. Basically, he considers magic as deceitful art that has derived from three different disciplines: medicine, religion, and astrology. Legends circulated around famous philosophers like Pythagoras (540–510 B.C.E.), Empedocles (495–435 B.C.E.), Democritus (460–380 B.C.E.), and Plato (428–348 B.C.E.), who were said to have traveled far to learn the art of magic. Pliny lists many magic books under the name of Democritus, obviously those falsifications of Bolos of Mendes. He also mentions many names of famous magicians like Dardanios, Janes, Moses, and others. Human sacrifice and cannibalism are stated as allegedly typical magical rites. The abolition of these rites among the peoples was considered a Roman achievement (Graf 1996, 9–14).

In late antiquity, especially in Neo-Platonism, intellectuals differentiated between higher and lower, legitimate and illegitimate forms of magic. In Philostratos's (170/172–247/250 C.E.) *Life of Apollonios*, the term magician is used as the honorable Persian name for just, divine men, and true Pythagorean philosophers far above a folk sorcerer operating in market places. In his apologia, *About Magic*, Apuleius of Madaura (125–180 C.E.) contrasts true magic defined as seeking union with the gods with efforts of low poisoning and other criminal practices (Graf 1996, 61–82; Habermehl 2002, 285–314).

While Plato (428–348 B.C.E.) had viewed magic critically and defined it as manipulation of men, in late antiquity Neo-Platonism developed theories of magic together with the theory of the sympathy of the universe. The sympathy concept of magic served as an important interpretation of man as microcosm.

Magic is defined as a system working purposefully and automatically, operating via charms and conjurations and affecting application of sympathetic relations between the mundane and the celestial worlds: gods, demons, stars, animals, plants, stones, limbs, etc. This specific theory is by no means a general

understanding of antique magic. The union of the soul with the divine via magic is impossible although attempts were made to attain the beatific vision through grimoires (Mathiesen 1998, 143–62). In the last phase of Neo-Platonism, Proclus (412–485 C.E.) tried to legitimize magic with his thesis of the relationship between the ideal and the real world. In the new Neo-Platonist concept of higher magic, *theurgy*, acquisition of occult powers becomes the status of superior wisdom (Gwynn 2010, 126).

The Old Testament is overflowing with references to sacred magic. Despite the assumption that sorcery had stopped with the birth of Jesus, in the first few centuries after His death an extensive literature developed about Simon Magus, a magician and contemporary rival to the Apostle Peter. As Rome became Christian, however, an important change took place. Classical *daimones*, supernatural spirits upon whom magicians often called to perform acts of sorcery, were gradually transformed into Christian demons. While *daimones* had been ambivalent spirits, demons were considered evil, the legions of Satan battling against the Church and all Christian society. Thus early Church Fathers, especially St. Augustine (354–430 C.E.), followed by Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274 C.E.), condemned any magic that involved dealing with demons, regardless of its apparent effects (Peters 1978, 3).

The new Christian concept of magic defining it as operating with demonic agencies changed the official views of practitioners of magic after Rome became Christian. In the late antique world, the sorcerer himself involved in the performance of harmful *maleficium* was no longer important because Satan was the real author of the evil involved. This de-emphasis of the human agency in sorcery helps explain why for centuries the Church displayed hesitation, verging at times on outright disinterest, in persecuting practitioners of magic.

Older research considered the testimonials of antique magic as folk belief that merged into Neo-Platonism and consequently into Christianity. But recent opinions hold that the well-defined gap between popular and learned magic developing in the late Middle Ages does not apply to antique magic in general. Nevertheless, popular magical practices are documented according to Origen's (184–253 C.E.) pamphlet, *Against Celsus*, and on the other hand there is a tendency to make rituals more complex. Interestingly enough, the use of child mediums in revelation magic came into fashion, and trances in magical rituals and divination continued throughout the Middle Ages. Recent research questions the role of the village magicians and their compromising role in village society (Kee 1988, 120; Frenschkowski 2010, 857–957; 871).

B Norse and Celtic Magic

Apart from occasional references to “strange” customs by Roman historians such as Tacitus (56–117 C.E.) and condemnations by early medieval monks, we have only very few written sources on Nordic or Germanic sorcery. The most important of these are the Norse runic inscriptions found throughout Scandinavia, Iceland, England, and even parts of Europe where Scandinavians and Anglo-Saxons traded. Scholars agree that narrative sources from the post-conversion period still reflect the customs and mentality of the pre-Christian era, the thirteenth-century Icelandic sagas being the most important Norse literary monuments. It is not always possible to ascribe precise magical intent to runic inscriptions, but in many cases it is indubitable. The sagas preserve ancient beliefs and often refer to magical practices (Mitchell 2011, 41–73; McKinnell 2005, 97–100).

The magicians of the sagas are almost always sinister characters who have learned their magic from teachers. There is no hint that magical rituals or practices formed part of pagan Norse religion, although Christian missionaries had fought and written against these as the Devil’s work. While the sorcerers’ magic sometimes makes reference to the gods, it rarely involves appeals to them. Sorcery and heathen worship were conceived as essentially different things, although Christian writers conflated them. There is also evidence for non-Germanic beliefs; Sami and Finnish influences can be traced. Icelandic magicians are depicted as trance diviners and trance mediums much like shamans (Buchholz 1968; 1971 *passim*; Mitchell 2000, 335–45).

Anglo-Saxon laws repeat their concern regarding magical procedures. They are the earliest European vernacular sources elaborating not altering the general condemnation of magic and, moreover, they employ an interesting range of specialized vocabulary of magic. Magic generally is termed *scinnlac* or “magical art,” *scincraeft* or “magical skill,” and *galdorcraft* or “enchantment skill.” Magic associated with drugs or poison, Latin *veneficium*, is referred to as *lyblac* or *lybcraft*, and practitioners of the iatromagic *lyblæca*. Old English provides the later important term *wiccean* (Peters 2002, 202–03). Celtic literature from the twelfth and subsequent centuries, handed down to us in later medieval versions, also contains magical themes, and its pagan elements are remnants of an earlier culture. In the Irish tradition fairies are very prominent protagonists with magical abilities. Celtic literature is full of battles or duels between druids, looked upon as practitioners of demonic sorcery, and their Christian adversaries, often well-known saints (Birkhan 1997, 896–933).

C Medieval Magic and Theology

Medieval magic looks back to classical and biblical precedents. Although one of the most influential thinkers, St. Augustine of Hippo (354–430 C.E.), directed his central work, *De Civitate Dei*, against the pagan world, he engages with Greek and Roman philosophy. In his *Confessions*, Augustine frequently refers to Manichaean doctrine and practices. Although distinctly different, Manichaeism and Neo-Platonism agree on a few basic ideas: that matter is evil and perverts the human spirit; the human spirit contains some spark of the divine that must escape the material world to re-join the ultimate Good; and that true reality is not the one that people see around them. Therefore he employs the Platonic model of the cosmos developed in Plato's (428–348 B.C.E.) *Timaeus* which had an immense impact throughout the Middle Ages, along with Calcidius's (fourth century C.E.) commentary on it (Jenkins 1953, 131–40).

Augustine discusses the relationship of his views to the natural theology of the Platonists whose ideas resemble those of the Christians but who believe in a hierarchic model of gods, men, and demons. Augustine's understanding of the spirit world changes the Platonic view of the demons as being either good or evil to a more conflicted idea of the universe in which the demons are angels that have turned away from God. Augustine consistently associates demons with magic, which he condemns and distinguishes from religion. Interestingly enough, in his *De divinatio daemonum* he especially denounces astrology, although before his conversion he himself had been a semi-professional astrologer. He also rejects the concept of the Neo-Platonist Porphyry, who argued for white magic, or theurgy, and contrasted magic effected by demons with miracles which happen through faith. Augustine treats magic extensively in Books VII–X. Further condemnations in *De Doctrina Christiana* 2, 88–89 (Jenkins 1953, I: 131–40; Brown 1970, 17–45; Harmening 1979; Linsenmann 2000, 31–98). Miracles are worked both by God and by demons, but there are three categories of wonderworkers: firstly magicians who have summoned demons and entered into pacts with them; secondly good Christians who depend on God's help to work miracles; and thirdly evil Christians and heretics who rely on God but are not followers of Christ (Flint 1991, 277–348). Unlike agents of the true God, the members of the first and the third group sought only vain glory.

After Augustine's fundamental exegesis, Christian authorities generally agreed that no magical performance occurred by magicians' own skills, but rather with the aid of demons and their illusory arts (Jenkins 1953, 131–40). Augustine's contrasting of demonic and angelic powers was consequently followed by the contrasting of magic and miracle. Angels assisted Moses in his competition with Pharaoh's magicians (10, 8, and 382). Demonic marvels are deceitful and malevo-

lent (10.11, 387). Thus the demons delude mankind through magical practice. Augustine relates a series of marvels effected by demons and his condemnation is accompanied by a keen awareness that the genuinely marvelous and its counterpart the monstrous are both aspects of God's creation. Augustine does not doubt the possibility of magic nor its demonic qualities. In the early Middle Ages magic was generally linked to paganism, as commonly reflected in stone sculptures on capitals or baptismal fonts. While anxieties over pagan ritual were subsequently replaced by concern about heresy, interest in the malevolent power of demons increased.

After Augustine, one of the most influential early medieval writers was Isidore of Seville (560–636), who introduced Aristotelian thinking to medieval theology. In the twenty books of his *Etymologiae* he commented on beliefs and attitudes of his contemporaries. This work presents the most circulated and influential treatment of magic in the early Middle Ages and at the same time the cultural and intellectual history of magic in its learned and popular practice. Isidore seems to have been influenced not only by the *Theodosian Code* but also by intellectuals like Virgil (70–19 B.C.E.), and to a great extent by biblical statements. Following Augustine's views, he also reflects on contemporary beliefs and practices. In book VIII, *De magis*, he places magic in the clerical context and clearly differentiates between magic paganism and heresy. Isidore is one of the first of a long line of theologians who identify pagan gods as humans who became deities through the involvement of demons who deceived mankind. He starts the history of magic with the Persian magi. Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274 C.E.) augmented the pact theory by speaking of implicit and explicit pacts with evil, which alleviated the later witchcraft-accusations that concentrated among other issues on the satanic pact (Harmening 1979, 115–16; Tuczay 2003, 105–13).

A contemporary of St. Augustine, Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium (fourth century) narrates in his *The Life of St. Basil* the story of an enamored slave's pact with the devil. Archbishop Basil of Caesarea has a slave who craves for a senator's daughter. He visits a magician for help who demands that he reject Christ with a written contract. When the devil appears by night at a pagan cult site, the slave swears his rejection of Christ and so earns the love of the desired senator's daughter. Basil cancels the contract when informed about his servant's calamities. The first account of the story of Cyprian stems from the fourth century that was handed down to posterity (Radermacher 1927, 5–41). In the version by Jacobus of Voragine (ca. 1230–1298 C.E.) in his *Golden Legend*, Cyprian is from early on fascinated by Egyptian magical practices which he soon absorbs. He becomes famous for being able to master the elements and for shape shifting, indeed for mastery of the art of necromancy. His love for the Christian virgin Justina, however, is not requited because even the demons he sends to gain

victory over her are defeated. Therefore Cyprian acknowledges Christ's greater power, destroys his magic books, converts to Christianity, and becomes a bishop. Justina lives as an abbess in the monastery (*Life of St. Justina*: Peters 2002, 81–86). A similar story is presented by the Greek religious tale of Helladius (Proterius) where the rejection of love is followed by a pact with the devil (Anthemius in Radermacher 1927, 261–70).

The scholastic thinkers established a well-designed concept following the older tradition of a formal pact with the spirit world. Lucan (39–65 C.E.) reports of traffic with the gods via pacts. The story of the demonic pact stems from the Orient. A well-known tale relates how an imposter craves for the throne and succeeds with the help of demons. In a story in *Schahname*, the devil Iblis seduces overambitious young men with whom he had a contract to commit atrocities. Among the pact stories, the best-known is the story of Theophilus, the forerunner of the sixteenth-century Faust, based on a Greek source and first related by the tenth-century canoness Hrotsvit of Gandersheim. In the redaction of the *Golden Legend*, Theophilus is the right hand of the Bishop of Adona in Sicily and his successor. In his humbleness he refuses to take up the priestly office and remains advisor. The new bishop deprives Theophilus of his functions and he seeks advice with a Jewish magician who makes him denounce God and Christianity and sign a pact with Satan. He regains his official functions but soon regrets his satanic pact. When praying to the Virgin Mary, whom he had not forsworn, she has mercy and delivers his pact back to him so he can rest in peace (Kieckhefer 1989, 172–75; Tuczay 2003, 105–20).

The fear of many theologians that the occult sciences might be the playground of demons was the on-going topic of the public discourse, especially in the later Middle Ages. The questions were to what extent the demons were able to influence humans and how to determine the physical presence of demons. The tradition of the angelic magic, then not termed magic and in fact sustaining the ideas of theurgy, depended on rituals combining prayer asceticism and incantations, usually to gain visions and/or knowledge. An especially remarkable example is the *ars notoria* ascribed to King Solomon, in which prayer and rituals to conjure angelic powers are presented. The *Liber sacer sive juratus* or the *Sworn Book* by an unknown magician calling himself Honorius of Thebes the alleged son of the mathematician Euclid (300 B.C.E.) describes rituals to summon angels, demons, and spirits, and to achieve divine vision (Kieckhefer 1998, 143; 250–65).

D Canon Laws on Magic

The association of magic and paganism in the early Middle Ages is the primary focus of the earliest laws concerning the *crimen magiae*. The terms *maleficus* and *veneficus* are often used interchangeably. The accused could choose trial by ordeal and various laws mention ordeals by water also employed in the twelfth century for theft, adultery, and homicide. Ordeals by fire, water, or hot iron were forbidden, only the water ordeal reemerged in the seventh century. The common practice was that Church officials tried cases of magic, while punishment was administered through secular law (Bailey 2006, 110; Kieckhefer 1989, 19–56).

Magical arts and their practitioners are addressed in many texts and genres of theological writing: canon law, penitentials, handbooks, moral treatises and sermons. They indicate not only the practice but also the enduring interest. Theological discourses prove the increasing anxiety about magic and also reflect the changing focus from paganism to heresy and later to witchcraft.

The penitentials written from the early sixth century onwards provide insights into contemporary magical practice. A recurrent question is that of whether magic has harmed an individual. The late sixth-century penitential of Theodore recommends ten years of punishment for serious sacrifice to demons, seven years for medical magic, and three years for divination. The “*crimen magiae*” is treated with varying degrees of severity, depending on the practitioner: whereas a woman performing diabolical incantations has to do penance for forty days, the diviner performing auguries observing omens from birds has to do penance for five years (Austin 2009, 118–21).

Hincmar of Reims (806–882) addresses the subject in his treatise *De divortio Lotharii et Teutbergae*, thus following the argument of St. Augustine, and Isidore of Seville in his discussion of magic as inspired by the devil, which is especially interesting for his certainty regarding the genuinely destructive potential of magic at all levels of Christian society. Hincmar adds details of illusions, divination by animals, bones or organs, and medical magic such as charms, ligatures, or amulets. Treatises and handbooks repeated and expanded the traditional rulings and prohibitions (Hansen 1900, 141–44; 179–88).

Throughout the early Middle Ages sorcerers were generally depicted not as powerful agents of evil, but as unfortunate victims of the deceptions and temptation of the Devil. Therefore the Church imposed on them only correction and penance, rather than calling for severe persecution. By the thirteenth century, however, clerical authorities began to take magic and its practitioners more seriously. One main factor behind this shift was the rise of various types of learned magic, including astronomy, alchemy, and spiritual and demonic magic, among the educated elites of Western Europe. Taken from Arab, Greek, and Jewish texts,

learned magic aroused much interest among scholars and intellectuals. Especially in Spain—in Toledo, Salamanca, or Seville—there were rumors about universities teaching the magical arts (Kieckhefer 1989, 116–40; Peters 1978, 194–206; Tuczay 2003, 152–64).

The Church remained convinced that demonic power lay hidden behind even apparently innocuous magical practices. The darkest aspects of magic, involving explicitly demonic invocations and raising the dead, were actually practiced by a “clerical underworld of necromancy” (Kieckhefer 1989, 151–77). Medievalists have long noted how the rise of demonic sorcery contributed to the idea of witchcraft in the early fifteenth century (e.g., Peters 1978). Although the concept of witchcraft was partly rooted in learned sorcery, witches were not just sorcerers with a few diabolical features; the nature of their power and their interaction with demonic forces made them enemies of God.

Clerical minds conflated two quite distinct magical systems. By the end of the thirteenth century, clerical authorities were generally familiar with the essential system of learned magic. In Western Christendom there also existed a widespread and diffuse system of common spells, charms, blessings, potion-making, talismans, and amulets employed by many people at all levels of medieval society, including many clerics. Learned demonic sorcery was a highly structured variety of magic limited to a small clerical elite; necromancy operated through a very complex and detailed invocation of demons, sometimes lasting for days, and focusing on the right time, season, and requisites. These summoning formulae, often derived from Arabic or Hebrew magical concepts and usually grounded to some extent in Church rituals were laid out and transmitted in books of spells written in Latin. Thus only those with the prerequisite ritual training and Latin literacy could perform this magic. Though clerical authorities seemed to ignore that they were dealing with two different systems, a desire to fit common, everyday magical practices into the “diabolized” intellectual framework established by learned magic laid the foundations for constructing the concept of witchcraft (Kieckhefer 1998, 250–65).

E Healing Magic

Magic and religion or magic and Christianity in many respects stand in opposition to one another or represent the so-called other side of the coin: angels versus demons, miracles versus magic, exorcism versus possession, genuine divine powers versus false powers: there is no denial that the boundaries of those oppositions overlap: miracle and magic are difficult to distinguish in their effect; prayer and ritual also bring similar results; charms invoke angels and

demons. Clear parallels between rituals, saints, and prayer can change the weather or produce marvelous cures, holy water works against evil (Kieckhefer 1989, 57–84).

Evidence of healing magic such as the Old English *Lacnunga* suggest the survival of pagan Pre-Christian charms and remedies that were thought to draw on occult forces in nature to protect against mysterious influences of the cosmos. Through the Anglo-Saxon period sermons and other religious writings echo the concerns of law codes and penitentials as well as of the Bible and its exegetic writings about the use of magic to harmful ends, but also suggest the merging of pagan and Christian rituals and charms (Storms, ed., 1948, 274; Skemer 2006, 21–74).

Iatromagic or healing magic demonstrate this overlapping of both areas. The mysterious causes of diseases often were sought and found in the interaction of supernatural forces. Human intervention in illness and recovery in medieval times can illustrate the powerful role of destiny in human existence. When illness was attributed to malevolent forces, then apotropaic objects or rituals that oppose such forces were applied. The patristic writers show a differentiation in their view of authorized medicine and illicit magical medicine. Taking into account that Christ was seen as the great surgeon and healer and illness often as punishment for unethical behavior, the line was blurred because Christian objects like relics and tombs of saints were thought to heal or protect, and the classical idea of incubation survived into the High Middle Ages (Kieckhefer 1989, 56–84; Kee 1988, 81 and passim; Tuczay 2012b, 252–55).

F Natural Magic and Magical Tricks or Praestigium

A range of beliefs and practices relate not to supposed demonic power but to the ability of human beings to improve their condition and create beneficial items through the manipulation of natural forces. This natural magic was distinguished by its practitioners both from artificial magic that made use of machines and technological processes. Demonic magic functioned by superseding natural laws through demonic invention. The natural magician sought to explore the workings of nature for speculative or utilitarian purposes through a pseudo-scientific program of experimental research (Thorndike 1926–1958, passim; Kieckhefer 1989, 92; Göttert 2001, 87–89).

Among the many elements described here, one very important point stands out: while practitioners of natural magic might distinguish it from demonic illusion, it involved deceiving the human senses. Whereas the devil was known to craft sensual delusions for witches, jugglers, and magicians, the latter used

sensory illusions to perform many magical tricks which depended on known failings of the human senses. They also played on standard human assumptions. Bruno Roy interprets literary representations of such magicians as exaggerations of actual illusionists operating in this period (Roy 1986, 29–39). Indeed, numerous late medieval treatises titled *experimenta* contain tricks clearly designed as entertainment. Reginald Scot, in his *Discoverie of Witchcraft* of 1574, calls juggling a deceitful art, and he provides the most complete survey of contemporary techniques for visual deception (Scot 1930, 321–52). Notable among Scot's descriptions was what was known as the John the Baptist trick, which he claims to have seen for himself. In this trick, the magician decapitates himself and puts his own head on a plate. Descriptions of other such tricks abounded. It certainly reminds of the beheading game in the English romance *Sir Gawein and the Green Knight* and the magician Gansguoter in Heinrich von dem Türlin's *Crône* (late thirteenth century) (Tuczay 2003, 305–30; 315).

Even if it would be wrong to perceive natural scientists as forerunners of the nineteenth-century stage magicians, the complicated devices that created stage illusions surely can be compared with a technological tradition extending back through the early modern and medieval periods, and even to ancient automatons such as those Hero of Alexandria (10–70 B.C.E.) constructed for entertainment (Amédick 2003, 42–56).

A special type of magic, the *Praestigium*, was invented by Mercurius (Hermes Trismegistos) and is equated with blinding the eyes (*praestringere oculos*) (*Etymologiae* 8.9.33). Isidore's short but meaningful statement could be seen as a rational explanation for illusions; later notions of natural magic surely derived from such theories of ocular deception. Isidore did not overemphasize demonic involvement in *praestigium*, unlike Thomas Aquinas, who defined illusionary tricks as blinding by which demons communicate with the curious, thus linking the prestige firmly with demonic pacts (Harmening 1979, 204; Göttert 2001, 138–140; Daxelmüller 2001, 121–23).

Roger Bacon (1214–1292) known as the *doctor mirabilis*, was among the most brilliant scientists of the Middle Ages. He was but one of many examples of learned men in the Middle Ages who strongly opposed most branches of magic but came to be considered a magician himself, especially in sixteenth-century legendary material. Causes for the legends lie in the extensive treatment of magic in his writings, and his experiments in optics. Especially his treatises on concave mirrors made him suspicious. Despite the later legends, however, he unambiguously separated magic, which he saw as demonic, from science and technology. In Oxford he composed his *De mirabile potestate artis et naturae* (On the Marvellous Power of Magic and Nature), which is an extensive letter addressed to William of Auvergne (1228–1249). In this treatise Bacon draws the important

distinction between magic that works by suggestion and natural science. For him a juggler was *praestigiator*, and prestiges would have been the term used by his contemporaries for the visual deceptions they caused (Butterworth 2005, 7–25). According to him, prestige might involve anything from high class illusion to low class duping, providing the crucial elements of artifice and imposture were present (Clark 2007, 78–109).

G Medieval Romances and Magic

Like ecclesiastical writers, authors of medieval romances also seized upon magical topics, thus illustrating the conflict between Christian religion and demonical magic in their own poetical thinking. The emphasis on spectacular technology is characteristic for romance and developed in the narration of the adventurous stories. Although romance writers cannot be depicted as “experimental” scientists with actual knowledge of complex technology or the arts of illusion, they are nevertheless familiar with such possibilities. Magicians of the romances are often presented as masters of technology, as inventors and creators of marvellous illusions like the sorcerer-illusionist in Chaucer’s *Franklin’s Tale* in his *Carterbury Tales* (ca. 1395–1400). The mechanical magic of the romances such as fountains, automatic objects and warriors thus combines natural magic with the knowledge of mechanics (Haage 1986, 53–72; Tuczay 2003, 305–30; 308).

Great masters of illusion in the romances were the magicians Nectanebos and Merlin, both able to shape-shift and assume different bodily appearances. While Nectanebos in the Alexander romances is a pagan and his magic therefore always presented as wicked pagan art (Weinreich 1911, *passim*), the origin of Merlin’s magical abilities as revealed in the “Matter of Brittany” seems more complex and it would be too simple merely to label him a pagan druid. Christian authors explained his abilities due to the fact that his mother had intercourse with a demonic lover (Stoneman 1994, 117–29), which parallels him to many famous nobles of dubious ancestry, who often claim a fairy as their ancestress. Robert De Boron (d. 1212) understands Merlin as a son of the devil. Other famous figures include the Roman poet Virgil (70–90 B.C.E.), depicted as a grand constructor of technical devices (Spargo 1934, *passim*), similar to Klingsor in Wolfram of Eschenbach’s *Parzival* (ca. 1205) his descendant and successor. The latter’s malevolent deeds result from his emasculation. Quite often a satanic pact is among others reasons sexually motivated. The pagan Roaz of Glois reasons in Wirnt of Gravenberg’s *Wigalois* (late thirteenth century) for his pact seem to be mere acquisition of marvellous powers. Interesting enough his own guardian demon follows him wherever he goes (Tuczay 2003, 305–30; 317).

That physical science was regarded as a miracle or a diabolical art by the ignorant is the real issue that the author of the romance of *Perceforest* seems to discuss. The magician Aroés bedazzles his subjects with heavenly and hellish visions, thus promoting his godlike image, and in the poet's eyes represents the vice of *superbia* or vanity. The aim of the deception is to make his subjects aboulcic (Lods 1951, 102). Eventually the knight Gadifer reveals his refined debauchery as a series of slick optical tricks with the help of a magical ring. The unveiling ring appears in several medieval literary accounts; the knight is able to perceive all objects in their true form. When he looks at the magician's impressive construction he sees an endless row of phials reflecting the light just as modern magicians use mirrors for their tricks. Hero of Alexandria (10–70 B.C.E.) for example was presumed to be the constructor of automata that worked with mirrors.

From the thirteenth century onwards, optical illusions created by magicians or the devil became, if not a standard, then at least an oft-used motif. In the German medieval *maere* (droll stories), many of which deal with female adultery, one husband who observes his wife's adultery is even made to believe that the devil has deluded him (for example in Jacob Appet's *Der Ritter unterm Zuber* (ca. 1245) (Jacob Appet 1996, 544–65, and other similar works). In the *Prose Lancelot* (ca. 1250; *Lancelot* 1948–1974, I 86–89, 129–30, 154–55, 475–77, 570–71, 628–29; II 229–31) numerous illusions are interspersed into the tale: lakes, beasts, and other apparitions are caused by the devil but can be revealed by a magic ring, or more conveniently a voice from heaven declaring that the vision is not a demonical illusion at all. Sorceresses like Morgan la Faye are not only masters of illusion but can circle the world in a flash. All of them acquire their magical abilities through a pact with the devil (Kieckhefer 1989, 111–12; Tuczay 2003, 299–330).

As noted above, in later legends the Latin poet Virgil “became” a famous magician who built automata and inventions (Spargo 1934, *passim*; Ernst 2003, 173–96). Around this image a rich legendary material blossomed. He was depicted as having gained knowledge to construct magical artefacts and inventions by releasing demons from a bottle, as in the Aladdin stories (Amedick 2003, 13–14). Virgil's aim was not to entertain but to safeguard Rome; his inventions were a public service, in contrast to other ancient inventors like Hero of Alexandria (first century) or Philo of Byzantium (280–220 B.C.E.), whose inventions were entertaining and practical but aimed only at creating momentary diversions.

In medieval courts two varieties of magical practitioners seem to have been at home: astrologers or diviners (or both) who acted as advisors, and magical entertainers, masters of performing arts. But if we look at medieval courtly literature (that in a way reflected reality when it comes to preferences and values) we actually find the two branches intertwined. Sinister magicians manipulated their subjects and one of the standard feats of heroic knights was to defeat such

magicians and expose their diabolical tricks (Goulding 2006, 135–63). Beneficial magicians aided the protagonist and in this case the more entertaining and functional side of magical skills were emphasized: he might entertain the hero, or helps deceive enemies with illusions, or even construct war machines (Tuczay 2003, 200–10; 205).

While the authors of antiquity explained prestige as mechanical tricks by means of clever devices, demonologist elaborated that those who believed themselves to be transformed into animals were suffering from demonic deception via manipulation of the brain through bodily spirits and humors. Here the focus fell on the devil's power to dazzle the eyes. The question was, by what means: sometimes by fashioning true bodies, but more often by creating imaginary visions formed from the air. Distinguishing between those categories was rather difficult, since our senses naturally lead us to believe that a body is present when there is in fact only a spectral image. So the person who sees the transformation is fooled by their own interior or exterior senses (Clark 2007, 123–60).

H Divination

The ancients and after them the medieval mind divided divination not according to the content supernormal apprehended, but according to the method of apprehension. They distinguished “*technical*” or ominal (ominous, portentous) from “*natural*” or intuitive divination. The natural divination was supposed to occur in the state of trance, but, nevertheless, the medieval thinkers linked the visions of mediums with spirits, angels or demons, which appeared and answered the question.

The most influential of all Greek religious institutions, the oracle of Delphi, owed its influence entirely to the powers attributed to a woman in trance, the Pythia. The belief was held almost universally by pagans and Christians alike, over a period of more than a millennium. The Pythia had unique status in Greece but was not unique in kind. Plato (428–348 B.C.E.) couples her with priestesses of Dodona and others. But apart from the official oracles in Ancient Greece, later, in the Middle Ages, there is evidence for persons who possessed or claimed to possess the gift of automatic speech. They were known as belly-talkers or ventriloquists, since they were believed to have a daemon in their bellies which spoke through their lips and predicted the future. It seems that like modern mediums they spoke in a state of trance. In the Middle Ages they went by the more respectful names of *pythones*.

In the Egyptian magical papyri, both Greek and Demotic, we find spells by which a magician may induce this state. The great Paris papyrus gives an

elaborate recipe for summoning a god to enter into a child or adult and speak through him. Origen writes that a Pythonic spirit possesses some persons from a tender age. And the example of the slave-girl in the *Acts of the Apostles* (16:16–18) who had a Pythonic spirit and made a great profit for her masters is well known. If there is any further evidence of divinatory instructions, how to “deal” with spirits is the aim of the paper (Harmening 1979, 178–216; Tucza 2012b, 33–35).

The medieval theologians were especially fascinated by the “*divinatio per pythones*.” The fact that there had been a trance possession phenomenon cannot explain on its own the obvious broad interest Christian theology has shown in the matter. The *pythonissae* quite often were famed to prophesize “the truth.” And hence it had to be ascertained to what extent the demon’s work was involved in the divinatory arts. In many societies, mediumship is deliberately sought, ritually controlled and channeled, and acquires high religious and social importance, as was the case of the mystics especially the women in the Middle Ages who experienced visions and revelations (Tucza 2012b, 235–41).

Isidore’s (560–636 C.E.) divination system followed Varro (116–27 B.C.E.) and distinguished between geomancy, hydromancy, aeromancy and pyromancy. He also categorizes magicians according to their zones of influence and by their functions. Enchanters generally employ words, whereas the *arioli* call up demons to which they had made bloody sacrifices. *Haruspices* or diviners are magicians who are able to know favourable days and times and predict the future from the entrails of animals. *Augures* observe the flight of and predict developments through them. The meaningful Antique sign system is traded almost completely in the Middle Ages, although it is modified by the Christian context. According to Isidore, the Magi of the Gospel were famous Eastern astrologers (Isidore of Seville 1997, 35–42).

He mentions sortilegers or casters of lots with all their known varieties and *salisatres* who predict good or evil from bodily movements. Isidore in his pioneering *Etymologiae* remarks that after the prediction of Christ’s birth, astrological magic was forbidden and *magi* and *malefici* were from then on equated. He rejects almost all forms of divination because of the involvement of demons. The Jewish condemnation of necromancy to summon the dead to gain knowledge of the future is vehemently repeated, as is the denunciation of hydromancy employing water and sometimes blood to conjure demons. Geomancy, aeromancy and pyromancy use demons, haruspices and soothsayers read the entrails of animals to forecast favourable times, *augures* interpret the sounds and flights of birds, astrologers the signs of the stars, *mathematici* study the stars and planets in relation to days of birth, as do *horoscopi*, who predict individual fates. *Sortilegi* cast lots or divine through particular, often sacred books and writings. *Salisatores* read bodily movements to predict the future. Isidore made a distinction between

astronomy, the study of the actual movement of the heavens, and astrology, the study of the powers behind these. Like Augustine, he accepts natural astrology (Isidore of Seville 1997, 35–42).

Divination was condemned yet godly signs were not only accepted but awaited dreams sent by God or by demons. While in Antiquity oracular dreams were thought to be sent by gods to all humans and according to Artemidor (second century) the intelligent trained professionals were able to interpret them, Christian belief reduced the receivers of oracular dreams to holy and ethical persons and kings (Tucsay 2012b, 242–76). Christian lot casting using the Bible or other sacred books was viewed ambivalently. St. Augustine himself related a story in his confessions of a hearing-omen that a voice told him to pick up a book and read: *tolle lege*. As he opens the bible he is guided by a passage in the New Testament instructing him to follow Christ (Tucsay 2012b, 100).

The late medieval German court physician Johannes Hartlieb (1410–1468) wrote a treatise on magic and superstition: *puoch aller verpoten kunst* as warning for Duke Albrecht II of Bavaria. This remarkable work on learned magic, divination and in some parts on witchcraft not only gives prove to the increasing interest on learned magic but also the upcoming “witch craze” (Tucsay 2012b, *passim*; Bailey 2007, 135).

I Theories on Magic

Magic as an alternative culture came into focus in nineteenth-century religious science and anthropology. Long-time evolutionist models prevailed that saw magic as a primitive antecedent of religion or science. Frazer employs the categories of sympathetic magic and contagious magic. Although Frazer’s theories are no longer fashionable the cognate aspect of magic remains. Marcel Mauss understands magic as a social network; Malinowski emphasizes the development of rational thinking in relation to religion (Frenschkowski 2010, 857–957).

Ethnological studies have described since magic as a cultural subsystem that works on specific conflicts in society, fulfills imaginative wishes and offers explanations for good and bad luck. Magic in these theories is interpretation within the religious system (Graf 1996, 9). Within the cultural subsystem of religion, oppositions develop that allow it to categorize practices and practitioners as legal or illegal. Magic is a special case of social deviance; while magicians themselves do not always define their own activities as religious, popular discourse terms magic as anti-religion.

A useful contemporary theory of magic has to differentiate precisely between the analysis of historical terms and notions of magic and the development of a

modern cultural scientific terminology and has to take either the individual or the collective social aspect of magic into account. Following Evans-Pritchard, the question still remains which people have to use magic and in which situations.

Magic continues to be a category of alteration. Minorities in society became projection fields for magic: in Old Norse magic it was the Sami, in continental medieval magic it was Jews and heretics (Mitchell 2011, 41). A somewhat problematic notion is the modern popular concept of the “magical world view,” since it does neither apply to antiquity nor the Middle Ages. Furthermore is it not possible to exclude magic from antique or medieval culture. Also, the terms legitimate and illegitimate magic are a construct perceived differently in different periods of history (Otto 2011, *passim*).

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Alain Touwaide
Medicine

A The Challenge of the History of Medieval Medicine

Medieval medicine defined as I will do below is still largely under-researched. Slightly paraphrasing the title of a recent article by English medieval historian Peregrine Horden, one might ask what is wrong with it (Horden 2011). The topic is vast, as the period corresponds to more than a dozen centuries, and the area under consideration embraces at least three major *civilizations*: the European West, Byzantium, and the Arabic World. Rather than a question of vastness of the chronological and geographical extension, the problem might be that medieval medicine has been largely overshadowed by the prestige and influence attributed to classical medicine—specifically, Greek medicine—considered as the founding moment of Western medicine. In this view, subsequent periods often qualified as *Dark Ages* until not so long ago, have been frequently seen as intermediaries that made it possible for Greek medicine to arrive to the Renaissance, when it was brought back to the forefront. If this was particularly true for the West, it was also for Byzantium and the Arabic World considered as the heir and follower of antiquity, respectively. It is probably premature to try and present a panoramic view of medicine during the Middle Ages. Although a substantial amount of work has been produced over the past fifty years, research has not yet investigated the topic in such a way to allow for a presentation of this kind. Manuscripts are still largely uncatalogued (for the Greek manuscripts of medicine, see Touwaide 1991; 1992a and b; 2008a; 2009a), texts have not been identified well enough and their contents has not been properly studied. Consequently, many works are still unknown and *a fortiori* unpublished in the form of scholarly printed editions. Of those that are available, several have not been published in editions that meet current philological standards and still need to be read in Renaissance printed versions (this is particularly the case of most of the founding works of Arabic medicine and many late medieval treatises). This essay includes a survey of the current state of research, with its starts and fits, its methods and results, and also its lacunas and limitations.

B Methodological Issues

Like any other human groups, the populations who inhabited Europe and the Mediterranean area during the period conventionally identified as the Middle Ages—with all their diversity from the Arabian Peninsula, Mesopotamia, the Mediterranean façade and the Caucasus in the East to the Atlantic Ocean and Scandinavia in the North—devoted much attention to health. They were all the more motivated to do so because repeated major phenomena had a severe impact on their living conditions, from the arrival of new populations in the medieval space with their different nutritional habits and load of diseases to climate changes, environmental catastrophes, ravaging epidemics and famines to mention just some.

This chapter surveys the current state of knowledge about medieval medicine through the development of medical history during the past fifty years, even though it frames this development in the context of medical history from the early nineteenth century on. It is not limited to the Western Middle Ages defined as the period from the bi-partition of the Roman Empire to the Renaissance (particularly for the end of the Middle Ages, characterized by such major facts and processes as the Fall of Constantinople, the development of the printing press, the end of the *Reconquista* with the capture of Granada, and the discovery of New Worlds). When appropriate, it takes into consideration the antecedents of phenomena that happened during the time frame defined above, as well as the possible long-term continuity of medieval medicine. Similarly, it examines the history of medicine in the several societies in contact and interacting during that period, the West, Byzantium and its neighbors, the Arabic Empire in all its diversity, and, as far as possible, the populations newly entered in these societies. The distinction of political entities tending to correspond to geographical areas—though in a fluctuating way because of frequent changes of their respective territory and boundaries—should not be taken *stricto sensu* and suggest that the entities under consideration were autonomous worlds whose medical history unfolded independently and *en vase clos*.

Complementarily, this presentation is not narrowly limited to these worlds, but mentions the possible contacts with peoples and groups outside the geographical areas under consideration in as much they interacted with the groups under study. Nevertheless, the presentation refers to these political entities for commodity reasons, and also to the periodization traditionally used in the history of medieval medicine (which offers some correspondence with major phases of Western medieval history), namely late antiquity, early Middle Ages, Salerno, the post-Salernitan period and the early Renaissance. Characteristically enough, such Western periodization is reflected in the segmentation of Byzantine and Arabic

history, with the early Byzantine period, the middle Byzantine period characterized by the emergence and affirmation of the Arabic World, the Crusades, the Byzantine Empire in exile and the raising of the Mamluk World, followed by the late Byzantine period corresponding to the fall of the Arabic Empire in the East and a supposed decline in the history of Arabic science.

In this chapter, medicine is considered in its broadest meaning, thus including all the sets of theories, data and practices that contributed to the knowledge of humans, their health, their diseases and the restoration of health, as well as the actors related to such knowledge with their activities, their education, their professional status, and the regulation of their profession, their possible instruments and other material, the substances they used to restore health together with the preparation of medicines, and the places where they exercised their activity. I also consider the patients, their health, their susceptibility or, on the contrary, their immunity or tolerance to disease, their illnesses—be it at the level of the individuals or the groups, that is, epidemiology—and the personal experience of health and disease including the psychological impact of such conditions, the reactions of patients toward medicine, and their interaction with health professionals.

C Early Historiography

Any presentation of medieval medical history must start with a survey of historiography, as the approaches and methods of previous centuries have generated a perception of medieval medicine that has persisted in research and scholarly literature until not so long ago.

Although medicine during the medieval centuries changed over time, it was always deeply rooted in the classical heritage, be it in Byzantium and its neighboring cultures (Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, Slavonic or Coptic for instance), in the Arabic World and its amalgam of ethnic groups (from Mesopotamia to the eastern Mediterranean shores, and in Sicily, northern African and al-Andalus), or in the West in all its extension (from northern Africa to Scandinavia and from the Balkans to the Atlantic Ocean). This classical lineage went together with contributions of the several populations who occupied or entered the medieval space at a certain point in time. Changes in populations repeatedly modified both what could be called *public health* and, consequently, the art of healing. Whatever the amalgamated human components, the classical heritage left a strong imprint on medicine throughout the whole medieval time period and the multiple ethnic contexts: medicine was mostly a learned discipline whose substance was expressed in—and transmitted through—written works of different forms: theoretic-

cal treatises, practical manuals (both sometimes provided with illustrations) or notebooks. The practice of medicine did not leave written traces, except short prescriptions, orders for *materia medica*, and invoices (such as pieces of papyrus or the many documents preserved in the Genizah of Cairo), or registers of hospitals, and literary accounts of personal medical stories, for example. As a consequence, knowledge of medieval medicine in modern erudition until recently relied almost only on written documents, specifically manuscripts and their texts. The nature of such primary sources greatly determined the profile, agenda and methods of most inquiries into the history of medieval medicine for a long period. Inventory of collections, catalographic descriptions of manuscripts and accurate identification of texts or reference works were fundamental. History of medieval medicine was predominantly—and still is most of the time—a philological discipline aiming to provide critical editions and studies of texts with or without a translation into a modern language, together with commentaries, word indices (complete or selective and, in this case, possibly also thematic) and specialized dictionaries (for example of plants names and plants), prosopography of physicians, and any kind of repertorium making it possible to expand and illustrate the collection of available texts.

In this perspective the nineteenth century has been a turning point. It broke with the encyclopedic antiquarianism of previous times and the editorial practice in use until then, mostly dominated by Renaissance printed editions (particularly *editiones principes*) often credited with a philological value that only late twentieth-century research proved to be often overstated. A first attempt toward a renewal of critical editions was made by the German physician and historian of medicine Karl Gottlob Kühn (1754–1840), who edited the *Opera omnia* of Hippocrates (3 vols., 1825–1827) and Galen (20 volumes, 1821–1833), together with Aretaeus (1 vol., 1828), and hosted in his collection *Medicorum graecorum opera omnia quae exstant* the edition of Dioscorides (2 vols., 1829–1830) by Kurt Sprengel (1766–1833). If Sprengel's edition relied on a renewed heuristic of manuscripts, those by Kühn were based on Renaissance editions and also included prefaces in the antiquarian way of previous centuries (see for example Ackermann 1821 about Galen). Subsequently, the French lexicographer and historian of medicine Emile Littré (1801–1881) provided a critical edition of Hippocrates's *Oeuvres complètes* (10 vols., 1839–1861). Following these monumental achievements of personal erudition and printing entrepreneurship, history of medicine began to consider manuscripts and their history as witnesses of medical history, instead of only seeing them as vehicles of texts and, consequently, selecting the supposed best one(s) for editorial purposes (that is, returning to the supposed original form of the texts under consideration) and neglecting all the others (allegedly transmitting corrupted versions of the texts). Although searching for

medical manuscripts throughout European collections had already started in the late eighteenth century with such erudite as Friedrich Reinhold Dietz (1804–1836), who died prematurely having published however several important contributions based on his search for manuscripts (Dietz, ed., 1832; 1833; 1834; 1836), it was not systematically pursued until the activity of the French historian of medicine Charles Daremberg (1817–1872) who traveled to several countries, visited libraries and private collections, and personally inspected many items which he briefly described, together with their contents (Daremberg 1853). He had indeed planned a *Collection des médecins grecs* (which was not limited to classical antiquity but included the early Byzantine period), of which he announced the program but published only the part devoted to Oribasius (Daremberg 1847).

This model of historiography was echoed, though in a slightly different way, in the *Collectio Salernitana* by one of Daremberg's contemporaries and colleagues, the Italian physician, historian of medicine, and political thinker, Salvatore De Renzi (1800–1872). De Renzi uncovered and personally inspected many manuscripts and archival documents which he edited in collaboration with Daremberg and the German historian of medicine August Wilhelm Eduard Theodor Henschel (1790–1856) in his massive *Collectio* published in five volumes between 1852 and 1859 (De Renzi 1852–1859). In spite of its imperfections (particularly in the editions, which do not correspond to present-day critical and philological standards), this epoch-making work has been extremely influential and has been submitted to a critical analysis only recently (Jacquart and Paravicini Bagliani 2008).

Daremberg's model of historiography was followed toward the end of the nineteenth century, by the Greek scholar living in Paris George A. Costomiris (1849–1902) who expanded Daremberg's work in direction of Byzantium (Costomiris 1889; 1890; 1891; 1892; 1897). Almost at the same time the French physician and historian of medicine Auguste Corlieu (1825–1907) provided a general presentation of Byzantine medicine based on a historical paradigm that can be defined as portrait gallery (Corlieu 1885) and does not substantially differ from the antiquarianism of earlier periods, particularly the early history of Byzantine medicine by the Englishman John Freind (1675–1728) published in 1725–1726. Corlieu's overview was shortly followed by two others: a short one by Karl Krumbacher (1856–1909), an eminent representative of the rising school of Byzantine studies in Munich (Krumbacher 1897), and a more substantial one by Iwan Bloch (Bloch 1902). Theirs were based on a direct contact with primary sources which both Krumbacher and Bloch personally explored and whose data they presented in a descriptive, linear way. Interestingly, Iwan Bloch's treatment is divided into two periods: the third and fourth centuries (including what became identified more recently as the late antiquity) and Byzantine medicine (comprising all the time period from Christianity to the Fall of Constantinople).

For the Arabic World, Moritz Steinschneider (1816–1907) catalogued the Arabic and Hebrew manuscripts of several libraries (and also of a private collection of medical codices) and published on this basis a synthesis on the Arabic translations of Greek works, including—but not specifically devoted to—medical treatises (Steinschneider 1889–1993). This work was immediately followed by another, similar one on Hebrew translations (Steinschneider 1893). Slightly later, the German Orientalist Carl Brockelmann (1868–1956) compiled a monumental *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* in 2 volumes, which included sections on medicine (Brockelmann 1898–1902) and was repeatedly expanded (Brockelmann 1937; 1938; 1942).

The nineteenth century inventories of manuscripts and editions of classical Greek medical treatises started to be replaced from the early twentieth century onward by the inventories and editions of the *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* (CMG). The *Corpus* was launched in collaboration by the Prussian and Danish Academies, specifically the German historian of ancient philosophy Hermann Diels (1848–1922) and the Danish historian of ancient science Johan Ludwig Heiberg (1854–1928). This audacious program was completed by a *Supplementum Orientale* for the edition of the Greek treatises known only through their Oriental, viz. Arabic, translations, and flanked by a similar *Corpus Medicorum Latinorum* (CML).

In good philological method, the CMG opened with an inventory of the manuscripts containing the works to be edited, with a particular focus on Hippocrates and Galen (Diels, ed., 1905). For each of the treatises preserved under their names (be they authentic or not), this inventory provides a list of Greek manuscripts (presented by city and library names in alphabetical order) together with a similar list of the codices containing their Latin and Arabic translations accordingly, sometimes also including Syriac versions. Typically enough, some physicians of the post-classical period were considered, although they were relegated in a second volume whose title is significant: *Die übrigen Ärzte* (*The remaining physicians*) (Diels, ed., 1906). These *remaining physicians* (that is, the medieval ones) were not many, however, and most of them date back to the early Byzantine world (until the capture of Alexandria by the Arabs), even though some of the late Byzantine period were considered. These first two lists were rapidly followed by a first supplementum (Diels, ed., 1907), not followed by any other since.

Although these lists of manuscripts provided the material for a reconstruction of the history of the texts during the Middle Ages and, on this basis, of medieval medicine, they did not generate such a reading of the history of text. Consultation of manuscripts was dominated by the search for the ancestor of the subsequent tradition, whose members were further ignored. The approach to text production proceeded in a similar way by reconstructing the genealogy of texts and searching to reach the most ancient ones considered as representing the most authentic

form of ancient medicine, without taking too much into consideration subsequent developments, that is, medieval medicine. Such analysis resulted from a rigid genealogical paradigm of identification of sources (*Quellenforschung*) that did not consider differences between closely related texts as resulting from accretions deposited in successive layers on an original matrix.

Several editions were published in the *CMG* during the twentieth century, with only a limited number of medieval, viz. Byzantine ones: Oribasius (fourth century C.E.; Oribasius, *Opera omnia* 1926–1933), Aetius (sixth century; Aetius Amidenus, *Libri medicinales* 1935; 1950; 1911; 1905; 1909; 1901) and Paul of Egina (seventh century; Paulus Aegineta 1921–1924), followed more recently by Johannes of Alexandria (Pritchett, ed., 1982; Iohannes Alexandrinus 1997) and Stephanus of Athens (or Alexandria) (Westerink, ed., 1985–1995; Duffy, ed., 1983). If some editions of Arabic texts were published, they were translations of Greek classical texts (Galenus arabicus 1963; 1969; 1970; 1988). As for Latin texts, a corpus of anonymous or pseudepigraphic late-antique texts (Pseudo-Apuleius; *De taxone*; Sextius Placitus; and Antonius Musa) was published (Antonius Musa 1927), and also the major works by Marcellus identified as coming from Bordeaux (Marcellus 1968) and by Caelius Aurelianus (Caelius Aurelianus 1990–1993).

Arabic translations of Hippocrates were also published independently from the *CMG*: *Regimen in Acute Diseases* (Hippocrates arabicus 1966), *Surgery* (Hippocrates arabicus 1968), *Nature of Man* (Hippocrates arabicus 1968), *Airs, Waters, Places* (Hippocrates arabicus 1969), *Humors* (Hippocrates arabicus 1971), and *Sperm with Nature of Child* (Hippocrates arabicus 1978).

Shortly after the launch of the *CMG* and the *CML*, the geography of medieval medical history changed with the transfer of European scholars to the United States, who brought with them the approaches and methods of the scholarly traditions of their countries of origin. The Belgian historian of science George Sarton (1884–1956) was a pioneer. As early as 1915, indeed, he moved to America where he introduced both the philological method and the broad scope typical of Belgian erudition at that time. Embarked in the compilation of a general history of science, he planned to publish nine volumes of which he could complete only three, covering the time period from antiquity to the fourteenth century (Sarton 1927–1948). With premonitory intuition, he did not limit himself to Western science, but included all areas for which a scientific activity is documented during the time period under consideration. In treating each period he distinguished, he did not present available data in a compartmentalized way, but highlighted the simultaneity of the different contexts active during these periods. Typically for him, when he started preparing the second volume (devoted to the Arabic World), he did not only study Arabic, but he traveled to the Middle East searching for manuscripts.

More than 15 years later (actually in 1932), Henry Sigerist (1891–1957) moved to the United States. A Swiss-born, Sigerist studied philology and Oriental languages before earning a degree in medicine and devoting himself to the history of medicine. After some years as director of the Institute for the History of Medicine at the University of Leipzig (1925–1932), he moved to the United States, specifically to the newly created Institute for the History of Medicine of Johns Hopkins University which he directed from 1932 to 1947. A medical historian with broad interests, he studied medieval manuscripts and created a collection of photographs at Johns Hopkins University (Schalick 1997). On the basis of the manuscripts he consulted, he published a set of texts (together with Ernest Howald) according to the model of the German philologico-historical school, with a special focus on the early Middle Ages (Sigerist 1923; Antonius Musa 1927, for example). Later on, he surveyed early medieval medical literature (Sigerist 1958).

In his move to America, Sigerist took with him his Leipzig student and assistant Owsei Temkin (1902–2002) who later on directed Hopkins' Institute for the History of Medicine for ten years (1958–1968). With pioneering instinct, Temkin gave a new orientation to the history of medieval medicine: he moved the focus from chronologically and geographically circumscribed questions to long term history across different time periods, geographical areas and human groups. He did so about the concept of epilepsy (Temkin 1945) and Galen's theories (Temkin 1973), for both of which topics he followed their transformations through time and space.

Research on medieval medicine in Europe was mostly focused on the West and the inventory of manuscripts and texts, documentary studies, and analysis of specific questions of medical thinking. The Latin manuscripts predating the great expansion of medicine of the post-Salernitan period were inventoried by the 20th-century Italian historian Augusto Beccaria who catalogued all such manuscripts known in the 1950s (Beccaria 1956), whereas his French colleague Ernst Wickersheimer (1880–1965) did the same for the codices in French collections ten years later (Wickersheimer 1966).

Medicine in Byzantium was the object of occasional editions of texts and studies, some of which might have been seminal had them received the attention they deserved. This is specifically the case of the publications by the French physician and historian of medicine Antoine Edouard Jeanselme (1858–1935) on Byzantine hospitals and diet calendars (Jeanselme 1930; 1924; Jeanselme and Oeconomus 1921; 1925). A clinician who consulted Byzantine manuscripts, Jeanselme used indeed information from hospital manuals to attempt a first reconstruction of the medical activity in hospitals.

During the same time, the American school was exploring different and innovative approaches to the study of medieval medicine. Lynn Thorndike (1882–

1965), who taught in different universities before being at Columbia University from 1924 to 1950, was interested in long-term phenomena and in massive collections of material from primary sources. As early as 1923 he started publishing a monumental eight-volume history of magic and experimental science that covers the period from early Christianity to the end of the seventeenth century (Thorndike 1923–1956). Together with Pearl Kibre (1900–1985), who earned a doctoral degree in Medieval History and History of Science from Columbia University in 1936, he compiled a catalogue of *incipit* of scientific treatises resulting from systematic browsing of medieval manuscripts (Thorndike and Kibre 1937). Kibre herself, who taught at Hunter College in New York, pursued this line of investigation by systematically tracing the manuscripts of Latin translations of Hippocratic works across periods (the work was published in several installments in *Traditio* between 1975 and 1982, and further edited as a volume in 1985). Loren Carey MacKinney (1891–1963), as for him, did undergraduate work in the United States and at the University of Grenoble (France) and earned a Ph.D. in Medieval History from the University of Chicago. Later affiliated with the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, he was interested in illustrations from medieval manuscripts related to medicine. Well before the recent inclusion of illustrations among the primary sources for historical investigations, he collected photographs of any kind of illustration in medieval manuscripts that were related to medicine, which are now at the National Library of Medicine in Bethesda, MD, with copies at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. On this basis, he compiled an inventory of such illustrations which he published in 1965 (MacKinney 1965).

Study of the history of Arabic medicine did not proceed in parallel. It was the object of occasional contributions by such individuals as the German ophthalmologist Max Meyerhof in Cairo (1875–1945) (see for example Meyerhof 1930b; 1932; 1948), the Egyptian Dominican George Anawati (1905–1994) based at the Institut Dominicain d'Etudes Orientales (IDEO) in Cairo (Anawati 1959, for instance), Bishr Faris (1907–1963) in Egypt (Faris 1953), Cesar Dubler (1915–1969), author with Elias Teres, of a voluminous study on the fortuna of Dioscorides's *De materia medica* which included the first edition of its Arabic translation (Dubler and Teres 1953–1957), Juan Vernet Ginés (1923–2011) in Barcelona, who specialized on al-Andalus (Vernet 1978), or, more recently, the German philologist Albert Dietrich, who devoted his activity to the Arabic treatises on *materia medica* and their lexicology (Dietrich 1988; 1991; 1993). These and other contributions on specific topics in the history of Arabic medicine went against a general interpretation of Arabic medicine and science among Western scholars as an epiphenomenon of Greek medicine, whose knowledge it usefully completed, according to a historiographic model best illustrated by the catalogue of Greek manuscripts published by the CMG (Diels, ed., 1905; 1906; 1908). As early as 1938, however, the Italian

scientist and historian of science Aldo Mieli (1879–1950) emigrated to Argentina for political reasons, departed from this Western scholarly tradition and stressed the specificity and contributions of Arabic science in a work of synthesis that included contributions by Max Meyerhof and other contemporary Arabists (Mieli 1938). He was followed later on by Juan Vernet Ginés who did the same for al-Andalus (Vernet 1978).

It is only recently that comprehensive catalogues of Arabic authors, texts and manuscripts comparable to those published for Byzantium and the West were compiled. Strangely enough, two such works came to light at almost the same time in Germany: one in Frankfurt by the Turkish-born historian of Arabic written production Fuat Sezgin (who also republished in the form of collected studies most of the articles on history of Arabic medicine originally appeared in journals across the world from the nineteenth century onward) (Sezgin 1970) and the other by Manfred Ullmann in Tübingen (Ullmann 1970), who also wrote a brief survey of Arabo-Islamic medicine (Ullmann 1978; for a similar synthesis, Jacquart and Micheau 1990), compiled a dictionary of the Arabic terms generated from Greek during the translation period in the Eastern Arabic Empire (Ullmann 2002; also Endress and Gutas 1992–2013), and, more recently, worked on Dioscorides's Arabic translation(s) (Ullmann 2009).

D First Transformations

In the 1970s history of medicine engaged into a process of transformation generated by both internal and external forces. The context was more favorable than in previous years. The Wellcome Historical Medical Library founded in London by Sir Henry Wellcome (1853–1936) substantially developed its activity in the 1960s particularly by creating an Academic Unit. Also, institutes and chairs of history of medicine multiplied in Germany and Switzerland. They developed their research and teaching programs with some specializing in the history of medieval medicine and others in the history of pharmacy. This burgeoning expanded throughout Europe and contributed to boost earlier centers or to generate new ones.

Internal forces operating in the history of medicine—not only medieval—led to shift the focus from the texts and their authors (which are the sources of knowledge) to the ultimate object of these texts and the *raison d'être* of medicine (the patients themselves, who are the beneficiaries of medical knowledge) with their diseases (the target of medicine) and their health (the goal of medicine). A book was emblematic of this transformation: *Le triangle hippocratique. Le malade, sa maladie et son médecin*, by the French historian of ancient and Roman medicine and of medical erudition Danielle Gourevitch affiliated with the Ecole Pra-

tique des Hautes Etudes (Gourevitch 1984). Although the work deals with antiquity, it exemplifies the transformation in course in the history of medicine. Medical historiography began to move away from a history mostly devoted to the physicians, their works and their theories. Instead, it started considering medicine *in action* with the patients and their diseases, both being the *conditio sine qua non* for medicine to come into being. Together with the physician, these elements created the locus for medicine to be implemented in an interactive relationship between the three components of the triangle.

Each tip of the triangle became a specific field in the medico-historical investigation. Thanks to the analysis of their relationship with the patients, physicians could be approached in a different way: no longer as the producers of knowledge, but also as the providers of a service. Such shift generated an increased attention to the practice of medicine, from the medical setting (e.g., the hospital) to medical ethics, including methods of learning, writing of case studies, instruments and methods for the consultation for example.

The patients, in particular, were approached with their subjectivity, particularly the way they were living their own body, their health and their disease(s), the experience of disease and its psychological sequels, or the cure itself, with its itinerary and its constraints, its expectations and disappointments, or also extra-medical practices, rituals and objects. The attention to the physicality of patients took a special dimension when it was about women. The female body became a topic of medico-historical investigation in its own right, whereas it had been almost off limits until then and was mostly uncharted. Its exploration was particularly suitable for the development of multidisciplinary approaches—since this was the term at that time—that brought together physiology, psychology, sociology and economy among others, and brought to light and dismantled the empowerment of male medicine and discourse on the female body. Research brought to light—or hinted at—a female medical world with such figure as the legendary Trotula (Green 2001), or birth control and abortion practices whose knowledge was circumscribed within the feminine world (Riddle 1997).

In this new approach to medicine, the analysis of diseases moved from theoretical concepts and nosology (the physicians' viewpoint) to case studies and *histoires vécues* (the patients' existential experience). Research on this point was best heralded by the physician and historian of medicine of Croatian origin Mirko D. Grmek (1924–2000) who had broad medico-historical interests and spent most of his career in France, particularly at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes. Having previously edited the papers of the French physician Claude Bernard (1813–1878), who developed experimental medicine, Grmek had an acute sense of pathology. In his approach to ancient diseases, he promoted the *retrospective diagnosis*, that is, a process by which historians of medicine explain the diseases

described in ancient medical literature by means of twentieth century nosological entities (Grmek 1983). Such approach generated a wholly new field of investigation whose legitimacy was not unanimously recognized in the medico-historical community for a long period (for example and recently, Leven 2004). An epistemological debate followed, with some historians claiming that *retrospective diagnosis* is impossible since pathogens evolved from past to present day. In these conditions, it is impossible, according to them, to equate ancient and modern nosological entities. Proponents of the *retrospective diagnosis*, instead, argued that diseases could be identified, particularly by complementing textual descriptions by means of archaeological human remains (specifically macro-traces of diseases on human skeletons) (e.g., Henneberg and Henneberg 1995 about syphilis). Although the *retrospective diagnosis* was used as a powerful analytical tool—provided it relied on sufficient evidence including osteopathology—the debate on its legitimacy has not been closed until very recently, when molecular biology entered the field of medical history (for instance, Sallares 2002).

Grmek went on in his analysis of the history of diseases and created the concept of *pathocoenosis*, which can be defined as the set of diseases affecting a determined population (Grmek 1983). In Grmek's view, this set is not defined by the genetic make-up of the populations (with their susceptibility or, on the contrary, their immunity or tolerance to certain diseases), but by the biology of the pathogens, which creates commonalities of, and exclusions between, pathogens. Potentially a productive epistemological and heuristic tool, this concept has not been much applied, however, possibly because another approach to populations' diseases emerged in the meantime with the development of molecular biology.

Later on, Grmek shifted focus, concentrating more on medical thinking in an all-encompassing, multi-authored and multi-volume panorama of the history of Western medicine from antiquity to the twentieth century (Grmek and Fantini, ed., 1993 for antiquity and the Middle Ages).

While this internal force was transforming the history of medicine, among others its medieval component, an external force was shaped: *codicology* and text history. Although the question has been discussed, the paternity of *codicology* defined as the discipline devoted to the scientific analysis of manuscripts, goes to the French Hellenist and Byzantinist Alphonse Dain (1896–1964) (Dain 1949). The line of investigation he inaugurated was further pursued by the French philologist Jean Irigoin (1920–2006) (Irigoin 1952) and, further on, by several scholars particularly the following: the Belgian philologist Paul Canart at the Vatican Library; the Italian historian Guglielmo Cavallo in Rome; and the German philologist, paleographer and codicologist Dieter Harlfinger in Berlin, with the group of all these scholars forming what Paul Canart called the *Berlin-Rome axis*. Particularly with Dieter Harlfinger who started his work on the manuscripts of the Aristotelian

corpus, codicology became an inquiry into the material vehicle of texts, whose history it contributed to reconstruct in great detail, allowing us to reach the actors behind the actual texts in the manuscripts. In this view, each manuscript has the potential to become the witness of an intellectual activity previously not taken into consideration as the research on the history of texts mainly aimed until then to identify the best manuscript for editorial purposes, thus neglecting all the other codices.

This focus on the materiality of manuscripts as a source of information was completed by the analysis of the very process of copy. It was the merit of Joseph Mogenet (1913–1980), a classicist and a historian of Greek astronomy at the University of Louvain in Belgium. Mogenet wanted to go beyond the mechanistic approach to copy used until the early 1950s. He aimed to explore the psychology of copyists, that is, their behavior in the act of copy. He developed a simple, yet efficient approach that allows to account for the transformations of all kinds (involuntary or not) introduced in texts by copyists. His method is both coherent and realistic (Mogenet 1950).

With all these new epistemological instruments history of medieval medicine had powerful investigative tools that made it possible to explore more in depth both the written document (codicology and copyists' psychology) and the diseases affecting medieval populations (retrospective diagnosis and pathocoenosis), also including the individual experience of medicine. More than anything else, it was open to the concepts of transformation(s) in the transmission of texts and differentiation(s) in epidemiology. This was a major shift. Previous history of medicine and of texts mostly operated, indeed, on the basis of a concept of continuity with a special reference to classical antiquity considered as a touchstone for the analysis and understanding of subsequent periods. Such approach did not allow for a perception of possible specificities linked with determined groups. In matter of texts, transformist thinking opened the door to a perception and analysis of the contributions made in—and by—each manuscript. In this view, manuscripts were no longer seen as increasingly deforming a lost original, but as elements of an uninterrupted chain of actors contributing to the making of a body of data in constant evolution.

E Transition Processes

Surprisingly, history of medieval medicine did not immediately take advantage of the new approach to disease that was developing, perhaps because documentary basis was not yet sufficient as the subsequent evolution of research may suggest. As early as the 1980s medical historiography benefitted, instead, of the renewal

of textual analysis. In so doing, it verified the validity of Temkin's intuition—of continuity going together with differentiations—which Temkin had applied to the analysis of epilepsy from antiquity to the Middle Ages and the reception of Galen's system (Temkin 1945; 1973, respectively).

Very soon such transformationist thinking made it possible to better investigate phases in the history of medieval medicine that had been identified as crucial without having been clarified however. This was the case of the early medieval activity of translation of Greek medical treatises into Latin, of the transfer of Greek medicine to the Arabic world, and of the development of the supposed school of Salerno. Typically, these transitions were thought of in terms of new localizations characterized by a move of a school understood as a group of individuals exercising a teaching activity in a physical locus from one precise city to another in a new territory. Such historical reconstruction may have been shaped on the model of the history of the School of Athens, which was closed in 529 by the Byzantine emperor Justinian (b. 482; emp. 527–565). Its teachers and, probably also, their students moved to Alexandria and later to Constantinople as the toponyms—of Athens and of Alexandria—attached to the name of Stephanus indicate (Wolska-Conus 1989).

As early as 1930 Max Meyerhof already proposed such an approach in his epoch-making reconstruction of the transfer of medicine from the Greek to the Arabic World. According to him, this transfer went by land from Alexandria to Baghdad through Antioch and Harran (Meyerhof 1930a) in an itinerary that proved to be incorrect (Lameer 1997). For the West a similar reconstruction from one determined place to another (actually from Alexandria to Ravenna) was proposed by the Italian Augusto Beccaria in a set of three articles on early-medieval Latin translations of Hippocrates and Galen published from 1959 to 1971 (Beccaria 1959; 1961; 1971). Beccaria's work was further deepened by a group of classicists from Italy and Spain who explored almost simultaneously the transition from classical antiquity to the Early Middle Ages: Innocenzo Mazzini in Ancona (Mazzini 1981; 1983), Nicoletta Palmieri then in Milano and now in Saint-Etienne (France) (Palmieri 1981), and Manuel Vásquez Buján in Santiago de Compostela (Vásquez Buján 1986). All of them focused on Hippocrates and Galen, the selection of translated texts, and the translation process. The general interpretation suggested a migration from Alexandria to Ravenna (which was the capital of Theodoric [471–526] from 493 to 540 and then the seat of the Byzantine exarchate until 751). According to Manuel Vásquez Buján, however, the possibility of another locale between northern Africa and Italy should not be excluded, including movements going not necessarily northward, but possibly also southward. Whatever the place, such teaching reproduced the teaching model of the Alexandrian school, including the classical texts selected by its faculty to create a coherent set of class text books.

For the Arabic World, the reconstruction proceeded according to a similar scheme (from one location to another, from one school to another), although the itinerary proposed by Meyerhof was no longer accepted. The newly proposed route proceeded in two phases, passing first through the Syriac world and the translation activity of Sergius of Res'ayna in the sixth century (Hugonnard Roche 1990; Strohmaier 1994; Bhayro 2005; Serikoff 2013). In the second phase, translation activity took place in Baghdad in the ninth century, at the so-called *Bayt al-Hikmat* considered as a translation bureau (below).

This interpretative method of tradition, geographical in nature, was further refined with a more detailed analysis of the translations, their actors, their context and possible structures, and the rationale of their translation activity. The analysis of the translation of Greek medicine into Arabic was substantially modified. In this view, the role played by the Syriacs was not limited to a sixth-century relay on the road from Byzantium to the Arabic World. Thanks to the translation experience available among their communities, they played a fundamental role when the Arabic World embarked into a process of assimilation of earlier medicine (not limited to Greek sources but also including others from the East). A leading Syriac figure was Hunayn ibn Ishaq (809–873) who was assisted in his enterprise by such collaborators as Istifan ibn Basil (whose names hint at a Christian origin) and other translators, later on also including his own son. Typically, Hunayn translated Greek medicine in an evolutive way: he started translating first from Greek into Syriac and then from Syriac into Arabic; only later on, did he translate directly from Greek into Arabic. In spite of this modification, the localization process characteristic of that-time medico-historical research was still present. The early activity of translation of the Syriacs was situated, indeed, in a school located in the Persian city of Gondishapur (south-east of Baghdad) credited with a medical university. Their subsequent activity was located in Baghdad in the so-called *Bayt al-Hikmat* supposed for a long time to have been a translation office, whereas further research showed that it may have been more an informal group of translators (Balty Guesdon 1992; 1994; 2008).

The transfer of Arabic medicine to the West from the late eleventh century on was reconstructed with similar keys (Schipperges 1964; 1976). It has been attributed to the personal activity of Constantine (d. after 1087), identified as the African as he came from Qairawan. According to his traditional biography, Constantine moved from his native town to Cassino where he started a prolific activity of translation from Arabic into Latin. On this basis, a school is supposed to have formed in the town of Salerno, whose activity attracted students from all over Europe. Such institutionalized vision of the interest in Arabic medicine in Southern Europe is now revised, even though there actually were translators located in specific towns (e.g., Toledo in Spain; Burnett 1995 and 2001) and organized in articulated groups.

F Negotiating the Past

These and other, similar studies opened the way to an analysis of the possible transformation(s) of knowledge in the process of transmission be it intra- or inter-cultural. Whereas it was generally accepted that medieval medicine was largely dominated by Galen's vast oeuvre and theoretical thinking (namely his conceptualization of human anatomy, physiology and pathology) as well as by Hippocrates, that is, the *Corpus Hippocraticum*, a reexamination of manuscript evidence led into a somewhat different direction.

Before anything else, a reading of the manuscript tradition revealed that the influence of these two set of works was differentiated according to the topics, whatever the period. The teaching program of the school of Alexandria in the fifth and sixth centuries, mostly based on Galen, is significant from that viewpoint (Iskandar 1976; Pormann 2004a). Commented Galenic treatises formed six major units besides the general principles of medicine according to the schools that flourished in previous centuries (taught through Galen's treatise *On Sects for Beginners*), normal anatomy (based on *Anatomy for Beginners*; *Bones*; *Muscles*; *Nerves and Veins and Arteries*); physiology (with *Natural Faculties*); pathology (*Causes and Symptoms of Diseases*; *Affected Parts*; and *Differences of Fevers*); diagnosis (*Short Book on Pulse*); prevention and cure of diseases (*Preservation of Health* and *Method of Healing*); and evolution of disease and recovery (*Crises and Critical Days* [*De diebus criticis*]). If Galen's works dominated in the fields of anatomy, physiology, pathology, and method for therapy, they did not in pharmacotherapeutics. This discipline relied mostly, if not only, on Dioscorides's *De materia medica*, be it in Byzantium, in the Arabic World or in the West. In Alexandria, the teaching of remedial therapy was based on Dioscorides's treatise, reorganized in alphabetical order as Galen's treatise on the topic and commented on possibly by Stephanus of Alexandria (Wolf 1581).

The Fall of Alexandria in the seventh century and the transfer of medical studies to Constantinople did not necessarily transform the physiognomy of Galenic studies, all the more because a new approach to medicine had developed in the meantime (below). It is probably not insignificant that, in subsequent centuries, several Galenic and other Greek medical treatises have been best preserved in Southern Italy than in the main part of the Byzantine Empire (Cavallo 1980; Ieraci Bio 1989). The reason often evoked for such differentiated tradition (Greek speaking groups isolated in the Latin West which were cut from the living roots of their culture and consequently defended their identity by preserving their culture in a more conservative way, without too much input from outside) may no longer be valid, as research increasingly brings to light dense and continuous exchanges between the metropolis and the territories at the edge of the empire.

Nevertheless, the factors that contributed to the modification of medical thinking may in effect not have been the same in the heart of the empire and in its periphery, not because of the distance from the capital, but because of different local parameters, including an increasingly divergent genetic make-up of populations (resulting not only from local conditions, but also from contacts with local heterogeneous populations) and, therefore, a different epidemiology.

Not all the *Corpus Hippocraticum* either was studied in Alexandria. Hippocratic treatises commented on reinforced or complemented the Galenic program by providing a more specialized approach. If the general principles of medicine (through the *Aphorisms*), physiology (*Humors*) and evolution of disease (*Prognostics*) paralleled and complemented selected Galenic treatises, embryology (*Nature of Child*), special pathology (*Diseases of Women* and *Fractures*) and epidemiology (*Epidemics*) added a dimension to the Galenic program and added to a more complete coverage of the variety of specialized knowledge contributing to the making of medicine.

Later on, the Hippocratic literature was more extensively studied in Byzantium. The treatises were reorganized in a very different way as their grouping in manuscripts indicate: 1. *Surgery, Fractures, Joints, Wounds in the Head*; 2. *Leverage, Bones*; 3. *Airs, Waters, Places, and Dentition*; 4. *Nature of Woman, Diseases of Woman*; 5. *Regimen 1–3, Regimen 4, Diseases 1–3, Affections, Internal Affections, Sacred Disease*; 6. *Diseases 4, Crises, Wounds, Haemorrhoids, Fistulae, Eyesight, Prorrhetic*; 7. *Nutriments, Coan Prognoses, Humors, Ancient Medicine, Art*; 8. *Oath, Law, Aphorisms, Epidemics 2–7, Nature of Child, On the 7 Months Child, On the 8 Months' Child, Virgins*; 9. *Prognostics, Epidemics 1, Nature of Man*; 10. *Glands, Heart, Fleshes, Physician, Anatomy*; 11. *Infertile Women, Excision of the Fetus*. If some major unitary topics can be recognized in these groupings such as traumatology (nos. 1 and 2) and gynecology and obstetrics (nos. 4 and 11), not all such groupings seem to be thematically coherent, but reflect rather some organic clusters with internal complementarities. One of such clusters brings together prevention of disease, diseases and what is now called *neurological diseases* (no. 5); one deals with diseases and their evolution, followed by external diseases and troubles of vision (no. 6), whereas another is devoted to the general principles of medicine and medical deontology together with pediatrics (no. 8) and one is mainly about internal organs and a complement of deontology (no. 10).

Not all such groups of Hippocratic treatises and not all treatises within the groups had the same fortune in Byzantium. Of the works on traumatology, for example (no. 1), *Wounds in the Head* is known by two manuscripts (ninth and twelfth centuries), whereas the other three treatises (*Surgery, Fractures, Joints*) have been regularly transmitted through the centuries, with a total of ten codices from the ninth to the fourteenth century and a gradual increase except during the

thirteenth century, when Constantinople was occupied by the Latin troops of the Fourth Crusade (1204–1261): one manuscript in the ninth and one in the eleventh century, two in the twelfth, one in the thirteenth and five in the fourteenth century. The *Epidemics* (divided in two groups: books I and III, and books II and IV–VI) were continuously transmitted with a regular increase from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, no decrease during the thirteenth century, and a total of nine manuscripts. *Airs, Waters and Places*, instead, does not seem to have been much read, as it is attested by only one manuscript in the twelfth century, contrary to the *Regimen in Acute Diseases*, which is known through 10 codices, 2 for each of the eleventh and the twelfth centuries, 1 for the thirteenth (that is, a decrease most probably as a result of the Fourth Crusade) and a strong increase during the fourteenth century (5 items). The treatise with the most substantial tradition in Byzantium, however, is the *Aphorisms*, of which no less than 30 manuscripts are known from the period of the tenth to the fifteenth century, with no decrease, but an increase during the thirteenth century (contrary to the other treatises above) and a number of manuscripts without equivalent for any other Hippocratic treatise during the fourteenth century: 19 codices.

In the West before the transformation of medicine following the translation of Arabic medical literature into Latin started during the eleventh century (below) there was a proliferation of treatises reflecting the Latin heritage (census in Sabbah et al. 1987 with a supplement in Fischer 2000; more recently *Cassius Felix* 2002; *Alphita* 2007; *Alphabetum Galieni* 2012). During the fifth and sixth centuries (that is, at a time when scholarship in Alexandria radiated throughout the Mediterranean up to Italy, particularly—but not necessarily only—to Ravenna) interest in the Hippocratic collection seems to have focused on the *Aphorisms*, *Prognostics* and *Diseases of Women*, complemented with *Airs, Waters, Places*, *Nature of Man*, *Weeks*, and *Regimen*. Whereas we recognize the Alexandrian program in the first three, we may interpret the others as substitutes of their Galenic equivalents, with *Nature of Man* on physiology substituting *On the Natural Faculties*; *Airs, Waters, Places* on epidemiology possibly replacing the Galenic treatises on pathology (*Causes and Symptoms of Diseases*) although it shifts the focus from anatomo-pathological description and analysis to environmental causality; *Weeks* for disease evolution represented by *Crises* and *Critical Days* in the Alexandrian Galenic program, and the Hippocratic *Regimen* for both the treatment of disease and the preservation of health, just as the Galenic treatise on the same object (*Method of Healing and Preservation of Health*). From the ninth to the eleventh/twelfth centuries, there was a significant shift: *Airs, Waters, Places* is attested by only two ninth-century manuscripts, *Diseases of Women* by two during the period eighth/ninth century and one in the eleventh century, contrary to the *Aphorisms* whose number of codices constantly increased from the eighth to the

twelfth century in a way not different from Byzantium: 2 (eighth century), 6 (for each of the ninth and tenth century), 8 (eleventh century) and 9 (twelfth century).

The medical works newly redacted from the fourth to the eleventh century—excepting for the moment the Arabic world, whose itinerary was slightly different—may give an impression that contradicts this picture, by reinforcing the Galenic dominance and, at the same time, by expanding the range of source-texts in presence. In the Byzantine world, indeed, the all-encompassing encyclopedias of Oribasius in the fourth century (Oribasius 1926–1933), Aetius in the sixth (Aetius Amidenus 1935; 1950; 1911; 1905; 1909; 1901) and Paul of Egina in the seventh (Paulus Aegineta 1921–1924) are largely based on Galen, even though their sections on remedial therapy owes more to Dioscorides than to Galen. The same is valid for Theophanes Chrysobalantes (previously known as Theophanes Nonnos; Sonderkamp 1984; 1987) in the tenth century (Theophanes Chrysobalantes 1568; 1794–1795) coming after the reorganization of the Byzantine world further to the Arab conquest and the iconoclastic crisis with its redefinition on culture, knowledge and science.

In the West, the Pseudo-Apuleius (Howald and Sigerist 1927), the *Medicina Plinii* (Önnerfors, ed. 1964) and the *Physica Plinii* (Önnerfors 1975), together with the Latin translation(s) of Dioscorides possibly dating back to the sixth century (Hoffmand and Auracher 1892; Stadler 1897, 1899, 1902 and 1903; Mihaescu 1938) and the *Ex herbis femininis* attributed to Dioscorides ([Dioscurides], *Ex herbis feminis* (Kästner 1896 and 1897), the synthesis of Caelius Aurelianus of dogmatic inspiration (Bendz 1990), and the medical encyclopedia of Marcellus allegedly of Bordeaux (Niedermann 1968) expand the range of classical texts used as sources, into which they introduce local data in a way often seen until recently as an impoverishment of the classical tradition, whereas it actually absorbs the daily practice of the art of healing into learned medicine with all its possible background of irrational beliefs, practices and operations.

The case of the Arabic World is different. The Arabo-Islamic troops conquered almost unexpectedly, without meeting with too much resistance, an empire that covered a vast portion of the world of that time, from the Arabic Peninsula to Asia Minor, and from the shores of the Mediterranean to deep into the mainland. This unforeseen conquest resulted, among others, from the antagonism that opposed the Persian and the Byzantine Empires, which consumed their energy in a long war. If the Byzantine Empire won this Persian war, it was nevertheless exhausted and could not oppose much resistance to the Arabo-Islamic troops to which it abandoned a substantial part of its territory and also all that of the defeated Persian Empire. The geo-political entity newly created by the Arabo-Islamic troops corresponded to—or was neighboring—several brilliant *civilizations* as Byzantium and Persia, the Syrians at the borders of the Byzantine empire and,

further on in the East, India. Strategically enough, the conquerors took advantage of the experience and knowledge of the enemies they defeated in order to build a new political entity and also to provide it with a specific culture. Whereas in Byzantium the legacy of the past was both a burden and an advantage, together with a feeling of pride—as this legacy imposed to its heirs to defend and illustrate it, without necessarily leaving much space for a more original identity—and, in the West, this heritage from the past had not necessarily been integrally preserved and was not always well understood, in the Arabic world it immediately provided the basis for a new culture to be built, instead of having to be created anew (for a more traditional view of the Arabic World as the follower of Antiquity, see Strohmaier 1993). This was more so the case because the dynasty of rulers in the Arabic world in the ninth century, the Abbasids, created a new capital—Baghdad—and wished to provide it and its empire with a new culture worth the empire it was governing. Translation and, through it, assimilation of previous science and knowledge were an efficient short-cut that proved extremely productive, without posing problems of self-identity or recovery as in Byzantium and the West, respectively. Furthermore, in the Arabic World such assimilation gave a cachet to the science developed in that way together with a sense of continuity that was politically and strategically convenient (Gutas 1998; Saliba 2007; for the example of a Greek work translated into Arabic and assimilated into Arabic medicine, Pormann 2004).

G Integrating the Present

Such view focusing on the major achievements of antiquity, besides resulting from a specific historiography inherited from the Renaissance, the antiquarianism of subsequent centuries and nineteenth-century German Romantic fascination for Greece as the founding period of the Western world, does not take into consideration new developments arisen both inside and outside the medical field *stricto sensu*, already in antiquity and in the early medieval centuries (Temkin 1962 on the duality of Byzantine medicine).

The major inside development of medicine was the transformation of remedial therapy (Touwaide 1993). With the urban development characteristic of the Roman Empire, remedial therapy underwent a major transformation. Urbanized populations and their physicians in the large cities of that time were cut from the countryside. This might contribute to explain the creation of vast gardens in Rome and smaller ones in Pompeii, for example, aimed to bring nature back into cities, as Pliny put it (Touwaide 2007a). This increased distance from the natural environment certainly accounts for a rupture with the traditional method of

healing, that is, the Hippocratic remedial therapy consisting in collecting the substances for medicines from the immediate natural environment of patients. Even though fresh plants could be either grown or collected in the wild and then be conveyed to Rome, they were not necessarily in good enough a condition to be used as ingredients for medicines.

The process of substitution probably needs to be framed in this context. Traditional interpretation takes at face value the principle resulting from the apparently auto-biographic tale opening the Pseudo-Galenic list of substitution (Galenus 1821–1833, 19.721–47) according to which a necessary medicinal substance not available at a certain place at a determined point in time could be replaced by another with equivalent therapeutic properties. It might be that such lists reflect rather different natural environments and floras, and also a tension between the therapeutic prescribed by canonical texts (Dioscorides, *De materia medica* complemented by Galen, *On Simple Medicines Mixtures and Properties*) and the actual practice of healers (Touwaide 2012).

Prepared compound medicines, more suitable for a long term conservation, were an appropriate response to these phenomena: urbanization of society, distance from the wild, and integration of actual practice into the heritage of the past. Such medicines were increasingly used in therapy from the first century C.E. onward (Watson 1966; Touwaide 1994), all the more because they mixed a wide range of substances, constituting what we could call *broad spectrum medicines*. This technical transformation generated a new type of literature represented as early as the second century by the treatise *De antidotis* of Galen (Galenus 1821–1833, 14.1–209). This genre proliferated later on with the so-called *antidotaria* of the early medieval centuries now identified by the names of the cities where their manuscripts are preserved (e.g., in chronological order: *Bruxelles antidotarium* [sixth century], *London antidotarium* [sixth/seventh centuries], *St. Gall antidotarium* [ninth century], *Bamberg antidotarium* [ninth/tenth centuries], some of which have been edited and studied by Sigerist 1923; see also Opsomer 1989). Although the examples above refer to the West only, this new orientation of medicine and, consequently, of medical literature was also at work in the East. For Byzantium, it is not as well known as in the West because available manuscripts do not predate the ninth or the tenth century. Furthermore, when this new genre of medical literature is perceptible, it is in the form of amalgamated lists of compound medicines which are particularly long and do not necessarily seem to be organized. Such lists are not well identified and are poorly catalogued, most probably because they are considered to result from a collection-oriented activity disconnected from the practice of medicine that generated such collections. As a consequence, this genre has often been neglected in medico-historical research, especially when it is compared to the tradition of the great medical literature

represented by the *Corpus Hippocraticum* and Galen's works and consequently considered as a product of lesser value (Hunger 1978, 2.304), just like the *iatrosophia* produced among the Greek speaking populations in the Ottoman empire from the Fall of Constantinople to the Independence of Greece and even later (Tselikas 1995; Karas 1994; Touwaide 2007b). Disinterest becomes rejection if such therapeutic collections include religious invocations, incantations and magic formulae.

Such religious component in medicinal prescriptions hints at the outside factor that impacted medicine during the early Byzantine period. With the diffusion of Christianity and its further adoption as the official religion of the Roman empire by Constantine in the early fourth century, care for the poor and the sick modeled on Christ's example became more of a social concern and impacted the exercise of medicine (Amundsen 1996; Ferngren 2009, for instance). The best representatives of this new orientation of the art of healing are the twin brothers Cosmas and Damianos (Julien et al. 1993). Probably born sometimes around 250 C.E. in Asia Minor, they were converted to Christianity by their mother Theodota. They practiced medicine without asking any remuneration in the Christian spirit of charitable assistance and were therefore identified as the *anargyroi* (*anargyri*). During Diocletian's persecution (303–305), they were summoned to adore the pagan gods, something that they did not accept to do. They were martyred sometimes in the years 285–287, became considered saints and were the source of a medico-healing cult that included therapeutic miracles (Deubner, ed., 1907; Festugière 1971; David-Danel 1958). The analysis of the most ancient tales of their miracles brought to light a close similarity with Greco-Hippocratic medicine (Temkin 1991). Healing methods were revealed to the patients through dreams in which the twins indicated to patients how they should cure their disease exactly as was the case in the sanctuaries of Asklêpios. The best example of this Asclepian healing process is the second-century hypochondriac rhetor Aelius Aristides (117–181 C.E.) who wrote down his incubatory dreams with a great many detail in his *Sacred Tales* (Behr 1968; also Israelowich 2012). The medicines that Cosmas and Damianos prescribed were very similar to those of the *Corpus Hippocraticum*, including silphium. Churches were dedicated to the two saints, one of which was in Constantinople. In the sixth century, the emperor Justinian visited it because it could not be healed of his illness by learned medicine. Since he was cured by the holy twin brothers, he restored the church that had suffered the damage of time—something that hints at an existence long before Justinian's visit in mid-sixth century—and enlarged it, thus giving the weight of imperial authority to this healing cult.

The important point is not so much the role of the religious therapeutic intervention than the disappearance it provokes of the healing mechanism and,

beyond it, of the pathological process of disease which, in turn, is based on the normal physiological way of functioning of the body. Until not so long ago it was argued that early Christians saw diseases as a punishment and a way to redemption and salvation through suffering (Larchet 1991; Perkins 1995). Be that as it may, the transformation of medicine through Christianity is much deeper. A new anthropology was developed as early as the fourth century with Nemesios of Ems, author of *On Human Nature* (Morani 1987). It resulted in dematerializing body processes, thus also eliminating both pathological troubles and health recovery. This disembodiment of medicine is reflected in the therapeutic miracles performed not only by Cosmas and Damianos but also by many healing saints (Festugière 1971) among whom Artemius (Crisafulli and Nesbitt 1997), for instance.

In an apparent contradiction this process merged with the increased use of broad spectrum medicines, particularly those made of multiple ingredients. Their administration, based on the external identification of one or more of the major symptoms of the disease(s) they were reputed to treat, did not require to inquire further about the processes of the pathology they were supposed to cure. The generalization of the use of such medicines had an impact on therapeutic compendia, made of lists of formulae for such medicines in which each such formula had a typical structure: a title indicating the name of the physician who developed it and its major indication (that is, the name of one or more pathologies), the list of the ingredients, and the modes of preparation and administration.

The association of multiple-ingredients, multi-purposes medicines and religious healing concurred to generate an immaterial, disembodied medicine in which the analysis of bodily processes—be they those of health or those of disease—was no longer necessary. This approach may contribute to explain the lower interest in classical medicine—particularly its Galenic, analytical form—and the preference given to Dioscorides, *De materia medica* in the field of remedial therapy for example. A form of more therapy-oriented medicine, not so much accompanied by physiological and, conversely, pathological descriptions and analysis, is already perceptible in the work of Alexander of Tralles (sixth century) (Puschmann 1878–1879; French transl. Brunet 1933–1937).

Subsequent phenomena of renaissance were characterized by a return to theoretical thinking in the form of Galenic medicine. This was particularly the case in the Byzantine Empire in the tenth century during the so-called Macedonian Renaissance after the Iconoclastic crisis which did not only define the status of images within Greek culture, but also the place to be given to the ancient legacy, including science (Lemerle 1971; Wilson 1983).

The debate about the interaction of medicine and religion did not happen in the Islamic world. There is a *medicine of the Prophet*, but it does not seem to have

impacted the exercise of medicine. On the other hand, the rules for daily bodily hygiene and yearly maintenance of health (the *ramadan*) were not seen as extra-neous and did not impede the practice of science.

Both in Byzantium and in the West many of the saints who populated the daily life of people were credited with miraculous healing capacities (Magoulia 1964; Festugière 1971; Horden 1982). Several of them were specialized for certain diseases. The same is valid about the therapeutic interventions of individuals with an exceptional status as the kings of France whose contact was supposed to treat scrophula.

H The Places of Medicine

Another fundamental impact of religion on medicine is the development of the hospital. The creation of this structure specifically aimed at the treatment of the sick has been long attributed to the Arabic world (for a study of an Arabic hospital, Meyerhof 1948 for instance, with a more recent overview of the question of the birth of the hospital in Horden 2004; 2005; 2008). A renewed analysis of documentation (started as early as Kousis 1928), specifically of Byzantine hospital foundation acts (Pournaropoulos 1960; Codellas 1942; Philipsborn 1961; *Pantokrator typikon* 1974, trans. 2000; Halkin 1977–1979; Volk 1983; Birchler-Argyros 1998, with the reservations of Kislinger 1987) and Byzantine manuscripts containing therapeutic manuals of hospitals, led to locate the concept of this new medical place in the Byzantine world, particularly the religious communities of central Asia minor (Miller 1984; 1985). Indeed, Fathers of the Church as Gregory of Nazianzos (329/30–ca. 390) and Basil (d. ca. 364) had received a classical medical education. When they later became in charge of spontaneously regrouped Christians who fled society, or had more official functions, they needed to organize a medical service out of which the hospital was believed to have developed. A recent reexamination of this thesis (Crislip 2005) has slightly modified this reconstruction and moved the origin of community-serving medical structures to Egypt and the first religious groups autonomously constituted in the desert in the fourth century.

Whatever the case, from that time on the main locus for the delivery of community-oriented medical service has been the hospital throughout the medieval space (for an analysis of the Byzantine hospital in general, Horden 2006; 2007; for a specific institution Miller 1990). Such structure had different sizes and functioning rules according to the areas. In Byzantium, hospitals cannot be traced before the tenth century because of the limitations of extant documentation. Those that can be traced have been created by the imperial authority, had very

different sizes (from twelve to hundreds of beds in the Lips and Pantokrator hospitals, respectively; Delehay 1921; *Pantokrator typikon* 1974, trans. 2000), received an endowment and had their organization regulated up to the very last detail by their act of foundation. Such documents specified the number of physicians to be present in the hospital, their ranking and titles, together with their duties and salary. Similarly, they explicitly determined the number of assistants and their rounds, and any other element of their duties together with all the material to be available. Also, acts of foundations seem to have included the possibility of out-patient services (*Pantokrator typikon* 1974, trans. 2000).

Preserved manuscripts indicate that Byzantine hospitals had therapeutic formularies in the way of the collections of formulae for medicines alluded to above, something that hints at a practice of medicine of the type that went together with this kind of compendia, that is, without much analytical examination of the patients (Birchler-Argyros 1998; Bennett 2000; 2003; Horden 2013).

For the most recent period of the Byzantine Empire, namely during the fourteenth and fifteenth century, a hospital in Constantinople, that identified as the hospital of the King (actually the king of Serbia Uros Milutin III [b. ca. 1285; king 1321–1331]), was a complex structure, as it brought together a hospital, a school and a library which had a substantial collection of classical medical texts. Significantly enough it generated a revised edition of Dioscorides, *De materia medica*, and had several copies of its text provided with illustrations representing the plants used for therapeutic purposes (Touwaide 1985; 2006a). It is highly probable that this activity of both text revision and book production was linked with the hospital, and that the clinical experience in the hospital guided text and book production.

In the West, hospitals were initially more modest, as infirmaries in monasteries. This was in line with the monastic rule of Benedict of Nursia (480–543), further implemented, for example, by Cassiodorus (ca. 480–ca. 575) at the *Vivarium*. There, some medical texts were available and were studied, including a possible Latin translation of Dioscorides, *De materia medica*, provided it was not an early medieval remake of the treatise such as *Ex herbis femininis*. Early monastic infirmaries were made for the treatment of the sick members of the monastic communities. Later on, Western monastic structures were larger and took a more important role in society, including a major involvement in the management of health (Agrimi and Crisciani 1993, trans. 1998). Among their new functions, they included the provision of medicinal plants to the community through a garden *intra muros*, something that does not seem to have been present in the Byzantine hospitals as far as we can judge from extant documentation. St. Gall in the early eighth century is the prototype of this new structure. Preserved documentation is an exceptional source for the understanding of the place of medicine in early

monasteries. St. Gall plan indicates indeed that there was a house for the physician, a pharmacy, a ward for critically ill individuals and a room for bloodletting (Horn and Born 1979). Also there was a kitchen for the preparation of food for hospitalized members of the community, a bath and chapel. The range of plants in the garden was not extended (16 species), but large enough to cover most of the daily necessities. St. Gall became the prototype of a new kind of institution that propagated through the northern medieval world and was further illustrated by Hraban Maurus (ca. 780–856) at Fulda, Walafriid Strabo (ca. 808–849) at Reichenau, and, later on, by Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179). The monastery of Lorsch, whose *codex medicus* has been rediscovered some 20 years ago (Stoll, ed., 1992), encapsulates all the streams that contributed to the making of Western medicine at that time. It is a formulary in the way of the Byzantine ones. It includes a history of classical medicine and a poem that associates Cosmas and Damianos with Hippocrates and Galen, followed by some notions of surgery, pharmacy, dietetics and prognostic, and some of the Aristotelian *Problemata* (Stoll, ed., 1992). An alternative to religiously inspired medicine was the Hôtel-Dieu in Paris, dating back to the seventh century. Both charitable and social in nature, it resulted from an initiative of civil society.

Hospitals in the Islamic world were not substantially different from those in the West apart from the fact that they were not linked with religious structures (mosques). Nevertheless, they have been considered the model of Byzantine hospitals. Be that as it may, several hospitals functioned in all the large cities of the empire and were often flanked by a school (*madrasat*) (Meyerhof 1948; Micheau 1996, for instance). They had therapeutic formularies in the way of their Byzantine predecessors and equivalents (Sbath 1933; for example Sabur bin-Sahl 1994; 2003; 2008; Ibn-al-Tilmid 2007). This Arabo-Islamic tradition was pursued in Asia minor by the Seljuks, who built a network of such institutions across the area from the thirteenth century on. Typically enough, Seljuk hospitals were spectacular architectural structures, many of which have resisted the damage of time.

I Medicine in Action

Whatever the place and the period, medieval medicine mainly focused on the treatment of the sick (Eftychiades 1983a; van Minnen 1995; Stannard 1999a and b; Van Arsdaal and Graham, ed., 2012). Nevertheless, in the Arabic world it was also explorative and theoretical since its very beginning. In the late period of Byzantium and the West also, it became again a scholarly discipline in the way of ancient medicine, possibly because of an Arabic influence (Eftychiades 1983a and b for Byzantium; García Ballester et al., ed., 1994; French 2001 for the West).

In the Arabo-Islamic World, medicine investigated much the human body (for instance Iskandar 1962; more recently, Álvarez-Millán 2000). Taking Galen's works as a starting point and using the humoral system to explain body processes, physicians and scientists deepened and corrected where appropriate the knowledge of normal human anatomy and physiology of their Greek sources (e.g., Abu-Asab et al. 2013). Contrary to their Greek colleagues, they generated visual representations of human anatomical structures and organs, which are more conceptual than naturalistic and exact (MacKinney 1965; Brandenburg 1982). The best known result of such investigation is the discovery of blood circulation by ibn al-Nafis (d. 1288) (Fancy 2006). But this is not the only one: Arabic physicians explored particularly the structure of the eye, for example, which they also represented graphically, and visual perception (Lindberg 1976). A special attention was devoted to psychology, including mental disorders (Dols 1984), and the pursuit of happiness through wisdom and philosophy.

Besides the structure and function of normal human body, Arabic physicians analyzed the diseases affecting the populations in the Empire. To do so they used both the humoral system of Greek medicine and the so-called *six non-naturals* defined by Galen, that is, elements whose imbalance would contribute to the appearance of a disease (air; food and drink; sleeping and waking; motion and rest; excretions and retentions; dreams and the passions of the soul) (for Avicenna, for example, Abu-Asab et al. 2013). Not only did they build medical theories on the basis of such overarching principles, but they also described the clinical signs of diseases with great exactness. The best known example is the description of smallpox and measles by abû Bakr ar-Râzî (865–925 C.E.), which has been a model of clinical observation for centuries.

The most achieved accomplishment of the Arabic World in the field of medicine was remedial therapy. Arabic physicians systematically inventoried and catalogued the natural resources (plants, minerals or animals) to be possibly used as substances for the preparation of medicines. A work similar to that made in the East by al-Biruni in the *Kitâb as-Saidana* (Al-Biruni 1973) on the drugs from the Eastern part of the Arabic empire and beyond (up to India) in the tenth/eleventh century (Meyerhof 1932; Said and Hamarneh, ed. 1973; Habib 1977; Ehsan Elahie 1977; Anawati 2004), was performed later in the West by al-Ghafiqi (Steinschneider 1879; Meyerhof 1930b; Meyerhof and Sobhy, ed., 1932; Meyerhof 1940–1941) and ibn al-Baytar, the latter of whom authored the most comprehensive encyclopedia of materia medica of the Arabic World (Ibn al-Baytar 2002 with a French translation 1877–1883; also Ibn al-Baytar 1990). In such descriptive inventories, these and other physicians took Dioscorides's *De materia medica* as a basis and used its analytical model to describe the plants, minerals and animals of the many of the natural environments covered by the Arabic empire. They also

included pictorial representations of most such substances in their works (Touwaide 1992–1993).

Arabic physicians also devised specific theories to account for the action of medicinal substances on the human body. As early as the ninth century, al-Kindi created a mathematical model to possibly measure the final property of a remedy resulting from the mixture of several ingredients (Levey 1966). His efforts were pursued by ibn-Sina who theorized the transformation of the properties of each of the ingredients of such medicine by proposing that a new property resulted from the interaction of all such components.

After the Eastern Arabo-Islamic Empire was conquered by the Mongols in 1258, Persians pursued the work done by their Arabo-Islamic predecessors (Afkhani 2004; Al'am 2004; Russel 2004; Sajjadi 2004). Located between the Chinese empire in the East and the Byzantine one in the West, they transmitted their medical expertise and local medico-pharmaceutical traditions to these empires (below).

Although prevention of disease through regimen was generalized in the medieval world according to a diffuse Hippocratic principle (for an early Byzantine example, Grant 1997), it took a particular dimension in the Arabic world, among others because of the search for an equilibrated life style that aimed to contribute to individual happiness. Not only were the qualities of all foodstuffs precisely described (including the best moment of the year to absorb them and their best regional qualities, their digestibility, their nutritive potential or, instead, their noxiousness), but also all human activities were analyzed and their benefit to human health evaluated, be it sexual intercourse, physical exercise or singing, playing or listening to music (the latter as a psychological adjuvant in the case of mental distress for example). This genre of literature, which was not totally new since there was a Hippocratic precedent, has been particularly developed in the Arabic World. With ibn Butlân (1038–1075) it even generated a new mode of presentation, in which relevant information was tabulated: each row was devoted to one substance or an activity, and the several columns contained the data related to that substance or activity according to the descriptors above. This new genre, identified as *taqwim as-sihah* in Arabic, meaning *Tables of health*, was transmitted to the West where it was known under the title *Tacuinum sanitatis* in a phonetic transcription of its Arabic name.

In Byzantium and the West, the approach to *materia medica* as a field was different. Compared with the practice of Hippocratic physicians (Aliotta et al. 2003), the vast work of Dioscorides (Dioscorides 1906–1914) appears indeed to be an encyclopedia that was not necessarily made for daily use in the practice of therapeutics. Furthermore, although Dioscorides himself specified that he ordered the different medicinal substances by groups, he did not specify what these

groups exactly were. As early as the second and third centuries, Galen divided the whole field by natural kingdoms (plants, minerals and animals) and organized the several chapters within each such part according to the alphabetical order of the substances' Greek name. This order was reproduced from Oribasius to Paul of Egina and even later. On the basis of Dioscorides's alphabetized section on plants, circa 400 chapters were selected in order to create what is now called the *alphabetical herbal* of Dioscorides, whose most ancient manuscript is the famous codex *medicus graecus* 1 of the Austrian National library in Vienna, traditionally dated to 512 but possibly earlier. The rationale for this selection seems to have been usefulness. Significantly enough, such reduction brought the number of vegetable *materia medica* back to an order of magnitude similar to that in the *Corpus Hippocraticum*. The West adopted a similar strategy of reduction of the range of medicinal substances. It proceeded in a different way, however, by focusing more on local plants that could be found in the natural environment and the orchards.

Throughout the Middle Ages, most of the attention of medicine was devoted to the treatment of disease. No epidemiological data—that is, quantified information about the frequency of each disease or type of disease(s) according to places and times—has come to us (for a modern attempt on Byzantine Crete based on bio-archeology, for example, see Bourbou 2010). Nevertheless, hypothesizing that ancient treatises of remedial therapeutics reflect with some exactness both the variety of the diseases affecting the populations for which such treatises had been written, and the frequency of each of such pathologies in these populations at the time when these treatises were written, the epidemiology of the populations who inhabited the Mediterranean region during the medieval period can be reconstructed with some plausibility (Touwaide 2004b). Excepting epidemic diseases as plague—be it the so-called Galenic Plague (Gourevitch 2013), the Plague of Justinian in Byzantium in the sixth century (Little 2008), the several waves of plague that swept through the Eastern Mediterranean from ca. 1348 to ca. 1466 (Congourdeau 1999), or the so-called *Black Death* (ca. 1347–ca. 1351) that decimated fourteenth-century populations in the West—whose magnitude and effects can be estimated from other sources, such reconstruction generates the ranking that follows (Touwaide 2004b; 2007b; also Horden 2000), in which the heterogeneity of categories (by diseases or by affected organs or functional systems) reflects the differentiated nature of the information provided by textual documentation. Diseases of the digestive and respiratory systems were probably the most frequent, closely followed by those of the urinary tract. Gynecological and postpartum complications come in fourth position. Skin affections constitute the next category in terms of quantitative importance. Malaria is the next. Even though it was not necessarily well perceived as a nosological entity but was vaguely

assimilated to fever processes, the periodicity of its attacks of fever was well perceived. Joint pain seems to have been omnipresent, be it due to age or to alimentary habits (gout). Interestingly enough, such epidemiology, as far as it is representative of medieval population, is not so different from current, modern epidemiology of Western societies, except malnutrition and denutrition, which were constantly present in the Middle Ages and were a causal factor for further complications (without being a disease in itself). Insufficient nutrition and its perverse chain of consequences increased dramatically in periods of climatic harshness and consecutive food rarefaction. These processes can be best perceived through ergotism. Under precise climatic conditions ergots developed on wheat. Bread made with flour produced from contaminated spikes had a typical color and was highly toxic. Nevertheless, it was consumed, generating a broad series of physical troubles, from mental disorders to necrosis and consecutive loss of limbs (Matossian 1989) represented in a vivid way in Jerome Bosch's paintings.

Diagnosis used both urine analysis and pulse as investigative techniques to identify patients' affections. In urine analysis, color, consistence, possible deposits and layers were significant (Touwaide 2002c; Angeletti et al., ed., 2009). They were described in specialized treatises often accompanied by chromatic tables in circular shape allowing for an identification of a pathology. Similarly, pulse was scrutinized for possible special signs denoting a disease. All its possible variations were accurately described with a great lexical variety in order to precisely identify every single state characteristic (intensity, frequency, intervals, for example).

Observation of diseases and their evolution included astrological speculation based on the belief that astral conjunctures have an impact on the sub-lunar world, specifically human health. Astronomical calendars and notation of zodiacal configurations—sometimes presented in a tabular form—were used to predict the cycle(s) of diseases (for the Greek texts, for instance, see the *Corpus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*). Many such treatises were ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus, Egyptian priests or humans who had reached an almost mythical status as Alexander the Great.

Treatment relied on three major techniques: surgery; bleeding, cupping, and cauterization; and pharmaceutical remedies. Surgery, whose available techniques had been the object of an encyclopedic description by Paul of Egina in his *Epitome medicinae* (Paulus Aegineta 1921–1924; on Byzantine surgical instruments, Bliquez 1984; 1999, for instance), was greatly developed in the Arabic world by the Andalusian abu al-Qasim al Zahrawi (936–1013) (Albucasis 1973). It is remarkable that the representations of surgical instruments in the manuscripts of his *Chirurgia* can be used to understand the descriptions of surgical interventions in Paul of Egina's medical encyclopedia, something that allows to identify

the Greek as the source (or one of the sources) of the Arabic. Similarly, both the illustrations of instruments and the descriptions of interventions by al-Qasim provide keys to understand the manual of the late medieval French surgeon Guy de Chauliac (ca. 1300–1368) (Guignon de Caulhiaco 1997). Surgery was used not only for major and minor interventions (from separation of siamese children to the extraction of kidney or bladder stones, and the treatment of all cases of wounds) but also for orthopedics, including bone manipulations, fractures and bandages (all of which are best known through the so-called tenth-century Greek manuscript of Niketas provided with graphic representations of the several techniques described in the text [Bernabò, ed., 2010]) (e.g., Savage-Smith 2000 on Arabo-Islamic surgery; Park 1998 on late medieval surgery).

Bleeding, cupping, and cauterization were minor interventions. Whereas bleeding (by means of a razor or by applying leeches) aimed to deplete excesses of the physiological humors (specifically blood) supposedly responsible for the pathologies to be treated, cupping was used to attract the matter allegedly causing a disturbance to a specific point of the body in order to reduce its effect on the affected organ. Similarly, cauterization was applied on certain points of the body to burn pathological matter, to make the matter of the body denser by eliminating the excess of moisture or to close wounds. All these techniques of depletion, derivation and burning of the pathogenic cause were complemented by application of irritating cataplasms with the same function as cupping, by vomiting provoked by means of emetics, and by purging with cathartics, all being aimed to eliminate pathogenic substances out of the body.

Medieval pharmaceutical therapy has been occasionally researched (for Byzantium, for example, Kritikos and Papadaki 1969; Stannard 1984; Scarborough 1984; Papathomopoulos 1990; Schmitz 1998, 205–17; Marganne 2006). The preparation of remedies relied on a range of natural substances that varied throughout the Middle Ages and the Mediterranean area. The early Western Middle Ages had a less extended variety of available medicinal plants because of the nature of its environment, not as rich in biodiversity as the Mediterranean world (Opsomer 1989; Stirling 1995–1998). Medieval physicians relied on a limited number of native botanical species in a way that is reminiscent of the Hippocratic tradition. Nevertheless, during the Middle Ages oriental spices and drugs were fairly well known, the trade of which was probably never interrupted, however rarified it might have been at some times. Indeed, the trade of eastern drugs that flourished in the Roman Empire did not decrease during the medieval centuries, even though it certainly fluctuated (Riddle 1965). Nevertheless, plantations of botanical species native of a determined environment in the East that had been successfully introduced in the Mediterranean world in Antiquity and cultivated up to the sixth/seventh centuries such as the balsam tree—native from southern Arabia—

did not survive the Arabic conquest. These plantations were no longer taken care of and plants returned to a wild species. Balsam was no longer available as it was in previous centuries and it became expensive. Instead, drug trade along the Silk Road was never interrupted, although it may have moved from the maritime route to the land one, with several variants in its itinerary (Touwaide and Appetiti 2013). The acquisition of silk worms in Byzantium in the sixth century is a proof of the continuity of the Road. Later on, the Arabic empire cut the direct Sino-Mediterranean road, without interrupting the traffic of basic products needed for the production of medicine products along the Road however, since the Arabic Empire almost connected the extremities of that-time world, from the frontier of China to Andalusia (Scarborough 1984; Stannard 1984; Varella 1995; Touwaide 2002b; McCabe 2009). Not only did the Empire make a long-haul trade of drugs from China to Andalusia possible, but also it fostered the introduction of non-native plants in new environments. This happened in Andalusia as early as the eighth century and also later in Sicily and, from there, on the mainland. As a result, the range of substances for both therapeutic and alimentary purposes was expanded. This transformation of the natural environment and of known vegetable species may contribute to explain the proliferation of treatises of medical botany, regimen of health and works on dietetics—many of which in illustrated manuscripts—that can be traced in the West from the twelfth/thirteenth centuries onward. The introduction, acclimatization and, further on, cultivation of non-native botanical species certainly increased the range of species used for alimentary and therapeutic purposes. At the same time, it may have contributed to generate a higher level of interest in natural products attested by such treatises as the *Circa instans* (*Circa instans* 1939; also Ventura 2007), *Macer Floridus* (*Macer Floridus* 1832; also Crossgrove 1994), the *Tractatus de herbis* (*Tractatus de herbis* 2009), the *Liber de herbis et plantis* by Manfredus de Monte Imperiali (contained in manuscript *Parisinus latinus* 6823 and still unpublished) or the *Liber de virtutibus herbarum* (*Liber de virtutibus herbarum* 2007).

Toxicology with its two sub-fields—venoms (injected intracutaneously by snakes, scorpions and spiders) and poisons (of vegetable, mineral or animal origin and absorbed *per os*, that is, in draughts)—was cultivated throughout the Mediterranean space and the time span under consideration. Such specialized interest may seem to be an adequate response to the natural environment of the Eastern Mediterranean, unless it results from an excessive emphasis of ancient physicians—provided it is not more apparent than real and is artificially created by the hazards of preserved documentation. A more careful observation of texts from Antiquity to the Renaissance reveals that preserved works on toxicology constitute a very unitary body of information which served two main different purposes. On the one hand, it provides relevant data for the treatment of actual

cases of envenomation and accidental poisoning. On the other hand—and possibly more importantly—the analysis of venom and poison as a general category of substances was used as a heuristic instrument for the analysis, understanding, and conceptualisation of the action exercised on the human body by substances originally external to it. The development of such concept was fundamental if the resulting notion could be transferred to therapeutic agents as it could lead to a better comprehension of therapeutics and provide the basis for any theory on the mode of action and ontological status of medicines. It is certainly significant that this epistemological strategy was directly inherited from Antiquity and the research of Diokles of Carystus (fourth/third centuries B.C.E.).

Whereas physicians may have excelled in some specific parts of the medicinal art and have written specialized medical treatises (for example, urology, sphymology or ophthalmology; for ophthalmology, for example, see Renehan 1984; Lascaratos 1999; Lascaratos and Marketos 1991; 1997; 1999; Savage-Smith 1989), it is not clear whether there were medical specialties, apart possibly for gynecology-obstetrics. The medical encyclopedias of the early Byzantine physicians included gynecology and obstetrics. Only later on came specialized treatises like Metrodora's (attested by only one manuscript), of which we still do not know whether it is the work of a female author named Metrodora, a guide for their future life as spouses donated by mothers to their daughters on the occasion of their wedding, or a set of recommendations and prescriptions accumulated over time in the milieu of midwives and possibly also physicians, that was further reorganized and rearranged and subsequently transmitted as the work of a specific author (Congourdeau 1993; Touwaide 2006c). The case of Trotula in the West may not be substantially different (*Trotula* 2001).

Dietetics was the object of much attention for the maintenance of health, the prevention of disease or the treatment of illness. Foodstuffs were inventoried and described (with such information as their best quality [most often defined by its geographical origin such as Damascus plums, for example], the season for the harvest, the tests to detect alterations, sometimes the price, and the techniques for long-term preparation), with their dietary properties, their possible collateral effects and means to counter-balance them, and the ways to prepare them in order to optimize their benefits. Manuals on this topic also included dietary calendars that listed available and recommended foodstuffs all around the year, by season and month.

The care for the physicality of patients went together with an equal attention for the psychological component of human life in both health and disease. In Byzantium and the Arabic World dreams were carefully taken into consideration and books of interpretation provided keys for their understanding (for Byzantium, Oberhelmann 2008, for instance). Although interpretation of dreams dates back

to classical antiquity with the incubatory, therapeutic dreams in the sanctuaries of Asklep̄ios and, later on, in the churches of the Saints Cosmas and Damianos, it has to be stressed that dream interpretation books in Byzantium, which no longer resulted from the incubatory practice but dealt with personal dreams of individuals analyzed by types, seem to have developed with the translation of such Arabic manuals into Greek from the tenth century on (for such an example, Mavroudi 2002). Whatever the case, the psychological component of the illness process—including the support to be provided to incurable patients—was taken care of by the personnel of Byzantine hospitals, who also provided the spiritual, viz. religious, assistance to hospitalized patients.

The exercise of medicine was ruled by legal prescriptions, besides being implicitly or explicitly governed by ethical code(s) (for Byzantium, for example, Grumel 1949; more recently, Stathakopoulos 2013). The Hippocratic *Oath* is attested by a significant number of manuscripts in the Greco-Byzantine world, one of which arranged the layout of the text on the page in such a way to create a cross. The administration of poison was formally prohibited, be it by the Hippocratic *Oath* or local legislative systems. The separation of pharmacy from medicine *stricto sensu* is generally considered to be an acquisition of the Arabic world. Whatever the case, it was included in the *Constitution of Melfi* promulgated in 1231 by the emperor Frederick II and exposed physicians who entered in a society with apothecaries to severe fines and punishment (Zecchino 2002). The cult to the saints Cosmas and Damianos, which developed in the early centuries of Byzantium, resurfaced in the late Western medieval world, but in a completely different form. The *anargyri*—so-identified because they did not perceive any salary for their medical interventions—became the patrons of the guild of apothecaries (Julien et al. 1993).

Pharmaceutical technology underwent major transformations during the Middle Ages, particularly in the Arabic World and, consequently, also in the West (Goltz 1976). The development—or improvement—of distillation made it possible to obtain refined alcohol, which, in turn, generated new products obtained by maceration of medicinal plants in alcohol and distillation of the resulting liquid probably not very different from modern essential oils from a therapeutic viewpoint. Pharmaceutical literature was modified accordingly (Touwaide 2010a), with a new development of the treatises listing medicines by types of pharmaceutical forms in the way of Galen's treatise *De compositione medicamentorum per genera* (*On the Composition of Medicines by Types*). Interestingly, this new organization of pharmaceutical literature has been maintained until well into the sixteenth century as the inventory of prescribed medicines in the *Ricettario fiorentino* of 1498 and the analysis of available medicines on the pharmaceutical market by Antonius Musa Brasavola (1500–1555) make clear.

Drug containers also have been substantially modified in the Arabic world. Their variety (in function of the products to be kept (leaves of plants, flowers, oils, unguents or parts of animals) had been described in great detail by Dioscorides in the preface of *De materia medica* (Dioscorides 1906–1914). Apart from boxwood tubes for dry drugs, tin boxes for unguents and creams, or wooden boxes and light fabrics for leaves and delicate plant parts, drug jars were ceramic recipients whose porosity exposed liquid or semi-liquid drugs to a constant process of oxidation. The Arabic World developed the technique of glazed ceramic. In such recipients, the internal wall is impermeable, something that prevents the oxidation process and contributes therefore to a better preservation of drugs. Furthermore, Arabic ceramists created a specific form for drug recipient, cylindric with a light concavity at half height. Both the technique and the form were diffused from the Eastern part of the Arabic empire to Andalusia, from where they further expanded to Italy. There they particularly flourished in the late Middle Ages and in the subsequent centuries with the drug containers identified by the name of *albarello*. Finally, Arabic craftsmen also transformed the mortar, by reinforcing its outer perimeter with flanges.

J Writing and Reading, Teaching and Studying

Transmission of knowledge, including results of clinical practice, was of paramount importance in medieval medicine (Wallis 1995 for the West, for instance). Writing was not only about compiling all-encompassing encyclopedias (even though it was the case with the late-antique Greek Oribasius, Aetius and Paul of Egina, as well as with the many Arabic physician-thinkers), but also about preserving, constantly improving and passing to the next generations the results of the daily experience of disease and therapeutics (for the Byzantine world, for example, see the works of Theophilus [Theophilus 1944; Ieraci Bio 1996], Paul of Nicaea, Romanos [Romanus 1944], Iohannes Archiater [Iohannes Archiater 2000], Demetrios Pepagomenos [Demetrius Pepagomenus 2003], Iohannes Zacharias Actuarius [Hohlweg 1984], or Nicolaus Myrepsus [Goltz 1976] for example, not all of which are available in scholarly editions corresponding to contemporary standards), above all in hospitals (for therapeutic formularies in Byzantium, for instance, Kousis 1928; Jeanselme 1930; Bennett 2003; Horden 2013).

Knowledge preservation, besides being exposed to transmission errors provoked by manual transmission, has been repeatedly transformed because of the changes in its vehicle, be it its matter, its shape and its writing systems. The matter of book passed from papyrus to parchment possibly as early as the fourth century C.E. if not earlier, and to paper already in the tenth century in the Arabic

world and from the late thirteenth century on in Byzantium and the West, first with Arabic paper (of Oriental or Western, that is, Andalusian, origin) and then with western paper, mainly produced in Italy and to a lesser extent also in Southern France. As for the shape of the book, the *rotulus* typical of papyrus became a *codex* during the period from the third/fourth to the sixth century. Writing systems also were modified in both the Greek and Latin speaking worlds, with the passage from majuscule and the *scriptio continua* to the minuscule and word spacing, in the ninth century in the Byzantine world and in the late eighth century in the Carolingian world.

Many books containing major medical treatises—contrary to notebooks of physicians—were illustrated. Whereas in the Byzantine world, preserved illustrated manuscripts are almost exclusively about materia medica, particularly medicinal plants (Touwaide 2008b) with the exception of the corpus of surgeons in the so-called Niketas codex (Bernabò, ed., 2010), in the Arabic and Latin worlds illustrated medical manuscripts come from a broader range of medical disciplines, anatomy and physiology, gynecology and pregnancy, surgery and therapeutics (*Médecine au temps des califes*, 1996; Jones 1998, for example). There seems to have been a more specific interest in medicinal plants and illustrated herbals in the West from the thirteenth century onward (Collins 2000), attested by large manuscripts, sometimes with plant representations on the full surface of the folios and sometimes also with true botanical albums, that is, codices of previously illustrated texts containing only the illustrations of such texts, with captions. In the case of the *Tacuinum sanitatis*, in which information was tabulated and consequently reduced to single terms in the relevant cells of the tables, the loss of information provoked by this mode of presentation and the transformation, on the occasion of translations from Arabic to Latin, from tables to an unstructured text juxtaposing the discrete pieces of information that made up the content of the cells in the tabulated form, was compensated by illustrations which staged the materia medica and suggested in a visual language the properties of the substances (or human activity) and any other relevant information previously contained in texts on materia medica, but no more present in the tabular presentation.

Most of the medical institutions that can be identified in the medieval world had a library with more or less extended collections (e.g., Wilson 1975). From the *Vivarium* of Cassiodorus to the many libraries of the Arabic world with specialized scientific collections, and the hospitals that can be traced up to fourteenth-century Byzantium, libraries played a fundamental role in the medieval medical world, also because books were the support of learning. Many such libraries suffered from political upheavals. The famous library of Alexandria dating back to the foundation of the city and its Museum in the late third century B.C.E., has

been supposed for a long time to have been burnt by the Arabs whereas it was probably victim of the Roman troops in the first century B.C.E. (provided it was not a deposit of books that burnt at that time). Most libraries in Constantinople were ravaged by the Latin troops of the Fourth Crusade (1204–1261) and had their books reappearing in other libraries after the reconstruction of the city. This was also the case of medical books, which entered the collections of hospitals (Touwaide 2006b; on medicine during the Crusades, Mitchell 2004). Similarly, the conquest of Baghdad by the Mongols in 1258 went together with the destruction of several collections and, possibly, the emigration of scientists and physicians westward, that is, to Byzantium (Touwaide 2002a).

Books and texts were the support of teaching (Wilson 1975; 1983 for Byzantium). The late antique Alexandrian commentaries on Hippocratic and Galenic treatises, as well as their Western, possibly Ravennate, equivalents show how their texts were used in teaching practice (Nutton 1984). The texts were fragmented in coherent topical units whose lexicon was duly explained and commented on in order to lead in a second phase to a more synthetic perception of the content (Dietz, ed., 1834; Pritchett, ed., 1982; Duffy, ed., 1983; Westerink, ed., 1985–1995; Dickson 1998 for the Alexandrian commentaries, and Westerink, ed., 1981; Palmieri 1981 for the Latin commentaries; for the tradition of such commentaries within the Alexandrian school, for example, see Wolska-Conus 1992; 1994; 1996; 1998; 2000). The use of such texts in later periods or the production of similar works suggest that this method was practiced throughout the Middle Ages. The Arabic World did not proceed in a different way (Brockelmann 1898–1902; 1937; 1938; 1942; Sezgin 1970; Ullmann 1970) in the *madrasat* (schools) often adjacent to Mosques and teaching all branches of knowledge from theology to sciences, passing through law and literature, even though teaching may have been more personalized. Students sometimes traveled long distances to become the pupils of famous masters and learn the practice of medicine by assiduously frequenting such masters with whom they read major works, discussed clinical cases, and sometimes even shared their daily life (Leiser 1983).

Formal teaching took place in schools of different size and locations through the centuries. In the early Byzantine World, Alexandria was the major place for learning, above all sciences, but also philosophy, whereas Athens was more specialized on philosophy. After the closing of Athens school by Justinian in 529, Alexandria was the most important school in the Eastern Mediterranean World. The Arabic conquest in the early seventh century led to the closing of the Alexandrian school and the emigration of its teachers to Constantinople, where Alexandrian professors had already started to move in the sixth century. In Italy, the Byzantine Ravenna emulated the Alexandrian model for a certain time. In the West, the early medieval centuries saw the development of local schools often

attached to a monastery or a major church, unless they were later promoted by the political authority and hosted at the court or in monasteries under the protection of the political authority. The rising of Baghdad as the major Arabic scientific center has been the subject of different reconstructions with a transfer supposedly from Alexandria and an itinerary allegedly passing through Harran. In effect, the Syriacs, located between the Byzantine and the Arabic empires, played a key role as intermediaries (Bhayro 2005; Serikoff 2013, for example). It is not sure that the school of Gondishapur was a major intermediary in this transfer of knowledge, contrary to traditional medical historiography (Schöfler 1979; 1982; Richter-Bernburg 2004a, to be contrasted with Nutton 1984). Cordova and Kairouan were the seats of flourishing schools. The former was in contact with Constantinople and the latter originally had in its walls Constantine identified as the African, who is credited with the launching of the translation activity of Arabic medicine into Latin in the West. Salerno, where Constantine moved, had regular exchanges with Constantinople (including Greek texts further translated into Latin such as Nemesius, *De natura hominis* encapsulating Christian anthropology, which was Latinized by Alfano in the eleventh century). Further to Constantine's activity at the neighboring abbey of Monte Cassino and the renewal of medical literature it contributed to provoke in the west, Salerno became a center that attracted scholars from afar (Jacquart and Paravicini Bagliani 2008). It is by no means sure it had a formal school contrary to the legend according to which such structured institution was founded by a Christian, a Jew and an Arab. Teaching in the West underwent a major transformation thanks to the creation of universities as educational organizations regulated by the civil authority (Rashdal 1895). Bologna, usually considered as the first (1088), was shortly followed by Paris, Oxford and many others including, in the field of medicine, Montpellier and Padua in the thirteenth century (on universities and their activity see, for example, Siraisi 2001 for Italy). The university world created a different way to reproduce the textbooks needed by students: the *pecia*, that is, the rental of master copies divided in quires. In the Byzantine world, the most important medical school of the late period (fourteenth and fifteenth century), the *xenodocheion* of the Kral, remained a monastic institution, even though its teaching covered all domains of knowledge in the way of Western universities. It was frequented by Western scientists (such as Pietro d'Abano [Touwaide 2008d]) and, conversely, some of its teachers spent some time in a Western university (Ioannes Argyropoulos in Padua, for instance [Touwaide 1999]).

Books and texts were also read individually. Some physicians were avid readers and book hunters as the case of Avicenna indicates. Most physicians probably consulted the books of the libraries in the institutions where they practiced medicine and annotated them in the margins, not only for their personal

use, but also for their community to take advantage of their knowledge, experience, and observations, when they were not also copyists (Gamillscheg 1999).

Such interaction with the text (Mondrain 2003 for the late Byzantine Empire, for instance) included the practice of editing reference works. This activity was not limited to reproducing annotated texts and agglutinating or absorbing into the body of the text possible corrections and marginal annotations in order to generate a unitary, clean text, but also included actual scholarly editing *stricto sensu*. In these cases, several manuscripts of the same work were sought and collated, and a new text was produced (e.g., Touwaide 2006a). The search for multiple manuscripts of a specific treatise may contribute to explain the existence of multiple translations of the same work, each new being made when one or more manuscripts considered better were found.

The process of agglutination of texts can probably be best seen in the case of the so-called *Articella*, or *Small Art of Medicine*. This set of texts was possibly created at Salerno or even at Monte Cassino in the late eleventh century. Originally, it contained the *Liber Ysagogarum* (that is, the Latin translation of the Arabic version of Galen, *Technê*), the Latin version of the Hippocratic *Aphorisms* and the *Prognostics*, and Theophilus, *On Urine*, together with Philaretus, *On Pulse*. Such collection of material of different origins created a coherent set, however limited it was: general principles of medicine (*Aphorisms*) and introduction to medicine (*Liber Ysagogarum*), together with diagnosis (*On Urine* and *On Pulse*) and prognosis (*Prognostics*). The original nucleus was further expanded, possibly as early as the end of the twelfth century with Galen, *De tegni* (*Art*) and the *Regimen in Acute Diseases* of Hippocrates in the Latin version of Gerardo da Cremona (d. 1187).

Whereas the world of classical antiquity was almost monolingual Greek or Latin (although medical treatises of the early Roman empire relied at least in part on the translation of Greek works), the medieval world was one of linguistic multiplicity. Byzantium was neighbored by Armenian, Georgian, Syriac and Coptic communities and, later on, also by Arabic, Slavic and Turkish ones. The Arabo-Islamic Empire brought together mainly Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit speaking populations (besides many other regional languages), and the West was at least quadri-lingual, Latin, Greek and, later on, Arabic and Hebrew. Trans-linguistic transmission of knowledge occupied an important place in medieval medical activity (Touwaide 2010b). Some such programs are well known: the assimilation of previous science (not only Greek, but also Persian and Sanskrit) by the Arabic World, mediated through the Syriacs (above); the recuperation of Greek science through its Arabic versions launched by Constantine the African (above); the translation of Arabic written legacy (including science and medicine) into Latin at Toledo by several scholars such as Gerardo da Cremona, and the translation into Latin of Greek medical literature directly from the Greek—and no

longer from its Arabic versions—by Burgundio of Pisa (ca. 1100–1193), Arnaldo da Vilanova (ca. 1240–1311) in Montpellier (leading to what has been called the *New Galen*), possibly also Pietro d’Abano (ca. 1250–1315 or 1316) in Padua, and Niccolò da Reggio (ca. 1280–ca. 1350). Scientists procured Greek manuscripts—sometimes directly from Constantinople as it seems to be the case with Albertus Magnus (d. 1280) and Ioannikios—and sometimes by traveling themselves to Constantinople—as did Burgundio and Pietro d’Abano. Less known in its process, but no less important, is the translation of Greek and Salernitan medicine into Serbian attested by the so-called *Chilandar manuscript*. Besides these major processes, there were many others not necessarily going from Greek to Arabic and from Arabic to Latin but the opposite way, and not necessarily from the capitals of the empires to lesser centers, and by learned scholars, but the other way around and by practitioners. twelfth-century Sicily and the South of continental Italy were active centers where Arabic medical treatises were translated into Greek. The best—but not necessarily most known—example is the so-called *Efodia*, that is, the translation into Greek of the *zâd al musafir wa qut al-hadir* (*Manual for the Traveler and Provisions for the Sedentary*) by Ibn al-Jazzar (Ibn Al-Jazzar 1998 [sixth book only of the Arabic text]). Translation was not made in a scholarly milieu, but most probably by Arabic and Greek speaking practitioners who may not have been bilingual, but worked in collaboration (although they also may have used an international *lingua franca* made of loans from both languages).

This and other similar translations made their way up to Constantinople, thus moving from the periphery to the center (Touwaide 2008c). Another relevant case is the translation of medical treatises from Arabic into Greek possibly in Constantinople and surely in the Byzantine Empire, attested as early as the late tenth century and massively in late thirteenth and in the fourteenth century, not only in medicine but also in such other scientific field as astronomy (Tihon 2000). If some Byzantine scientists did travel in the territory of the former Arabic Empire, it is most probably that there has been a massive emigration of Arabic scientists after the capture of Baghdad in 1258 by the Mongols (Kousis 1939; more recently, Touwaide 1997; 2002a and b; 2004a; followed by Mavroudi 2006). Possibly during the same period, there were also translations from Greek into Latin in Constantinople, perhaps as a result of the Fourth Crusade (1204–1261) (Touwaide 2006b). Translations of Greek medical treatises into Arabic may have reached areas afar, with Greek compound medicines being attested in China in the sixteenth century, where they arrived through the Persians. Characteristically enough, the names of medicines are the Greek ones transliterated into Arabic alphabet (and adapted to Arabic phonetic) and these Arabic names have been preserved in the Chinese text instead of being properly rendered by means of Chinese characters (Touwaide and Appetiti 2013).

As the Chinese example indicates, translation (whatever the source and the target languages) met with the problem of the impossibility to render technical terms of the source language into the target one. This process has been often attributed to the fact that translators ignored the translation of these terms. In reality, things may have been more complex: not only did such terms carry an implicit meaning in their Greek form (such as the etymology of compound plant names with similar components [e.g., *chruso-*]), but also their preservation in the target language may have added a cachet of authenticity and a pedigree to the translated text (Touwaide 2009b). Whatever the case, this practice created a *lingua franca* that was neither of the source and target languages and that may not have been understood any longer outside the context in which they were created. Bilingual lexica and more ample dictionaries were necessary in order to provide the meaning of such hybrids (Touwaide 2000). The most comprehensive such dictionary was compiled toward the end of the thirteenth century in the West by Simo Januaensis, who is considered to have concluded the translation period in medieval medicine. It might be significant that at almost the same time Pietro d'Abano compiled a synthesis of all interpretations of classical philosophy, natural philosophy and medicine that made the substance of university teaching and intellectual debates at the turn of the thirteenth to the fourteenth century, trying to reconcile them as he made clear from the title of the work: *Conciliator differentiarum philosophorum [et] medicorum*.

Translation activity during the Middle Ages was not limited to the major classical languages (Greek, Latin, Arabic and Hebrew [on the latter, Lieber 1984; García Ballester 1994, for example]), but was also made in the direction of the developing vernaculars. As early as late antiquity, the Anglo-Saxon world, for example, received from Byzantium medico-therapeutic texts that have been the productive source of a long-lasting tradition (Talbot and Hammond 1965; Getz 1981; 1998; Hunt 1990; 1992; 1994; 1997; Rawcliffe 1995; for a specific individual, Demaitre 1980). The rise of the vernacular combined with the politico-military affirmation of nations/areas such as Italy (for a recent edition of an Italian medical treatise, Prio 2011), France (Wickersheimer 1926; Jacquart 1979; 1981) or Spain (McVaugh 1993).

K The End of the Middle Ages

Whereas Byzantium was increasingly pressured by the Ottoman troops and was reduced to its capital, the territories once in the Arabo-Islamic empire were living a political reorganization characterized by the gradual elimination of the Arabic presence in Spain (the *Reconquista*), the rising of Mamluk Egypt and the creation

of the Ottoman empire covering most of the Eastern Mediterranean area. Contrary to a traditional historiography, the practice of science and medicine did not come to a halt in the Arabic speaking world. During the same period, several individuals emerged in the West. They came from different backgrounds and made differentiated contributions that represent well the multiplicity of aspects of medicine during the late Middle ages, from Taddeo Alderotti (between 1206 and 1215–1295) at the university of Bologna to Jacopo Berengario da Carpi (1460–1530), who explored human anatomy and is considered a precursor of Andreas Vesalius. The practice of scholastic commentary on, and disputation about, classical and founding texts of medicine, science and philosophy (Jacquart 1993), also including their interpreters, went together with the development of a new genre of medical literature, the *consilia*, which were long-distance consultations and, indirectly also, devices for personal promotion and career advancement and, to some lesser extent, teaching (Agrimi and Crisciani 1994). Among the individuals who left an imprint in the late medieval centuries in the West, one could mention Mondino de Luzzi (ca. 1270–1316), an anatomist and surgeon who taught in Bologna; Dino del Garbo (ca. 1280–1327), who studied with Taddeo Alderotti, commented on Avicenna, and taught in several universities, including Bologna and Padua; Gentile da Foligno (d. 1348), famous for his practice of anatomy; Giacomo della Torre, best known as Jacopo da Forlì (ca. 1360–1414), another professor who exercised in several universities in northern Italy, from Bologna to Padua, and commented on a broad spectrum of medical works in use at that time; and the Sienese Ugo Benzi (1376–1439), who was a brilliant teacher commenting on the corpus of works used in universities, and a practitioner whose services were much sought after.

In the meantime, the Byzantine Empire fell on May 29th, 1453. Many Byzantines in exile contributed to the increase in the diffusion of Greek medicine in the West that had already started before the Fall of Constantinople. The rediscovery of the works of classical antiquity in their supposed purity (instead of their Byzantine versions, their Arabic translations, and the Western epiphenomena they were supposed to have generated) provoked a rejection of medieval medicine, considered to have altered the Greek legacy. A leading figure in the reintroduction and revival of the medicine of classical antiquity was the Ferrarese physician Nicolao Leonicensio (1428–1524) who recommended to abandon the medieval therapeutic practice and to return to Dioscorides, to the first printed edition of whose Greek text he collaborated with the Venetian printer and publisher Aldo Manuzio. In so doing, Leonicensio rejected the experience painstakingly accumulated over the centuries, generation after generation (Touwaide 2007c).

None of the late-medieval physicians or first-generation humanists—including Leonicensio—concluded the medieval period, as the use of Avicenna's *Canon*,

for example, indicates, since it was taught until late in the sixteenth century in Renaissance universities (Siraisi 1987). In such a renowned university as Montpellier, its text was mandatory until 1542, when Bishop Guillaume Pellicier (ca. 1490–1568) did bring Greek texts from Venice where he had been Ambassador of France to the *Serenissima*. Among such texts was Dioscoride's, *De materia medica*, which he introduced in the teaching of remedial therapeutics (Touwaide 2007d). Interestingly enough, these years are also those of the foundation of the botanic gardens of Pisa and Padua, and of the Belgian Andreas Vesalius (1514–1564), whose anatomical explorations and their graphic rendering rematerialized the human body putting an end to its immaterial approach inaugurated more than ten centuries earlier by Christian anthropology. Through his *De humani corporis fabrica* published in 1542, Vesalius might have contributed more than any humanist to the end of medieval medicine. At least he generated a knowledge that compensated for the lacunae of Christian anthropology developed more than ten centuries earlier, and put in place epistemologic and heuristic techniques that made it possible to rapidly make this anthropology obsolete.

In the Ottoman World, the Greek speaking populations perpetuated the medieval, viz. Byzantine, tradition, which they wrote down in what is generally known as the *iatrosophia*, that is, handwritten manuals of medicine often presented by their title as containing the works of Hippocrates, Nemesius (or Meletius), Dioscorides and Galen. This Post-Byzantine tradition survived the Fall of Constantinople for centuries, until the Independence of Greece in the early nineteenth century and even later.

L The Next Frontier

From the beginning of the first decade of the twenty-first century, the history of medieval medicine is undergoing a deep modification. The rapid changes in medical investigative techniques, specifically medical imaging and ancient DNA, have made it possible to exponentially expand the range of evidence to be used to reconstruct the history of medieval populations, provided reliable archeological material is available, contamination can be avoided, and laboratory results can be duplicated in one or more other units than that (or those) where results were first obtained. As a consequence, there has been an increasing medicalization of history—from the confirmation that historical plague epidemics were provoked by *Yersinia pestis* for example (Schuenemann et al. 2013) to the reconstruction of Richard III's face, for instance, on the basis of his skull—and, conversely, a displacement of the center of gravity of medical history, which is moving from the humanities to laboratories (e.g., Gibbons 2013).

Medical history in this new form may contribute to clarify historical events and moments apparently unexplainable. On the basis of the identification of malaria on skeletons in a fifth-century cemetery north of Rome, for example, it has been suggested that the volte-face of Attila (d. 453) in 452 might have resulted from his awareness of the presence of the disease in the area, which would have weakened, if not decimated, his troops had he entered the region. Be that as it may, there is, in a certain sense, a dispossession of medieval medical history and medico-historical research from medieval scholars. The discipline is now a collaborative investigation, multi-disciplinary in nature, whose center of gravity is now in archeological fields and laboratories (where the remains of the subjects of medicine, that is, the humans, can be found and analyzed, respectively), rather than only or mostly in libraries, archives and other documentary repositories. It is indeed the scientific analysis of human remains that provides now the evidence that becomes the primary source of the medico-historical investigation and helps understand the written record of practice. This transformation is also modifying the publication panorama and geography. Traditional historical monographs, through still published and desirable, are not necessarily the main or the only arena for cutting-edge research, which is now published in high-impact international scientific journals, be they *Science*, *Nature* or the *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, for example.

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Medieval Manuscripts

A Manufacturing the Leaves of a Manuscript Book

Although texts have been incised on stone, clay, bone, metal, wood, wax, and other media (Clemens and Graham 2007, 3), the earliest manuscripts surviving from antiquity were mostly written on papyrus sheets, a reed-pulp substrate that, when manufactured into rolls (scrolls), could be repeatedly unspooled (Lewis 1974). Pith fibers stripped from inside the papyrus reed were laid at right angles and pressed to form a single sheet. Multiple sheets could be glued together to create a roll, although papyrus was also used to manufacture codices (books with leaves). Only the inside or “recto” of a roll was written on, the outside or “verso” left blank. Popular for writings either memorized or to be memorized, the roll was eclipsed by the codex among fourth-century Christians, for economy and convenience (Roberts and Skeat 1983), but also arguably in reaction to the format of the Torah and in appreciation of the Christian method of comparing Scriptural references. While the roll was awkward for textual analysis, the codex enabled users to compare multiple sources efficiently. The Christian monopoly on learning in the Latin West meant that texts transmitted on papyrus rolls were ultimately copied into codices. The roll format nevertheless survived in some medieval texts like the *Compendium Historiae in Genealogia Christi* by Peter of Poitiers (ca. 1130–ca. 1215), genealogical chronicles, prayer texts intended for memorization, and documentary records (Frankpledge rolls, Pipe Rolls) (Clemens and Graham 2007, 250–58). Torah scrolls continued to be produced on leather throughout the period.

The basic unit of the medieval codex is the “bifolium,” a parchment sheet folded in half. “Parchement” refers to animal hides soaked in lime, scraped, gently stretched, scraped again, dried, scraped again, and cut into sheets for writing (de Hamel 1992, 8–12; Quandt and Noel 2001, 14; Clemens and Graham 2007, 9–13). The term “vellum” can be used interchangeably, although it designates calf-skin, etymologically. Hides of sheep, goats, and calves were commonly used to make parchment, each having slightly different appearances when processed, sometimes depending on the animal’s coloration. Imperfections in the hides caused by injury, including insect bites, and flaying might lead to holes or slits in the parchment (Clemens and Graham 2007, 11). Processing with a curved blade called a *lunellum* (*lunarium*) could likewise damage membranes. Damaged sheets were often stitched up but holes frequently survive in medieval manuscripts. Scribes wrote around them.

Whole animal skins were used for large choir books, the sheets of which could exceed twelve square feet, but each processed skin could be halved over and over to produce diminutive manuscripts. The thickness of parchment depended largely on the extent of scraping during production. The thinnest “uterine vellum,” allegedly from the hides of stillborn animals, arguably represents a thinly scraped or split membrane (de Hamel 1992, 16). Since parchment was considered durable, the production of diaphanous membrane in the early thirteenth century seems counterintuitive, but the material enabled entire bibles to be written in a single lightweight volume. Even undesirable parchment fragments, such as pieces trimmed off near the legs, tail, and neck, could be used to make manuscripts (Clemens and Graham 2007, 12). The most durable writing foundation ever devised, parchment spread to Europe with the diffusion of Christianity because it could be made anywhere, while papyrus could only be manufactured in Egypt.

Once prepared, parchment sheets were tacketed (laced together with a thin parchment tab; Clemens and Graham 2007, 15) or folded into “quires” (“gatherings” of bifolia) that, for most of medieval Europe, consisted of eight sheets (“quaternions”) or ten (“quinions”). Throughout medieval Europe the hair side of a bifolium appeared on the outside of a quire. Because the “hair” and “flesh” sides had different appearances—the hair side typically yellower—the common practice of placing like against like created a uniform page opening. Flexible configurations of smaller quires (e.g., trinions, deuterions) could complete volumes less wastefully. Single folia could be stitched or glued into books as well. Larger quires of twelve to twenty leaves, or (exceptionally) twenty-four can be found in small bibles and breviaries with tissue-thin vellum. Alternatively, the large membranes may simply have been folded and cut (possibly after copying), like modern printed books (de Hamel 1992, 19). A formula designating quires by Roman numerals and folios by superscript Arabic numbers conveys the structure of a medieval book. The hypothetical formula $I^{12} + II^{10} + III^2$ means that the first quire consists of twelve folios, the second of ten, and the third of two. Refinements to this shorthand identify added, removed, or substituted folios.

Due to Moslem influence in the Mediterranean, paper first appeared in manuscripts from Mozarabic Spain around the middle of the twelfth century (de Hamel 1992, 16; Bloom 2001, 206–09). Its manufacture spread to Italy by the second half of the twelfth century (Bloom 2001, 209–12), but paper for manuscript books became popular in Mediterranean Europe only in the fourteenth century, when the price, quality, familiarity, and commercial availability made it advantageous. Paper was not widely employed in Germany until the fifteenth century, and entirely imported into England until the very end of the fifteenth century. To make thick, pliant medieval paper, macerated and retted (fermented) flex, hemp, or

linen rags were literally beaten, separating the fibers into a slurry of pulp (Hunter 1967, 175–79; Clemens and Graham 2007, 7). A wire mesh papermold was dipped into the pulp and lifted, depositing a layer of overlapping fibers onto the frame. The mesh was formed of “chain-lines” running vertically on the frame which anchored a weave of thinner “laid-lines” running horizontally. Because the pulp was slightly more transparent along these lines, the paper retained this woven pattern. Paper stocks can sometimes be localized and dated by water-marks, a “trademark” image created by wire twisted onto the wire mesh (Briquet 1907). After the water drained from the frame, the sheets were pressed (“couched”) and dried. Low acidity made paper long-lasting, but its disadvantages included greater susceptibility to water, mold, and insect damage, and, though sized (coated to hold ink), disintegration from corrosive inks. In the fifteenth century paper was reserved for university texts, memoranda, ledgers, and notarial records (de Hamel 1992, 16), but by the end of the period one finds prayer books and liturgical volumes made of paper, especially in Germany and the Netherlands. Many classical texts and commentaries were copied on paper in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italy, where commercial production had lasted longest. Considered inferior to vellum, paper was seldom used for illuminated books until the second half of the fifteenth century, largely in Germany.

The quires were prepared for writing by ruling vertical and horizontal bounding lines. Laying down a rule (ruler) on “prickings” (tiny holes) in the margins enabled scribes to produce straight lines (Quandt and Noel 2001, 15; de Hamel 1992, 20–21). Different instruments—a knife, awl, or spiked wheel—could be used to make the pricks (de Hamel 1992, 23–25). Prickings were sometimes intended to be planed off during binding. Either open sheets or folded quires could be ruled. Up to the early twelfth century a hard metal stylus was commonly used to incise lines on the parchment (“hard-point ruling”), leaving furrows on one side of a sheet and ridges on the other (de Hamel 1992, 23; Clemens and Graham 2007, 15–17). Over time these lines became less visible. From the twelfth century a blunter lead or “plummet” stylus became widespread (Clemens and Graham 2007, 16–17). This change meant that leaves were ruled individually. Graphite was less common for ruling, but ink was frequently used after 1400, often pink or violet in Books of Hours (also called *Horae*), for which ruling became decorative. Paper manuscripts, too, were commonly ruled in ink. A “rake” was frequently used to rule four- and five-line staves for music manuscripts (de Hamel 1992, 25). Modeled on Carolingian archetypes, many Italian humanist manuscripts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were ruled using a frame strung with cord or wire. Laid onto this frame, the parchment (almost exclusively goat-skin) was rubbed to produce lines resembling those made by a stylus (de Hamel 1992, 25).

Ruling enabled scribes to copy uniform, legible pages. Bounding lines defined the textblock on all sides, the height of the textblock typically equal to the width of the page (de Hamel 1992, 21). Folios were ruled according to the texts they were intended to receive, and some rulings were complicated. Ruled in three columns, for example, glossed bibles of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries usually had multiple vertical and horizontal bounding lines so that the text space could be expanded, or used flexibly for colored initials (de Hamel 1984, 16). The central column of a glossed bible contained the scriptural text, written on every other line, while the *Glossa Ordinaria* filled the surrounding lines (Smith 2001, 45–47). Most medieval books, however, were ruled with one or two columns. Bibles and breviaries conventionally had two columns, while Books of Hours and missals had one. Four columns per page are found in ancient bibles like the Codex Sinaiticus and in addenda to small bibles, such as the *Interpretation of Hebrew Names*, and arguably influenced by the eight-column opening of a Torah scroll. Unruled books were informal (de Hamel 1992, 20–21).

B Writing the Manuscript Book

Once the parchment was ruled, a text could be copied. Scribe, patron, and tradition doubtless influenced the layout (*mise-en-page*) of most manuscripts, which were carefully planned, especially in the early period when scribes also contributed artwork (Alexander 1992, 4–34). With some exceptions from Renaissance Italy (Clemens and Graham 2007, 9), the pages were written before binding. The procedure for copying is undocumented, and while a sequential copying of leaves in an unbound gathering seems most plausible, one extant parchment sheet has been copied before folding into a quire (de Hamel 1992, 25). Standard ink recipes of lampblack (soot) mixed with gelatinous gum Arabic and water (de Hamel 1992, 32; Clemens and Graham 2007, 19), or oak galls (a source of tannic acid) boiled with iron sulfate (vitriol) made uncorrosive, dark, and normally indelible inks (de Hamel 1992, 32; Quandt and Noel 2001, 16). Recipes could vary, however. Vegetable and mineral pigments supplied multi-colored inks and paints, especially red, the color for rubrication, and blue, a “contrasting” color used in decoration and for initials large and small. Illustrations in manuscripts show inkwells made from animal horns or pressed leather; fired clay pans (bowls) held paints. Numerous inkpots at a writing desk would probably have contained black, red, and blue ink.

Bird feathers (chiefly goose quills) were adapted as pens by trimming the barbs and hardening the sodden tips in hot sand, after which the quills could be shaved with a penknife (de Hamel 1992, 29). A number of skillful cuts and slits

would yield a pen that, through surface tension, dispersed ink evenly from the barrel. The nib could be narrowed to produce the tiniest letters (de Hamel 1992, 27–29). Because the ink density changes as the supply runs out, the quill requires attentive dipping, and the pot constant mixing, otherwise the letters will look inconsistent. When the nib wore down, it had to be re-cut to the same dimensions. Infrequently, one can detect when the quill was re-charged or the pen re-cut. Late medieval illuminations of scribes sometimes show multiple pens, suggesting either one quill per color or the readying of pens for efficiency. A reed could be used to form large letters of substantial width, like those in a choir book.

Most illustrations of scribes show acts of composition rather than copying, sometimes on scrolls and *pugillares* (tablets hollowed out and filled with dyed beeswax; Büll 1977), or even in bound volumes. A few, however, suggest that copying was done at a lectern (de Hamel 1992, 35). Bound or unbound exemplars (*exemplaria*) were positioned on a sloping stand above a steeply-tilted writing-desk. The copy-text might be held in the lap as well. The angle was ergonomic, for the quill had to be held perpendicular to the writing plane for efficient function (de Hamel 1992, 29). Adjustable weights tied to string held down the parchment sheets on exemplar and copy-text, while gentle pressure from the penknife prevented the support from flexing—and was handy for correction. The same weight on the exemplar rested above the line being copied. The desk was outfitted with holes for inkhorns and quills. It has been alleged that disbound manuscripts were copied by quire to expedite their reproduction (Clemens and Graham 2007, 22), though considerable problems of layout could arise from this method (Gwara 1994). Continuous copying, on the other hand, would have to allow time for the ink to dry twice for every bifolium, a significant inefficiency (Quandt and Noel 2001, 17). Yet images of scribes copying onto rolls of parchment overlaid by weights suggest either that the ink dried quickly or was not susceptible to smearing. Many individuals could contribute to a single manuscript, sometimes in remarkably short stints. Idiosyncrasies in the handwriting reveal the various contributions. The invention of the lens in the thirteenth century may have aided miniaturization of manuscript books, in which some letters are barely a millimeter high. A portrait of illuminator Simon Bening (1483–1561) shows him holding “eyeglasses,” which are just as likely to be lenses for his miniature artwork (de Hamel 1992, 63–4).

Manuscript layouts were planned by the copyist or a principal scribe, if the copying was collaborative. Planning would not only include determining the size of page, number of lines, or placement of glosses, but also plotting space for illumination, decoration, and headings. Original compositions were doubtless transferred to parchment after being composed on *schedulae* (strips of waste parchment), *pugillares*, or paper. Copying from an exemplar seems different, and

we cannot even be certain whether scribes were reading, let alone interpreting, what they copied. In many cases scribes simply copied letters *pari passu*, while in other cases they seem to have subvocalized the text, memorizing a few words. Capturing phrases too long for easy recall can generate disordered or erroneous words. Smudged or malformed letters might be misread and set down as nonsense. While familiar alphabets presumably enhanced accuracy, some exemplars could be ancient or foreign, have unfamiliar words (e.g., transliterated Greek), or be written with eccentric ligatures (combined letters), and abbreviations, all of which could engender errors.

Most texts from the Middle Ages were composed in Latin, an inflected language with common word-endings, like *-us*, *-ibus*, *-tur*, and with frequent terms like *et* (“and”), *qui* (“who, what”), *quoniam* (“since”), *per* (“through”), and the like (Cappelli et al. 2011). The expense of parchment and the value of labor gave rise to scores of abbreviations saving space and time. The commonest ones included the “nasal suspension,” a single line above a vowel indicating an omitted *m* or *n*. A small horizontal line above a *p* signaled “pr(a)e,” while an angled stroke through the descender meant “pro,” and a straight line “per.” Holy names (*nomina sacra*) like *deus* (“God”), *iesus* (“Jesus”), and *cristus* (“Christ”), and common Christian vocabulary such as *sanctus* (“holy”), *ecclesia* (“church”), and *miser cordia* (“pity”) had recognizable contractions. Nonetheless, the variety and extent of abbreviations from throughout Europe inevitably caused confusion, as scribes wrestled with interpretability.

Susceptible to distraction, misunderstanding, lapses, and ineptitude, scribes made mistakes when they copied. Texts changed through error or well-intentioned editorializing often disseminated “shared errors” to apographs (subsequent copies), leaving “corrupt” manuscript traditions traceable to common source-texts. In this context, “error” means any deviation from an authorial text. Many “errors” are perfectly grammatical and therefore undetectable. For example, the accidental omission of a prepositional phrase or an adjective may not affect the sense. Because paleographers have identified the many ways in which copyists can err, at least some shared errors can be exposed deductively. “Manuscript culture” therefore differs from “print culture” because theoretically unfixed texts could be “corrupt”—or alternatively “contaminated” though collation with other witnesses—circulating with wrong but perfectly grammatical readings. Modern editors can either reconstruct the hypothetical “authorial” version of a text (the method called Lachmannian, from Karl Lachmann, 1793–1851) by systematically correcting errors, or else they can represent a documented, if unauthorial, form of a text, with all its accumulated changes (the approach called Bédieriste, from Joseph Bédier, 1864–1938). Classicists typically seek authorial versions of texts, while medievalists emphasize textual commu-

nities in which contaminated texts circulated (Stock 1983, 90). A “textual community” might be a monastery and its sister houses, all having the same “corrupt” or “contaminated” text because they were all supplied with copies from the same scriptorium. Because many vernacular texts have less status, they are seldom deemed authorial witnesses unless composed by a major figure. In many cases, each copy of a vernacular text is considered a separate authorial “performance.” Though each perspective is distinctive, editors using either one will generate stemmas (stemmata), branching models detailing notional inter-relatedness (Huygens 2000).

Mistakes detected by scribes and other readers required correction, but ink has to be scraped away with a pen-knife or stylus-end, fanned flattened for ruling and erasing. Scraping commonly raised the nap on parchment, if it did not tear through completely. For this reason, some errors were “expunged” (literally, “pointed out”) by placing small dots below letters, words, or phrases to be deleted. Omissions long and short were commonly added in margins, sometime correlating with matching *signes de renvoi*. Manuscripts were frequently collated (compared to other manuscripts,) and the variant readings that arise through miscopying could be added in the margins. Professional workshops came to employ proofreaders to correct errors, as universities regulated the accuracy of textbooks, and especially bibles. In many texts, especially bibles, added text was framed in red ink as a sign of accuracy.

Before about 1200 manuscript production usually took place in a monastery, cathedral church, or royal chancery (Alexander 1992, 20). While traveling illuminators have been documented for this period (Alexander 1992, 12), manuscripts were produced “commercially” not in professional workshops but in abbeys, which apparently sold manuscripts (Gwara and Porter 1997, 135). Female religious also produced manuscripts indistinguishable from those made by men (Beach 2004). After about 1200 commercial manuscript workshops emerged in tandem with universities, first in Paris and later in Bologna and Oxford. In the thirteenth century these workshops chiefly produced scholars’ glossed bibles, as well as small bibles demanded by students and friars alike. Illuminated examples could be luxurious, but most simply have “historiated” or decorated initials. Workshops produced other books, of course, and in fact the first extant Book of Hours was produced in an Oxford workshop around 1250. Students competed with professional scribes in book production. In these same university centers a rental system arose in which quires called *peciae* (“pieces”) were rented for a fixed term, usually a week, and copied by students (Destrez 1935). *Peciae* enabled students to finance manuscript production. Furthermore, evidence survives of a second-hand market for books from the thirteenth century, and because parchment manuscripts were valuable, they were frequently pawned.

From ca. 1200 onwards, one begins to find more and more scribes identified in “scribal colophons,” brief statements appended to manuscripts which can record names, dates, and places related to copying. The Benedictine monks of Bouveret have compiled thousands of names from which it is possible to identify scribal œuvres (Saint-Benoît de Port-Valais 1965–1982). Comprehensive studies also exist for notable scribes. The project called “Dated and Datable Manuscripts” (or “Manuscripts Datés”) has now published more than sixty volumes with plates of dated manuscripts in European collections, from which it is possible to refine the individual and generic conventions of medieval handwriting.

C Decorating the Manuscript Book

Patrons, scribes, stationers, and the availability of artists or materials could influence the extent and quality of manuscript decoration. Book decoration arguably arose in tandem with the parchment codex, possibly because papyrus rolls would flake paint. Before about 1100 many scribes probably acted as illuminators—*pictores* (“painters”) in Latin. Apprentices trained under a master (Alexander 1992, 12). Not only were craftsmen both secular and monastic, but they might also be foreign; especially after ca. 1200 mendicant friars engaged in book production (Alexander 1992, 23 and 29–30). One finds, for example, Italian manuscripts with French decoration, or English ones with Italian decoration. While some evidence implies a speculative book trade in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Alexander 1992, 20), most manuscripts were commissioned, whether produced in a monastery or professional atelier. Yet manuscripts copied for “personal” use can be identified, especially in the period after 1300.

Students, Italian humanists, clergy, and monastic inmates all produced manuscripts for personal use. If not sent out for decoration, these humble productions commonly have the simplest embellishments, poor quality parchment (if not paper), and blank spaces intended for decorative letters. By contrast, scribes and “limners” (illuminators) were skilled professionals, especially after ca. 1300, and surviving contracts, guild records, and payment ledgers betray regard for their expertise. Large-scale commercial book production required a market. The foundation of the University of Paris and its cosmopolitan prominence made it the center of illumination in thirteenth-century Europe until competing enterprises in Italy and England arose.

Multi-colored initials as well as panel art were painted directly onto the parchment. Because initials were graded by size, color, and decoration, they were used to structure texts by sentence or verse, chapter, section, book, and so on. Decoration served as a means of locating passages, for each page opening would

have a unique, memorable appearance. Manuscripts were normally “rubricated,” as red ink was widely available. Decorative letters are specified by size: one-line, two-line, etc. One-line initials can be colored, or highlighted by a red line (which resembles a deletion) or by an ochre wash, among other treatments. Initials larger than two or three lines are generally multicolored, sometimes just red and blue, sometimes much more elaborate. Small and mid-size initials alternate in color, usually red and blue, from the twelfth century onwards. In the period after about 1200, small “flourished” initials sprout a profusion of delicate penwork swags in contrasting colors that extend into the margins. Many other kinds of decorated initials have been labeled, including fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Spanish strapwork initials, white vine initials from Romanesque and Renaissance Italy, so-called “frog spawn” initials filled with circled dots resembling amphibian eggs, puzzle initials with interlocking multicolored components, and zoomorphic initials made from imaginary beasts (van Moé 1949). In many Spanish choir books of the sixteenth century one encounters dense “Moorish” filigree in blue and red.

Initials could be made of gold leaf, glued directly to the parchment or laid over puddled gesso (Plaster of Paris), and typically situated on multi-colored grounds (de Hamel 1992, 57). Alternatively, colored initials could be painted on gold grounds. Gold had to be applied after copying but before painting, since the leaf stuck to every surface, and vigorous burnishing (with an animal tooth) damaged surrounding illumination (de Hamel 1992, 57). Even the smallest gold highlights (e.g., a halo, ivy leaves, a coin) had to be finished first. Because silver became brittle when beaten thin and tarnished quickly, it was seldom used for manuscript illumination. After 1400 initials were often highlighted with liquid gold ink concocted from powdered gold (“shell gold”). Highlights in white ink conventionally appeared beforehand and remained universal. Smaller initials of all kinds were apparently produced by journeymen who followed plummet or dry-point guide letters placed in the margins (*lettres d’attente*). The scribes themselves doubtless added initials in many instances. The chance survival of rare manuscript pattern books documents the variety of decorative initials a patron could stipulate and suggest increasing design uniformity (Alexander 1992, 92–94; de Hamel and Lovett 2010).

“Historiated” or “inhabited” initials were filled in with small pictures generally related to the text. For example, the sanctorale of a missal might feature important saints. Especially in Italy and France, monumental choir books could have correspondingly outsized historiated initials. Bibles often had extensive programs of illumination, far more elaborate in the Old Testament than the New, which featured an Evangelist for each of the Gospels and St. Paul for all the Pauline Epistles. Historiated initials showing multiple scenes from a single biblical episode are said to be “narrative” (Pächt 1962). Jonah swallowed by the fish

in the upper compartment of an initial S and delivered to Nineveh in the lower compartment conveys transpired action. Some individual tableaux were static (e.g., portraiture), but many depicted action. Dry-point sketches have been identified next to many thirteenth-century illuminations and interpreted as master's models (Alexander 1992, 63–70). In some cases, brief summaries of a scene specify what illustration should be provided, and where (Alexander 1992, 69–71). Even within stipulated scenes (often dictated by workshop conventions), latitude existed for creative interpretation. For example, images of Isaiah-sawn-asunder in medieval bibles show him being transected horizontally across the midriff, or vertically from head to groin, or groin to head. Idiosyncratic illustrations (often deluxe commissions specified by a patron such as those in Romanesque *Bibles Moralisées*; Lowden 2000), images for new compositions, and extensive “programs” (series) of illumination had to be designed (Alexander 1992, 53–54). Occasional mistakes reveal misinterpretations of the text (Peterson 1994).

The margins of manuscripts were frequently decorated. Humorous marginal drolleries and grotesques were especially common in the fourteenth century, especially in Psalters and Books of Hours. They have been deemed mnemonic devices (Carruthers 1990), subversive textual commentaries (Camille 1992), appealing distractions for the tedium of prayer, or entertainment for children who learned Latin from Psalters. One also finds patron portraits, complicated foliate swags, straight “bars” in gold and colors sprouting foliage at their termini, gold panels filled with geometric designs, garlanded armorials, fantastical trompe-l’oeil flowers and insects, and flying putti (cherubs). Especially in fifteenth-century Books of Hours “rincaux” borders contained brightly colored feathers, ivy tendrils, and multicolored blossoms. Decorative borders may be dated by their increasing design complexity (Scott 2002).

Until the Book of Hours gained prominence after about 1300, large-scale art was rare in medieval manuscripts. In the early period before 1100 luxury bibles, Gospels, Psalters, Pontificals (service books for bishops), and Sacramentaries (mass books) often boasted full-page illuminations commensurate with a patron's status and wealth. The earliest large-scale panel illuminations depict Vergil's *Aeneid* (composed 29–19 B.C.E.), biblical scenes and other Christian imagery like evangelist portraits (Weitzman 1959), and emperors and other dignitaries (largely as the recipients and bestowers of manuscripts) (de Hamel 1986, 38–75). In the Romanesque period one finds illustrated Apocalypse commentaries, enormous bibles, bestiaries (depictions of animals, real or fantastic, and their symbology), and Psalters with large-scale illumination. After the Romanesque period illuminated manuscripts with full-page artwork became more common. Before about 1200 gold appeared mostly in luxury manuscripts, illumination typically being painted.

Yet outline drawing continued. The English especially experimented with line drawing enhanced by colored wash, an Anglo-Saxon style practiced in the thirteenth century by the Englishman Matthew Paris (ca. 1200–1259) and which remained popular for centuries. Related are the demi-grisaille (colored gray-tone) drawings of Jean Pucelle (ca. 1300–1355) and Willem Vrelant (d. ca. 1482) and his Flemish and Dutch coevals. Similarly tinted drawings can be found in Italian and German manuscripts of the fifteenth century and later. Scientific manuscripts had epexegetical drawings, often quite distorted by generations of transmission, and even literary texts like romances and histories could boast elaborate pictorial cycles. Illuminations in secular texts were comparatively rare and ultimately reserved for aristocratic commissions.

After ca. 1200 illuminations could be handled by a team. For example, abbreviations would indicate what colors should be used in various parts of an image (Alexander 1992, 45–46), while borders and initials would be handled by novices. Masters had identifiable styles and pictorial approaches, and workshops plausibly owned pattern books on which illuminations could be modeled (de Hamel 1992, 51). Extant illuminations in some Books of Hours imply that masters sometimes collaborated, or else the stationer handling the commission would apportion the work between ateliers (de Hamel 1986, 178). Similarly, many fifteenth-century Flemish and Dutch Books of Hours had illuminations produced elsewhere and tipped in. Evidence exists of copies made by pricking through transparent sheets laid over designs (called “pouncing”; Clemens and Graham 2007, 30). These sheets would then be rubbed with chalk, revealing the traceable outlines. In the age of print, some manuscript copyists replicated popular etchings and woodcuts. Alternatively, printed woodcuts could be illuminated like manuscripts, or even cut out and pasted into manuscript books (Bühler 1960).

From about 1300 to 1540 the Book of Hours was provided with standard illumination programs, usually one full-page miniature for each of the eight hours in the Hours of the Virgin, and one miniature each for the Gospel lessons, Hours of the Holy Spirit, Hours of the Holy Cross, Penitential Psalms, and Office of the Dead. Smaller miniatures accompanied prayers to the saints called Suffrages. While the scenes themselves could vary greatly in subject matter, two sets of illuminations were standard: an Infancy Cycle featuring the Virgin’s pregnancy and events surrounding Christ’s Nativity and a Passion Cycle treating events surrounding the Crucifixion. From ca. 1400 the renewal of affective piety called the *Devotio Moderna* in the Netherlands made the Passion Cycle more popular in the Low Countries, and when Flemish *Horae* were exported to England, they often featured this program. Because medieval artists had no access to first-century Middle Eastern costumes or architecture, manuscript illuminations often feature

contemporary European clothing and interiors. Rare in manuscripts, life “portraiture” was restricted to select commissions.

Beginning in the early Italian Renaissance book artists commonly painted altar panels, and while highly regarded book artists (and scribes) sometimes identified themselves before 1300, artistic and stylistic identities emerged in the illuminated Book of Hours, for which hundreds of European artists can be identified. Many of the best illuminators developed national, if not international, reputations. Commissioned by wealthy clients or employed by kings and prelates, these artists could influence regional tastes for decades. Such authority was effected through stock patterns (arrangement of figures) as much as characteristic styles (facial modeling, coloration) (de Hamel 1986, 179–85). Women also earned reputations as illuminators (Hamburger 1997). As a standard commercial production, Books of Hours were exported and sold both regionally and internationally. For example, *Horae* produced in Flanders from about 1400 to 1450 were commonly exported to England, where the Flemish styles were imitated. Furthermore, Books of Hours made in Paris, say, can have a “use” (local custom of prayer) for quite distant communities (de Hamel 1986, 169).

Many manuscripts have been altered, some already in medieval times. Books of Hours can be updated by the addition of novel Offices, prayers, and new forms of private devotion. Personalizing them with the addition of family histories (births, deaths, marriages, etc.), arms and armorials, and familiar prayers (sometimes in the vernacular) was common (Duffy 2006). Some manuscripts had pages removed, deleted, or re-arranged. For example, under an edict of Henry VIII (1491–1547), most Books of Hours in England had Suffrages to St. Thomas à Becket (ca. 1118–1170), either mutilated or removed. “Canceled” leaves were detached because of damage, egregious miscopying, or anticipated substitution. Other manuscripts show the addition of glossing, illumination (either original artwork such as frontispieces, or grangerized cuttings), penwork flourishing, and utilitarian textual apparatuses (such as kalendars, indexes, abstracts, headings, and content lists). Almost every manuscript reveals its use and history in annotations like ownership inscriptions, pawn pledges, pen-trials (words written to test a newly cut quill), *maniculae* (“little hands” pointing to important text), and underlinings. Unfinished manuscripts survive, some of which were completed by later scribes or artists. Most famously, the Limbourg brothers (fl. 1385–1416) began illuminating the *Très Riches Heures* of Jean, Duc de Berry (1340–1416), but the illumination program was supplemented by an anonymous artist, and later completed by Jean Colombe (ca. 1430–ca. 1493; Classen 2012a). Printers often marked manuscripts from which they set type, and many have been identified. Especially in the later period, and in predominantly university contexts, related texts were gathered into anthologies with coherent themes: crusading, pastoral

care, Latin verse, monsters and mythological beings, romances and *chansons de geste*, penitential manuals, mathematical compilations, legal tracts, bible commentaries, medical recipes, etc.

D Binding the Manuscript Book

Once illuminated or decorated, the parchment folios were ready for binding. Because the gatherings were easily disarranged, “quire signatures” indicated the proper sequence by alphanumeric symbols. Signatures might simply be numerical (generally Roman numerals) or also indicate quires, as ai-aviii, bi-bviii, ci-cviii, and so on (for hypothetical quaternions, in this case) (Clemens and Graham 2007, 50). These symbols might be abstract, too, such as circles lengthening vertically like chain links. Catchwords (some with elaborate decoration) on the versos of the last leaves in a quire recorded the first word or words on the following gathering, enabling the quire to be assembled in proper sequence, assuming the internal bifolia were coherent. Many manuscripts went unbound, circulating as booklets, or else the quires were stitched into parchment wallets. If bound, the quires were laid on a frame, then pierced through the middle with a strung needle, the thread subsequently wrapped around multiple leather thongs. The ends of these thongs were drawn through channels in flat but relatively thick oak or beech boards, then nailed or pegged (Pollard 1976). The boards were covered in alum-tawed leather, or calfskin whose tooled panels were inset with images. In most cases before ca. 1300 the boards just covered the textblock without any overlap. Over the centuries, the covers began to overlap slightly. So-called “girdle bindings” allowed individuals to suspend small manuscripts (usually a bible, breviary, or prayer book) from a belt. “Chemise bindings” comprised loose fabric wraps that protected the covers and could be used to prop up a book. In the sixteenth century one finds silk brocade bindings, their fragility often leading to replacement. Pink-dyed pigskin over oak boards was popular in Germany from ca. 1350. Paper manuscripts were bound in the same way as parchment, but because paper was softer than parchment, the gutters were often reinforced with parchment tabs or slips (“sewing guards”). One often encounters quires of Italian paper manuscripts with external and central parchment bifolia, to improve the binding’s stability. Many medieval books were supplied with straps, keeping the vellum leaves under slight pressure and preventing cockling (puckering). Corner mounts and central bosses prevented bindings—especially those on large, unwieldy choir books—from getting damaged. Brass pegs around the edges lifted the manuscripts above the lectern shelf so that the pages could be turned easily. Especially in Germany and the Low Countries manuscripts were

sometimes supplied with cartouches glazed in transparent horn covering a title block. Bejeweled “treasure bindings,” known from the fourth century, can be found on Gospel books copied for Carolingian and Ottonian emperors and, in the later period, on similar service books. Such bindings frequently incorporate older decoration, including ivory tablets, metal-work, and precious stones. Complete enameled bindings as well as enameled mounts survive from after ca. 1200.

Especially in the fifteenth century and later, bindings could incorporate bookmarks. Most often these resembled multi-colored threads attached inside the spine, or even strips of parchment, but one type of bookmark used a rotating disc with letters A to D that could be moved up or down along a cord. The letters indicated the column where one stopped—the full opening of a two-column manuscript has four columns, A, B, C, D—while the disc’s position on the cord designated the line. Many kinds of manuscripts, but especially missals and choir books, were tabbed for efficient reference, some with leather stubs, folded finger-tabs, or so-called “Turk’s Head” or “turban” tabs (pippes) for easy reference (Clemens and Graham 2007, 43). Many such books were tabulated by trimming parchment cantles from the edges, like modern dictionaries.

Books could be stored flat in a cupboard, in book chests, or in book presses. Book chests were common before about 1200, and because manuscripts were stored fore-edge down, leather tabs were left on the top and bottom of the spine, enabling users to pull out the manuscripts. On presses manuscripts were stored standing up with the fore-edge facing out, so that visible titles, authors, or press-marks had to be indicated on the fore-edge. Because medieval parchment manuscripts were valuable, libraries occasionally chained books to lecterns or desks. Only a few chained libraries have survived intact, though many manuscript bindings still preserve evidence of being chained (holes, rust, chain links). Chained manuscripts to be shared by relatively poor but literate populations have been documented.

E Dating and Localizing the Scripts of Medieval Books

Manuscripts may be dated and localized directly through scribal colophons, which can identify the scribes, where they copied a manuscript, and the date they finished writing, or inferentially through inscriptions, kalendars, historical references, and similar kinds of evidence. Books of Hours, for example, typically have a “use,” which in France especially may indicate the area where the manuscript was copied or to which it was destined. Since some kalendars providing dates for

Easter were presumably generated in the year in which the manuscript was copied, they can yield reliable dating criteria. Less exact is the convention of copying “above top line.” After ca. 1240 French scribes consistently started copying texts below the top bounding line instead of above it (Ker 1960). In many instances, too, the manuscript artwork can convey chronological and geographical information, because styles of illumination are well documented. This evidence is better after 1200. Beforehand, the discipline of Paleography (the science of ancient scripts) often supplies such evidence.

In general terms the study of scripts depends on alphabetic graphs, their formality (connectedness of strokes, the number of “pen-lifts” used to form the letters) and execution (elements like compression and angularity). Letters (graphs) were not created the way we make ours today, either cursive or printed. Our cursive “lower-case” letters have no more than two pen-lifts, while capitals have no more than four, E being the exception. Medieval scribes generally used many more strokes of the pen to form their letters. Lower-case a, e, and s, for example, were shaped with at least three strokes. More pen-lifts entail greater skill, time, and artistic accomplishment—calligraphic “formality,” in other words. Among other things, the term “ductus” describes the formation of graphs from individual pen-strokes.

Scripts were hierarchical, depending largely on the difficulty (effort and skill) with which they were rendered. Paleographers distinguish between majuscule, a script written between two imaginary bounding lines, and minuscule, scripts written with ascenders and descenders on an imagined four-line staff. Majuscules resemble capital letters, while minuscules look “lower-case.” Rarely used for continuous texts in the medieval period, majuscules are found in the ancient and late antique periods, and seldom in parchment codices. Alphabets called Rustic (Canonical) Capital, Square (Lapidary) Capital, Uncial and Half-Uncial were two-line scripts. “Monumental” in appearance, Rustic Capital and Square Capital were intended for the most formal books like the *Aeneid* (composed 19–29 B.C.E.) and seldom used for Christian texts, for which Uncial and Half-Uncial script were employed. Before the early medieval period “continuous” text in these scripts exhibits little or no word separation (hence called *scriptura continua*) because they were either slowly subvocalized or spoken aloud, and in any case memorized. Word-division came about in seventh-century Ireland and England in response to the study of Latin as a foreign language (Saenger 1997). However, majuscules were used widely for “display scripts,” which, like titling, introduce new textual divisions.

From ca. 800–1200, varieties of Caroline (or Carolingian) Minuscule dominated scriptoria in much of Europe, inclusive of proto-Caroline and proto-Gothic. An experimental script promulgated from the royal Abbey of St. Martin’s at Tours,

Caroline Minuscule enhanced legibility with an open, proportioned, and easily written alphabet, at the same time that it displaced regional styles as a national script. Before 900 many regional varieties were practiced, such as Luxeuil Minuscule in France and Visigothic Minuscule in Spain. Nearly all became obsolete, though some, remaining isolated, were fossilized (e.g., Beneventan Minuscule, which survived into the sixteenth century).

Because many alphabets express regional or national idiosyncrasies, a system of generic classification has been proposed. Three types of minuscule script have been postulated: *Textualis*, *Cursiva*, and *Hybrida* (Derolez 2006, 20). (These Latin adjectives implicitly modify “*littera gothica*.”) The formation of *a*, *f*, and *s* determine the category. Within these forms one can define three levels of execution between calligraphic scripts, which show formality in the separation of individual strokes, and tachygraphic scripts (produced rapidly), with a great deal of connectedness (not compression), since the pen was infrequently lifted in the formation of letters. When “controlled,” tachygraphic scripts may look “formal.” They differ from documentary (diplomatic) scripts, which are frequently tachygraphic but used for records. Paleographers distinguish three gradients between calligraphic and tachygraphic script: *formata*, *media (libraria)*, and *currens* (Derolez 2006, 21). The degree of connectedness between strokes determines whether a script is “shaped” (< Latin *formata* “formed”) or “fluid” (< *currens* “running”). A script in between “formed” and “fluid” is called “middle.” European Gothic scripts from the period from ca. 1250 to 1500 may thus be described by coordinate terms: “*Textualis formata*” (“*Textualis* script with carefully shaped letters”), “*Hybrida media*” (“Hybrid script with letters showing some careful shaping and some connected strokes”), and so on. Some additional refinements have been suggested to this scheme (Derolez 2006, 23–24). Regional or national characteristics must also be accommodated. For example, variants in the *Textualis Formata* scripts of northern Europe include *Textualis Formata Quadrata* or *Textualis Formata Praescissa*, and others, all of which depend on the treatment of serifs. Descenders of the “quadrate” scripts terminate in diamond-shaped serifs, while *scriptura praescissa* (meaning “cut off”) has no added terminations. Finally, scripts in regions straddling distinctive styles (Austria/Italy, France/Spain, Germany/the Netherlands) often show stylistic admixtures. Pan-European developments both in script (and decoration) usually occurred a generation or two later in Germany. Similarly, countries outside mainstream Europe—Poland, Bohemia, Ireland, or Scandinavian lands, for example—show delayed and curiously distinctive writing and decoration.

Other paleographical terms include “openness,” which describes legibility and depends, first, on whether the bows of graphs like *b*, *p*, and *o* were either rotund or ovoid (compressed). Second, thickness of the nib enabled scribes to

write pen-strokes of variable width (“shading”), normally wide for vertical components and thin for horizontal ones (sometimes called “hair-lines”). The ratio and angularity led to significant lateral compression that, in the late Gothic period (after 1400), make *Textualis* varieties challenging to interpret. Finally, the pen can be held straight (or the parchment rotated) so that wide strokes are vertical rather than angled. For the period in England before ca. 850, the difference between Half-Uncial and Hybrid Minuscule scripts is merely the angle of the pen.

For the most part new scripts were either designed, like Caroline Minuscule, or experimentally generated by the elevation of lower-grade varieties, mostly cursive. Over time Caroline naturally evolved into late medieval Gothic scripts. Yet other scripts were derived from it through deliberate experimentation, like the variety of proto-Gothic script characterizing Romanesque glossed bibles and, later, northern French Pocket Bibles (de Hamel 1984, 35–37). Most successful was Humanistic Minuscule, a refined derivative of Caroline Minuscule which retained its precursor’s openness and rotundity. The Italian Humanists Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406), Niccolò de’ Niccoli (1364–1437), and Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459) designed the script ca. 1400 (de Hamel 1986, 220), and it was widely disseminated in Italy (and eventually to France) for copying classical texts. The tachygraphic form of Humanistic Minuscule was called Italic. Interestingly, Italian manuscripts in Humanistic Minuscule were typically decorated with “white-vine” initials, the design of which derived from Italian Romanesque models (de Hamel 1986, 220).

Two kinds of punctuation were practiced in the Middle Ages, chiefly in aid of oral recitation (Parkes 1993). These features could help navigate the sense by indicating syntactic divisions, breath-pauses, or emphatic intonation. The older punctuation *per distinctiones* emerged from post-ancient times when Latin was beginning to be somewhat less familiar. Dots called *punctus* were placed next to the final letter of a word that ended certain syntactic pauses: a *punctus* at the baseline (*subdistinctio*) indicated a minor pause or sense-unit, but at mid-height (*media distinctio*) a more significant break. A dot or *punctus* at the top of a final letter (*distinctio*) marked the end of a sentence or period. This system corresponds to the ancient and early medieval practice of dividing texts into *cola* (short syntactic units), *commata* (longer syntactic units), and *periodi* (complete syntactic units), terms which themselves give rise to our own English terms—and concepts of—the colon, comma, and period. While punctuation *per distinctiones* developed other symbols beyond the *punctus*, it did not last beyond ca. 1100. Instead, *positurae* punctuation emerged as the dominant form to mark reading, public or private. Originally a Carolingian development, a *punctus*, *punctus elevatus*, and *punctus versus* sequentially performed the same function as the three *distinctio* marks, while the *punctus interrogativus* indicated a question. Curiously, the *punctus versus* was largely replaced with a *punctus* by ca. 1100. Cistercians

predominantly and Carthusians sporadically employed the *punctus flexus* to signal a medial pause. Marginal quotation marks resembling apostrophes survive in some manuscripts, largely for Scriptural citations. Similarly, patristic authorities are frequently cited in the margins of multi-volume glossed bibles, an innovation attributed to Peter Lombard (ca. 1096–1164).

F Numbers and Types of Manuscripts

An estimated 500,000 pre-1600 manuscripts survive in collections worldwide, almost all of which are later than ca. 1200. Survivals increase dramatically for each century. The earliest manuscripts from Western Europe (before ca. 800), including papyri fragments, total less than 3000. Approximately 1000 manuscripts survive from all of pre-Conquest England. Before ca. 1100, therefore, the texts circulating in medieval Europe were rather limited. Because Benedictine monasticism dominated Christian education, surviving texts from the period before 1100 document monastic emphases. Liturgical manuscripts and service books were always in demand, as wave after wave of reform, renewal, and expansion impacted European monasteries and convents. Yet the late medieval book-types we recognize as missals, lectionaries, breviaries, antiphonals, and graduals did not have the same format as in the later Middle Ages. Books of Hours did not exist. Psalters, however, remained common, since they were used in services and for elementary Latin instruction. For the same reason, Latin grammars by Donatus (fl. ca. 350) and Priscian (fl. ca. 500), Isidore's (ca. 560–636) encyclopedic *Etymologiae*, and Latin glossaries (dictionaries) were universal. However, with the exception of so-called "Tours Bibles" and a handful of "pan-dects," complete bibles were exceptionally rare. For the early period Gospel books were widespread and, as central texts in the mass, produced in deluxe versions. Single-author compendia, chiefly "patristic" in the widest sense (mainly St. Augustine [354–430], Jerome [ca. 347–420], Ambrose [ca. 330–397], Cyprian [d. 258] and Gregory the Great [ca. 540–604]) circulated in this period, and compilations of saints' lives and homilies for pious reading were relatively abundant. Only the oldest and wealthiest foundations encouraged the study of Classical or literary texts, which often consisted of moral readings by Aesop (ca. 620–564 B.C.E.) or Fabianus (fl. ca. 50) and classical or biblical epic (Vergil [70–19 B.C.E.], Sedulius [fl. ca. 400–450], Iuvencus [fl. ca. 300–340], Arator [fl. ca. 500–550]). Greek was almost entirely unknown in the Middle Ages, after ca. 800, and exceptionally rare even beforehand. Only slightly more common were Roman authors, notably Cicero (106–43 B.C.E.), Ovid (43–ca.18 B.C.E.), Horace (65–8 B.C.E.), Livy (59–17 B.C.E.), Persius (34–62), and Martial (40–ca. 103). The tradition of intensive gloss-

ing (annotation) emerged in Carolingian times, and commentaries were produced both on major texts like the Psalms and on minor but inscrutable ones like *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* by Martianus Capella (fl. ca. 400–450). Texts by native authors had minimal, if respectable, circulation, with exceptions like Bede's (ca. 672–735) exegetical writings.

Texts as well as book formats multiply after ca. 1200. The twelfth century extends the monastic emphasis, with the production of glossed bibles in as many as twenty volumes and “Atlantic bibles,” many more than 540 mm tall (21”). This period saw the production of verse bible epitomes, none more popular than the *Aurora* by Peter Riga (ca. 1140–1209), homiletic compilations, bible commentaries, theological tomes, and scholastic reference works useful for university education, above all Peter Lombard's (ca. 1096–1164) *Sententiae*. Monastic texts were being surpassed in numbers by university texts. Miniature (portable) books originated in the thirteenth century, as the friars (Dominicans and Franciscans, chiefly) carried them in preparation for preaching. Small bibles served the market for students, too (Light 1994). At the same time a penchant grew for illuminated Psalters, sometimes prefaced by luminous full-page illuminations—a luxury format continuously produced into the fourteenth century. At Bologna, known for its canon and civil law curriculum, mammoth glossed *Decretals* of Gregory IX (ca. 1230) and Justinian's *Digest* (ca. 530–533) were copied for study (de Hamel 1986, 131–33).

By the end of this period French and English scribes were producing richly illuminated Books of Hours. The genre spread to Italy at the end of the fourteenth century. Formats varied. In addition to the “Hours of the Virgin,” “Hours of the Holy Cross,” and “Hours of the Holy Spirit,” fifteenth-century Books of Hours typically opened with a kalendar, for determining saints' feast days, and incorporated four Gospel readings, a Litany of the Saints, the seven Penitential Psalms, the Marian prayers “Obsecro te” and “O intemerata,” suffrages to the saints (metrical prayers), and an Office of the Dead, with Psalms and readings from the Book of Job to be recited for departed loved ones (Wieck 1997). Books of Hours were used to teach children the alphabet, essential Latin prayers, the biography of Christ, and the legends of major saints. Translated Books of Hours, called Primers, are rare, except in the Netherlands, where multiple Dutch versions circulated as part of the Affective Piety practiced there.

From the fourteenth century more utilitarian texts were being produced, as educated students and laymen circulated their own works. By the beginning of the fifteenth century the Italian Renaissance had blossomed, engendering manuscripts of classical texts in record numbers. Many of these, and corresponding commentaries, were copied on paper. Others, however, were transcribed for aristocratic libraries on creamy parchment, and magnificently illuminated. The unmistakable appearance of Humanist manuscripts produced in this period con-

trasts with the Italian Gothic scripts and decoration that were still largely employed for sacred works.

A few words on vernacular manuscripts may clarify their status and circulation. Vernacular texts are exceptionally rare in the period before 1100. Old English, the best documented early medieval vernacular, survives largely in a few dozen manuscripts. Illuminations in many of these explain their survival. Gothic, Old High German, Old Frisian, Old Spanish, Old Irish, Old Welsh, Old French (and Norman French), Occitan (Provençal), and “Old Italian” survive less extensively. European vernaculars are better attested after 1100, and with increasing frequency through time. Poetry by Chaucer, Machaut, Dante, and Petrarch was copied widely. Prose texts became even more common. The English tradition serves as an object lesson. A large number of texts are unique: prayers, medical recipes, riddles, charms, and so on. In fact, Chaucer (ca. 1343–1400), Hilton (ca. 1340–1396), Langland (ca. 1332–ca. 1386), Lydgate (ca. 1370–ca. 1451), Wyclif (ca. 1320–1384; Middle English bible), *Prick of Conscience* (composed ca. 1370), the prose *Brut* chronicles and homilies (sermons), account for a substantial proportion of manuscripts. Many such texts are translations from Latin sources. Few ever circulated outside of an aristocratic, or at least literate, milieu. Generally unadorned, almost never illuminated (or capably illuminated), vernacular manuscripts had significantly less status than Latin ones. Exceptions have to be made for Italian poetry, since Petrarch (1304–1374) and Dante (ca. 1265–1321) were esteemed, and for extravagant manuscripts created for elite patrons.

G Manuscripts in the Age of Print

Print technology emerged in the middle of the fifteenth century. As manuscript workshops competed with printers, the price, quality, and rate of manuscript production diminished (Bühler 1960). Printed books replicated manuscripts, some being printed on parchment and illuminated by the same craftsmen who decorated manuscripts (Chaytor 1945). Soon, however, woodblock illustrations were themselves being painted like manuscripts. The manuscript trade collapsed first in the provinces and then in the cities, so that by ca. 1550 manuscript production became chiefly artisanal. In general, copying survived wherever individuals composed texts, duplicated printed books, or transliterated older manuscripts for study or publication. In Germany and the Low Countries, for example, the Reformation produced an abundance of documents, treatises, anthologies, and commonplace books of theological bias. The traditions of medieval manuscript production continued in Iberia, as choir books too large to print economically were written and decorated by hand through the eighteenth century.

The rise of print imperiled older manuscripts by accelerating their loss. Relatively inexpensive, yet accurate and uniform printed volumes turned the medieval book into an obsolete curiosity. Gold leaf was scavenged from illuminated manuscripts by pounding them over tubs of solvent. Parchment books were rendered into glue, if not put to other uses, domestic and commercial. In fact, books were recycled as binding waste—covers, flyleaves, and sewing guards—a medieval practice as well. Before print technology, medieval manuscripts were recycled (or discarded) because their texts were illegible or old-fashioned, their script obscure, or the volumes too damaged to be serviceable. Most susceptible to loss were service books, unadorned volumes (typically early), and ephemeral compilations. Though relatively rare in western Europe after 1200 and uncommon beforehand, “palimpsests” were parchment books whose leaves were scrubbed, turned 90°, and re-used for other texts. Palimpsests are far more common in Greek and eastern manuscripts. In the age of print, as in the Middle Ages, antiquarian rather than utilitarian interests sometimes preserved ancient books from ruin. Some were deemed relics, while others were simply valuable ancient property. The antiquarian book trade emerged at this time from the large-scale plunder of medieval libraries.

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Kisha G. Tracy

Memory, Recollection, and Forgetting

A Memory, Recollection, and Forgetting in Scholarship: Major Contributions and Trends

Scholarship on memory has explored the historical, philosophical, or theological works that are concerned with explicating the medieval conception of memory. The study of memory in the Middle Ages mostly begins with Frances Yates and her *Art of Memory*, published in 1966. Before this work, there was little systematic attention paid to the processes of memory in the medieval world. While Yates's work traces the art of memory from classical sources all the way to the seventeenth century, she spends a significant amount of time on the medieval treatments of memory. This study, however, is restrictive. Mary Carruthers, who, in 1990, published what is still the definitive study of medieval memory, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, comments that Yates believed that the goal of the art of memory was to repeat previously stored material, that it was "static," without movement, imprisoning, and, as a result, Yates did not outline the basic pedagogy of memory in the Middle Ages (Carruthers 1990, 9).

Carruthers wrote her study because she found most scholars asserting there was little interest in memory in the medieval period, despite the proven importance of orality in textual transmission, especially in the early Middle Ages. For this reason, the study of orality—such as, for example, Brian Stock's *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (1983)—is important to the study of memory. M. T. Clanchy, in *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307* (1979), focuses on the shift in both individual and societal attitudes with the evolution from memorization and "orality" to writing. The first part of this study of literacy in England is a discussion of the development of record-keeping and the development of trust in written records and, conversely, the creation of the idea of "forgery." The second section focuses on the increasing "literate mentality" and the juxtaposition of this growing literacy with still-functioning traditional "oral" techniques, particularly the desire to "hear" documents as opposed to reading them silently. Clanchy asserts that this change from "oral" to "written" had an equally profound effect upon human memory and thought as the shift from script to print.

In *The Book of Memory*, Carruthers discusses two key questions: what memory is to the medieval thinker and why it is important. As *Memoria* is considered one of the divisions of classical rhetoric and, for some writers, the noblest of the

divisions, for it was connected to prudence and the ability to make moral judgments, it was fundamental to culture. Carruthers discusses how memory training and mnemonics not only helped authors of all kinds compose but also helped build character, citizenship, and piety—thus, it was an integral part of society. In addition, memory also was the means through which a text became a part of the culture and was transmitted in various ways. Mary Carruthers calls memory the “matrix of all human temporal perception” and examines the traditions of temporal issues involved in memory (Carruthers 1990, 193). She is specifically interested in how memory is connected to prudence, as mentioned above, and how prudence is depicted as looking to the past, present, and future. Carruthers successfully proves that memory should be perceived and studied as a cultural “institution,” essential to medieval thought; she writes:

Memory is one of the five divisions of ancient and medieval rhetoric; it was regarded, moreover, by more than one writer on the subject as the “noblest” of all these, the basis for the rest. *Memoria* was also an integral part of the virtue of prudence, that which makes moral judgment possible. Training the memory was much more than a matter of providing oneself with the means to compose and converse intelligently when books were not readily to hand, for it was in trained memory that one built character, judgment, citizenship, and piety. *Memoria* also signifies the process by which a work of literature becomes institutionalized—internalized within the language and pedagogy of a group (Carruthers 1990, 9).

Carruthers continued her study of memory eight years later in *The Craft of Thought* (1998); in this study, she focuses on medieval monastic meditation, which she defines as the craft of making thoughts about God through memory.

One more recent, useful study on memory is Janet Coleman’s *Ancient and Medieval Memories*, published in 2005. Coleman traces the concept of memory from Plato (ca. 428/27–348/47 B.C.E.) and Aristotle (ca. 384–322 B.C.E.) to John Duns Scotus (ca. 1270–1308) and William of Ockham (ca. 1280–1349). She is mainly concerned with identifying and defining theories of memory and how different theological and philosophical thinkers wrote about memory. This work is valuable for its almost encyclopedic accounts of the history of thought on memory.

A second trend in memory scholarship is more globally theoretical in nature. Patrick Geary’s *Phantoms of Remembrance* (1994) and Jacques Le Goff’s *History and Memory* (1996, originally published in French in 1977) are examples of this type of study. In the former book, Geary is primarily interested in how recollection and the past fit into social contexts (such as family memory, archival memory, royal memory, etc.). Indeed, his major concern is “historical memory,” which he defines as both the study of propaganda and the study of intellectual traditions within which memory was understood and cultivated (what people thought about memory and techniques of memory training). In particular, in *Phantoms*, he is trying to see how people remember and the structures or means of storage in

which the past is preserved or recalled. Geary identifies faults in past studies of the processes of memory; to him, they are too concerned with the separation between individual and collective memory, overstress the distinction between oral and written remembering, and focus primarily on the formation of conscious narrative memory rather than on the structures by which memories of all sorts are transmitted and created.

Le Goff views Christianity as a religion of remembrance, evidenced by the many assertions in the Bible to do something “in remembrance of God” or in the concept of Purgatory in which the living could help the souls of the dead by remembering and praying for them. Other scholars discuss related ideas. Nancy Netzer and Virginia Reinburg’s *Memory and the Middle Ages* (ed., 1995) is a collection of essays that are mostly concerned with visual representations—artifacts, art, architecture, images, etc. Patricia DeLeeuw’s essay asserts that there is a direct correlation between memory and the didactic purpose of saints’ lives:

The Christian story taught medieval people to find meaning and purpose for their lives by looking back to events they recalled and forward to events they hoped for, or dreaded. Christian belief and practice, in the stories of the saints as exemplars of the moral life, in devotions and indulgences, and in the ritual of the mass, provided ways to remember and learn from the past, and to provide for the future (DeLeeuw 1995, 33).

In another essay in the same volume, Virginia Reinburg asserts further that the repetition of saints’ lives allows them to be present to the one remembering (Reinburg 1995). Saints were intended to be remembered by an individual, the act of recalling thus having some positive influence on the present.

There has also been a trend in literary criticism that seeks to understand the role of memory in the production of literature as well as within the texts themselves. Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner, for instance, discusses the Lancelot tradition; she writes, “Forgetting and remembering seem inextricably tied to this new, interlaced shape for romance ... The narrative formulas function as *aide-memoire*, a continual stream of small reminders that segment blocks of prose, recall and fix in our minds the actions temporarily frozen or released into motion” (Bruckner 1995, 59–60). For her, memory is important in reading these texts because the reader is asked to remember past stories in order to understand the present. In other works, there are allegorical characters named Memory. Susan Hagen’s *Allegorical Remembrance* (1990) is a study of *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man* as written by both Guillaume de Deguileville (ca. 1330’s) and John Lydgate (ca. 1426), in which such a character appears. Hagen concentrates on how Memory works within the framework of the story and in the manuscript images that depict her. These are only a couple of examples of text-specific literary studies focused

on memory, and, indeed, literature is by far not the only discipline to find memory useful as an analytical tool.

B Memory, Recollection, and Forgetting: Definitions

Defining memory, a nebulous subject at best, is difficult. *Memory* and *recollection* are complicated words that can refer to multiple concepts. As Paula Leverage states at the beginning of her entry on “Memory” in the *Handbook of Medieval Studies* (Leverage 2010, 1530), “Infused with a socio-cultural, literary and scientific history stretching from antiquity to the most recent work in cognitive neuroscience, the English word ‘memory’ is dense with meanings and associations.” Several medieval scholars were interested in defining these terms, including such notable figures as Thomas Aquinas and Albertus Magnus in their commentaries on Aristotle’s *De memoria et reminiscencia* (ca. 350 B.C.E.). In general, the medieval understanding of memory is that it is both the physical location of images of the past as well as the procedure of putting images in the mind to be remembered. Alastair Minnis describes a relatively traditional medieval model, as far as any model is traditional, constructed by the thirteenth-century scholar Bartholomaeus Anglicus, or Bartholomew the Englishman, which identifies memory in relation to other parts of the brain:

The brain ... is divided into three small cells, the first being *ymaginativa*, where things which the exterior senses perceive “are ordered and put together”; the middle chamber is called *logica*, where the power of estimation is master; and the third and last is *memorativa*, the power of remembrance, by which things which are apprehended and known by imagination and reason are held and preserved in the treasury of memory (3.10). Underlying this account is a psychological model which envisages objects perceived by the five exterior senses meeting in the “common sense” (*sensus communis*), and the imagination, stimulated by these sensations, forming the mental pictures (*imagines* or *phantasmata*) necessary for thought. Images thus produced are handed over to the reason, which employs them in the formation of ideas. These ideas, with or without their related images, are then handed over to the memory for storage (Minnis 2005, 239–40).

The concept of memory as a storehouse of images is a common one, appearing in works such as Augustine’s fourth-century *Confessions* (ca. 397), and is defined by Carruthers as “a rich model of pre-modern mnemonic practice,” “the inventory of all experiential knowledge” (Carruthers 1990, 34). She provides other synonymous metaphors for the “storehouse,” such as “male” (or “travelling bag”) and “arca” (or “chest,” “box”) (Carruthers 1990, 34).

Recollection, on the other hand, is the process of bringing these images stored in the memory to the forefront of the mind. Carruthers makes the distinction thus: “Memory can be considered in two ways, as the storage capability of the brain, or as the recollective process. As the store of what is past, memory is the nurse and engenderer of prudence and so a par thereof. As the process of recollection, memory is a habit; recollection is a natural function which can be strengthened through training and practice” (Carruthers 1990, 70). Acts of recollection might include: recollecting past behavior and attitudes, especially, but not confined to, those which were sinful or transgressive, particularly as within the process of confession; recollecting the self, as in how one should act or think in order to maintain, refine, or transform personal identity; and recollecting God, that is with the intention of either restoring a relationship with the deity or defining one’s faith. Elizabeth Valdez del Alamo and Carol Stamatis Pendergast, in their introduction to *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*, write, “Although memory enhancement is most efficacious when close in time to the original event, ‘each act of remembering creates new memories of old experiences.’ Cues provided in a present context map related information from past and present to form wholly new constructs The memorial process accesses and, inevitably, transforms the past” (Valdez del Alamo and Stamatis Pendergast 2000, 5–6). As del Alamo and Pendergast point out, memories themselves are sometimes reinvented in the sense that the specific details of recollections are different from the reportedly factual past, a psychological possibility acknowledged by medieval thinkers. Carruthers too describes recollection as reconstructive act (Carruthers 1990, 25). The absence of recollection, that is, forgetfulness, is also a key element to understanding memory, though it too, like its companions memory and recollection, is not an easily defined concept. With respect to forgetfulness, Carruthers comments:

The whole matter of memory error seems to be quite differently conceived by the ancients from the one that fuels modern anxieties about “making mistakes.” For us, “making a mistake” of memory is a failure in accuracy, a failure exactly or “objectively” to iterate the original material. In antiquity and the Middle Ages, problems involving memory-phantasms are described as heuristic (recollective) rather than as reproductive problems, and are due to a failure to imprint the phantasm properly in the first instance, thus causing confusion and recollective loss (Carruthers 1990, 61).

Carruthers examines how forgetfulness is important in understanding the process of properly training the memory—for instance, in how priests needed to avoid poorly-trained memories in order to recall sermons while preaching.

In order to explore the medieval understanding of memory, recollection, and forgetting, the following sections will focus on its connections to predominant philosophy and Christian thought of the time.

C Memory, Recollection, and Forgetting and Philosophy

There is a long-held tradition that memory is one of the functions of the soul and is a common philosophical discussion during the Middle Ages. In his *Etymologiae*, written ca. 630 and considered one of the main medieval sources on classical thinking, Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636) defines the term *anima* by enumerating the many capacities of this multifaceted concept. Within this definition, he remarks, “dum (anima) recolit, memoria est” [when it (anima) reflects/recalls, it is memory] (Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi 1962, XI.i.13). On face value, this statement is perhaps simplistic, for, when an entity recalls something, it is indeed engaging in an act of memory. However, several questions immediately come to mind. What is the soul reflecting on? Why is memory included as one of the functions of the soul? What comment does this make about the nature of the soul? The answers to these questions lie in closer examination of both the rest of Isidore’s entry on *anima* as well as the broader philosophical and literary tradition connecting memory to the soul, including that found in Augustine’s *Confessions* and Boethius’s *Consolation of Philosophy* (ca. 524).

In the line prior to the listing of *anima*’s various functions, Isidore remarks, “Nam et memoria mens est, unde et inmemores amentes” [For also memory is the mind, whence also forgetfulness is unmindfulness] (Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi 1962, XI.i.13). This line is actually repetitious, for previously the text reads:

Mens autem vocata, quod emineat in anima, velquod meminit. Vnde et inmemores amentes. Quapropter non anima, sed quod excellit in anima mens vocatur, tamquam caput eius vel oculus (Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi 1962, XI.i.12).

[The mind is called thus because it excels in the *anima*, or because it remembers. Whence also forgetfulness is (called) unmindfulness. And, therefore, it is not *anima*, but what excels in *anima* that is called the mind, just as (if the mind were) its head or eye.]

In these passages, not only is the act of memory equated with *anima* but the act of forgetting is associated with the absence of the mind and, subsequently, the absence of the soul. Indeed, in the list of *anima*’s various capacities, Isidore comments that, when the soul “scit” [knows], it is called *mens*, reinforcing a connection between the mind and the soul. He makes it obvious in his text that the mind is both connected to *anima* and is even synonymous with it when *anima* engages in certain activities, particularly that of recognizing itself or being aware of its own existence. While Isidore does not offer any explicit comment on the exact nature of what the soul remembers, he suggests that this recognition is actually *anima* remembering itself or being conscious of its own history. Given the

emphasis on memory in the short entry on the soul, there is a definite sense that, without this capacity to remember, the soul would cease to operate fully and would even cease to retain its essential identity. Isidore's definition highlights a perception of memory as an integral part of the processes of the soul.

The concept of memory as an element of the soul is not unique to the *Etymologiae*. We also find it in Saint Augustine's *Confessions*, one of the major works influencing Isidore's text. The significant aspect of Augustine's text for purposes of memory is how, in the exploration of his *anima*, he encounters that part of the soul that encompasses memory while attempting to search for God within himself. Saint Augustine (354–430) spends a portion of Book X discussing memory, although, in essence, as scholars have noted, the entire text is concerned with recollection. He is clear on the importance and magnitude of memory. In his quest to find and understand God, he makes some general statements about the necessity of memory to his goal:

iam tu melior es, tibi dico, anima, quoniam tu vegetas molem corporis tui praebens ei vitam, quod nullum corpus praestat corpori. deus autem tuus etiam tibi vitae vita est. Quid ergo amo, cum deum amo? quis est ille super caput animae meae? per ipsam animam meam ascendam ad illum. transibo vim meam, qua haereo corpori et vitaliter compagem eius repleo ... Transibo ergo et istam naturae meae, gradibus ascendens ad eum, qui fecit me, et venio in campos et lata praetoria memoriae, ubi sunt thesauri innumerabilium imaginum de cuiuscemodi rebus sensis invecstarum. (Augustine 1912, X.VI–VIII)

[Now I say to you, soul, you are the better since you enliven the mass of your body, giving life to it, which no body can give to a body. However, your God is the life of your life. What is it, therefore, I love when I love God? Who is that one above my soul? Through that soul of mine I will ascend to that one. I will surpass my power, by which I am attached to the body and by which I fill up this framework with life ... I will surpass, therefore, also that of my nature, gradually ascending to Him, who made me, and I will come into the fields and broad palaces of memory, where there are treasure-houses of innumerable likenesses of whatever kind of things having been entered to the senses.]

The initial image in this passage is the characterization of the soul as that which enlivens the body; the same image appears in Isidore's list, for the soul is in fact specifically called *anima* when it vivifies the body (Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi 1962, XI.i.13). Augustine then defines both the idea of his search for God and the path his journey will take, particularly the need to explore the recesses of the soul. It is his active discussion and interaction with the soul that Augustine feels will lead him to a closer relationship with God. As Augustine continues his discussion in this particular passage, he identifies memory as the space which contains all the images, the mental impressions, of human experience, especially those entering this space of memory through the senses, the building blocks necessary to approach an understanding of God.

Albertus Magnus (ca. 1206–80) (Albertus Magnus 1890) and his pupil, Thomas Aquinas (ca. 1225–74) (Aquinas 1949), continued the tradition of Isidore and Augustine in recognizing the function of recollection within the soul in the Middle Ages. Both philosophers wrote commentaries on Aristotle's *De memoria et reminiscencia*, and, as a result of the text to which they are reacting, they are understandably preoccupied with discovering, or confirming, where memory is located. Taking their cue from Aristotle, their conclusions place memory, in very physical terms, directly within the soul. Rosemary Drage Hale notes, in “‘Taste and See, for God is Sweet’: Sensory Perception and Memory in Medieval Christian Mystical Experience,” “What made up the body for the medieval mystic—body parts and five senses—can be viewed as ‘duplicated’ in an interior existence, that of the soul. Metaphors for the body and sensory images are fused within the mystic’s soul. The mouth, the tongue, the throat, limbs, womb, breast, hands, feet, eyes, ears, hair—the perfected body of the soul—are all manifestly present in intimate moments with the divine godhead” (Hale 1995, 3). Unlike Augustine, both Albertus Magnus and Aquinas seem to link the storage of recollections to the senses almost exclusively, whereas Augustine views some of the contents of the memory as knowledge and not images. This assertion is not to say that Augustine does not connect memory with the senses, as stated previously. As Gerard O’Daly, in “Remembering and Forgetting in Augustine, *Confessions X*,” states:

Although the links between sense-perception, imagination, and memory are crucial to the functioning of each of those activities, inasmuch as perception involves the serial formation of mental images that are retained in the memory directly, as the perception takes place, and imagination in either the reproductive recollection of retained images or their creative manipulation, Augustine realizes that this model of memory-processes does not cover all processes of remembering or recollecting (O’Daly 1993, 33).

Augustine does not regard the senses as the only route to memory storage.

In addition to explicating the relationship between *anima* and *memoria*, Augustine defines memory as the center of personal identity and lauds it as the path to understanding the part of God that an individual is capable of comprehending. Indeed, memory as Augustine describes it is the receptacle that houses the personal soul’s past, retaining universal images of God as well as those that are unique to the individual’s specific relationship to the divine. Augustine’s comment on this subject is strongly worded:

Ecce quantum spatiatus sum in memoria mea quaerens te, domine, et non te inveni extra eam, et non te inveni extra eam. neque enim aliquid de te invenio, quod non meminissem, ex quo didici te. nam ex quo didici te, non sum oblitus tui. ubi enim inveni veritatem, ibi inveni deum meum, ipsam veritatem, quam ex quo didici, non sum oblitus. itaque ex quo te didici, *manes in memoria mea, et illic te invenio*, cum reminiscor tui et delector in te. hae sunt

sanctae deliciae meae, quas donasti mihi misericordia tua, respiciens paupertatem meam (Augustine 1912, X.XXIV).

[Behold how great a space I am in my memory seeking you, Lord, and I did not find you outside of it. For I find nothing at all of you, except what I have remembered, from when I learned of you. For from when I learned of you, I have not forgotten you. For where I found truth, there I found my God, truth itself, which from when I learned of you, I have not forgotten. And thus from when I learned of you, *you remain in my memory, and there I find you*, when I recall you and delight in you. These are my sacred delights, which you have given to me in your mercy, respecting my poverty.]

Augustine finally supplies an answer to the question concerning “what” the soul remembers. In his perception, *memoria* is responsible for retaining all aspects of truth, equated in his mind with God, who is, for him, the personification of truth. The straightforward “you remain in my memory, and there I find you,” exhibits the power of memory as a function of *anima* and as the only area of the soul through which the individual can access any real knowledge of the reality of God. Augustine asserts that it is the history of the soul, espoused in the memory, which allows the individual to comprehend his relationship with God. As Todd Breyfogle comments, “As part of his ascent, Augustine tries to go beyond the power of memory but recognizes that he cannot. One cannot strip memory away the way one can in thought close off sense perception. Memory thus becomes ... the field in which we carry on our spiritual striving for God. We can go no further than memory” (Breyfogle 1999, 142). The significant point here is that, once the individual has learned of God, He does not leave the memory.

Augustine’s view of memory is personal; the entire *Confessions* is an exercise in an understanding of the self, and his representation of memory is the same. His memory is comprised of his unique experiences, the workings of his senses, and what has been stored since he learned of God. In contrast, Boethius (ca. 480–524/25), a near contemporary of Isidore and Augustine, in his *Consolation of Philosophy*, infers a pre-existence of the soul, which extends memory beyond the confines of an individual life and externalizes it. Like Augustine, Boethius is concerned with the processes of recollection. At the beginning of the *Consolation*, Boethius the narrator is in a state of deep depression and illness; his spiritual guide Lady Philosophy diagnoses his sickness as a case of forgetfulness. He is described as having forgotten who and what he is, and, as a result, he has also forgotten the nature of divinity (Boethius 1990, Book I, Prose VI). Lady Philosophy even comments that the essence of human nature, or at least that part which raises humans above animals, is man’s ability to remember himself (Boethius 1990, Book II, Prose V). Boethius’s approach to memory takes a different turn than Augustine’s when he writes in Book III, Meter XI:

... haeret profecto semen introrsum ueri
 quod excitatur uentilante doctrina
 nam cur rogati sponte recta censetis
 ni mersus alto uiueret fomes corde?
 quodsi Platonis Musa personat uerum,
 quod quisque discit immemor recordatur (Boethius 1990, Book III, Meter XI, 11–16).

[... the seed of truth lingers deep inside
 and learning has been aroused with agitating,
 for why unaided can you having been asked answer correctly
 unless the tinder lives having been immersed deep in the heart?
 And if the Muse of Plato resounds the truth,
 what everyone learns unmindful he remembers.]

These lines, echoed again later in Book V, Meter III, recall Plato's concept that we learn everything before we are born and then remember it during our earthly experience, which is found in many of his works, but especially his *Meno*. The character of Boethius himself continues in Prose XII by agreeing with Plato, since Lady Philosophy, his guide, has indeed recalled to him that which he had not realized he had forgotten. He represents memory as being a part of, yet beyond, the history of the individual soul.

This is not to say that Augustine completely confines his definition of memory to one human experience; however, while Boethius represents a pre-existence of the soul, Augustine emphasizes a desire to explore his own personal history. Similar to Augustine, Boethius equates remembrance with recognizing or attempting to discover the nature of God. There has been a long debate concerning the influence of Augustine on Boethius. Many argue that Boethius owes a great deal to his predecessor; others, like Thomas P. McTighe (1982), believe that Boethius took nothing from Augustine. In Book IV, Meter I, after describing the soul's separation from the body, Boethius remarks:

huc te si reducem referat uia
 quam nunc requiris immemor,
 haec, dices, memini, patria est mihi,
 hinc ortus, hic sistam gradum (Boethius 1990, Book IV, Meter I, 23–26).

[If there your path brings you back again
 Which now you forgetful sought,
 You will say, "I remember this, this is my country,
 This is my origin, here I will stop my steps."]

These lines refer to the soul's return to God. Boethius's description of this moment as an act of remembering illustrates the key role played by memory in the workings of the soul, especially with respect to the soul's search for God.

Trinities of the soul, with certain variations on what properties are included, from other works clearly indicate that reference to the mind is a reference to memory. There is a long tradition of including memory in a tripartite breakdown of the soul. As Wolfgang Riehle, in *The Middle English Mystics*, writes:

In the [*De Trinitate*] Augustine also defines the created trinity of the soul with the terms *memoria*, *intelligentia* and *amor* ... And the English mystics see their justification for talking of the soul as the image of God, in the fact that they look upon the soul as a created trinity which has to be reformed. Both the author of the *Cloud* and Hilton render the Augustinian ternary of the soul as ‘minde, reson, & wille’ or mynde ... witte ... wille’, whilst the *Mirror of Simple Souls* prefers ‘memoire ... vdirstondinge ... wille’ (Riehle 1981, 143).

These descriptions emphasize the function of the soul to remember God. For instance, in Walter Hilton’s *Scale of Perfection*, a well-known mystical religious treatise of the late fourteenth century written as an explication of contemplative life for a woman who had taken her vows, one of the main properties of “mynde” is not forgetting God:

The soule of a man is a liyf, made of thre myghtes—mynde, resoun, and wille—to the ymage and the likenes of the blissid holi Trinité, hooli perfight and rightwise. In as myche as the mynde was maad myghti and stidefaste bi the Fadir almyghti, for to holde Hym withoughte forgetyng, distractyng, or lettyng of ony creature, and so it hath the likenes of the Fader (Hilton 2000, 43.1150–54).

The key is that the “mynde” should remember God without “forgetyng.”

Together, these conceptions of the link between memory and the soul reveal memory’s function in philosophical discussions. In particular, these thinkers, especially Augustine, are concerned with the individual recalling the aspects of God that can be found in the soul’s storehouse of memories. The establishment of a relationship between the memory and the activities of *anima* leads to the medieval Christian soul and memory’s place within the theoretical and day-to-day practices of Christianity.

D Memory, Recollection, and Forgetting and Christianity

Reading religious treatises and confession manuals reveals that recollection has a major role in the theology and rites of medieval Christianity. In particular, recollection is described by medieval religious works as a means by which an individual recalls the sacrifice of Christ or the disadvantages of sin, namely the pains of hell, and as a catalyst causing contrition.

Two images, the Passion of Christ and the pains of Hell, are often represented as being initiated by recollection. The first, the Passion of Christ, can create either a sense of appreciation for Christ's sacrifice or regret that, as flawed humans, we do not deserve such a gift. An example of recalling the Passion can be found in Book 1 of Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*. There is an extended description of how recollection of the Passion can elicit a meditation on Christ's sacrifice for mankind's salvation:

[T]hee thenketh as thu seighe in thi soule thi Lord Jhesu Crist in bodili liknesse as He was in erthe, how He was taken of the Jewes and bounden as a theef, beten and dispisid, scourgid and demed to the deeth; hou mekeli He baar the Cros upon his bak, and hou crueli He was nailed therupon; also of the crowne of thornes upon His heed, and upon the scharp spere that stonge Him to the herte. And thou in this goostli sight thou felist thyn herte stired into so greet compassioun and pit   of thi Lord Jhesu that thou mornest, and wepist, and criest with alle thy myghtes of thi bodi and of thi soule, wondrynge the goodnesse and the love, the pacience and the mekenesse of oure Lord Jhesu, that He wolde for so synful a caitif [wretch] as thou art suffre so mykil peyne. And also over this thou felist so mykil goodnesse and merci in oure Lord that thi herte riseth up into love and glaadnesse of Him with manye swete teeris, havynge greet trust of forgyvenesse of thi synnes and of savacioun of thi soule bi the vertu of this precious passioun. Thanne whanne the mynde of Cristis passioun or ony poynt of His manhede is thus maad in thi herte bi siche goostli sight, with devout affeccioun answerynge therto, wite thou wel thanne that it is not thyn owen werkynge, ne feynynge of noo wikkid spirit, but bi grace of the Holi Goost, for it is an openynge of the goostli iye into Cristis manhede (Hilton 2000, 35.904–20).

Hilton describes how having “mynde” [recollection] of the Passion can instigate a sense of appreciation or compassion for its consequences, initiating a desire for the forgiveness promised by Christ's sacrifice. Frequently, this recollection is caused by a visual image, such as the Cross. Mary Carruthers, in *Craft of Thought*, notes:

Christians have always begun an act of meditation or worship with the sign of the Cross. This was called, in an idiom current in the fourth century and later, “painting” the cross ... What is most of interest to me is that memory work, such as prayer and reading, customarily began with a visual marker, the painted Cross ... This visual rhetorical figure serves as *allegoria*, an ornament that initiates meditative thinking (Carruthers 1998, 168).

The *Scale of Perfection* reiterates later, in Book 2, that an individual's “synnes” can only be forgiven through the act of confession. Thus, recalling the Passion makes one responsive to the concept of penance and, therefore, ready to participate in the sacrament.

The second image, calling to mind the pains of hell, also can be a compulsion to participate in confession. Through the fear of enduring such torments as a result of his sins, a penitent turns to the confessional in order to save himself. In

an anonymous, early-fifteenth-century sermon, the function of remembering the pains of hell is directly defined as the impetus for engaging in confession:

For Ihesu Cristes loue, remembur invardly on þise peynes [of hell], and I trust to God þat þei shall stere þe to a vomyte of all þi dronkenlew lyvyng. And ziff þou haue þis womyte of þe sacrament of confession, Godes Sonne with-owten question dwellip þan with þe and shall in thy dying resceyve þe to is blis (*Middle English Sermons* 1940, 241.15–20).

The description of confession as a “vomiting” of sins is not an unusual one—it can for instance be found in the fourteenth-century Middle English *Piers Plowman* (Toswell 1993)—and this sermon is clear that it is the recollection of the repulsive aspects of hell, including the lack of food and water and wormy clothing, that cause a penitent, in the hopes of avoiding them, to participate in the sacrament. Recollection allows an individual, after confession, to “dwellip” with Christ and achieve salvation.

Besides contemplation of the Passion and the fear of hell, another major representation of memory is within depictions of contrition for past sins, which is the first step in penance. Through recalling his sins, a penitent can feel guilt for his transgressions. It is the shame produced by these memories that causes the individual to be penitent. For example, in the *Fasciculus Morum*, a fourteenth-century preacher’s handbook, the section on contrition states:

Si ergo hoc modo annos tuos recordatus fueris et facta tua, cito percipies quod tu ipse es causa proprie miserie; quo facto statim ex hoc verecundaberis et tibi occurret peccati detestacio; qua habita ad cordis contricionem levissime devenies, per quam gratiam divinam in omni parte extorques, que quidem gracia secundum Augustinum arra est celestis glorie (*Fasciculus Morum* 1989, V.VII.51–56).

[If you, then, have remembered your years and your deeds in this fashion, you will soon understand that you yourself are the cause of your wretchedness. When this happens, you will at once feel shame and come to detest your sin. And with this you will easily come to heartfelt contrition, through which you will wrench grace from God, which according to Augustine is the pledge of heavenly glory.]

This passage specifically details how recollection of sins leads to contrition, as an individual will become ashamed of his behavior once he recalls exactly what he has done. Remembering the past allows the penitent to “detest (his) sin,” thereby reaching the stage of contrition through recollection.

In a different concept of Christian memory, the late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century *Myroure to Lewde Men and Wymmen* is deeply concerned with the idea of forgotten sins. The *Myroure* is a prose version of the *Speculum Vitae*, which was composed in Northern England in the third quarter of the fourteenth century. The *Myroure* was probably written in the last quarter of the fourteenth century or

the first of the fifteenth century. It appears in fewer manuscripts that the *Speculum*, probably indicating a more restricted, educated audience (*A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen* 1981). Forgetting is equated with blindness, indicating that the penitent cannot see into his conscience in order to discover the sins that he must confess:

Other sixe vices þere beþ þat letteþ amendement of lyf & bringeþ [it to] apeyrement, þat beþ these: tarienge, rechelesnes, forzetyng, slownes, laches and faylinge. (*A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen* 1981, 120.19–20)

Þe þridde is forzetyng þat comeþ of rechelesnes. For whoso is recheles & noght besily beþinkeþ him forzetiþ lightly may synnes boþe grete & smale þat he haþ doo, of whiche he moot schryue [confess] him zif he wole haue forzeuenes of hem. And so rechelesnes and forzetyng beþ to man ful gret periles, for þei makeþ him forzete his synnes of whiche he schulde schryue him and aske forzeuenes in his lyf. For wiþoute askynge he may not haue forzeuenes; and hou schal he repente him and aske forzeuenes of þat he haþ forzete? And þere is no man þat resoun haþ, zif he wole wel examyne his owne conscience, þat he [f.52v] ne may eche day fynde inowh wherof to repente him & schryue him. But rechelesnes & forzetyng makip a synful man so blynde þat he may no þing see in his conscience, & þat is ouergret perill (*A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen* 1981, 120.34–42, 121.1–3).

The passage is clear in that sins must be “schryue,” yet, if they are forgotten, a penitent cannot ask “forzeuenes” for them because he cannot feel repentance for sins he cannot remember. The *Myrour* calls this state an “ouergret perill,” emphasizing how serious of an issue it is. In a further example than those discussed, the genre of *quodlibets*, popular in Paris and Oxford from around 1230 until the 1320’s, raises and answers abstract questions, among which confession and penance are included; some of these questions are concerns of what to do when a penitent has forgotten his sins (Biller 1998, 11–12).

A further example, the *Liber Poenitentialis*, written ca. 1215 by Robert of Flamborough, states that a priest should end a session of confession with the expectation that the penitent will confess at some future time any sins that he has lost to forgetfulness:

Multa alia exciderunt tibi a memoria; multa sunt occulta tua; multae sunt omissiones tuae. ... Sed tu de omnibus petis veniam et paratus es confiteri et satisfacere si Deus reduxerit tibi aliquid ad memoriam, quidquid illud fuerit? (Robert of Flamborough 1971, 199)

[Many things have passed from your memory; many are your hidden sins; many are your omissions ... But are you prepared to ask forgiveness for all your sins and to confess them and to make satisfaction if God will return anything to your memory, whatever it might be?]

Robert acknowledges the problem of forgetting, and he instructs priests to address this issue and caution penitents to confess sins as soon as they are remembered. It

should be noted that, in this text, the figure who “reducerit ... ad memoriam” forgotten sins is not the confessor, but God. The final step in the act of confession is an admonition to the penitent to continue to try to recall sins that might be “hidden” by forgetfulness, emphasizing that neglected sins remain a problem until they have been narrated to the priest. There are texts that do not have the same issue with forgetfulness. For instance, in Book 2 of the *Scale of Perfection*, Hilton states:

Yif thyne enemyes seyn to thee first thus, bi stirynges in thyn herte, that thou arte not schryven aright, or there is sum olde synne hid in thin herte that thou knowest not, ne were not schryven of, and therfore thou mostist turne hoom agen and leve thi desire, and goo first and schryve thee betere: trowe not this seiynge, for it is fals, for thou arte schryven. Truste sikirli that thou art in the weie, and thee nedeth no more ransakyng [examination] of schrifte for that that is passid. Hold forthe thi wey and thenke on Jerusalem (Hilton 2000. 22.1236–41).

Here, it does not matter if sins have been forgotten as they are still considered to be confessed. This conclusion, however, is uncommon.

The purpose of confession manuals and priests’ handbooks is not only to offer warnings and to point out issues of which to be wary, but also to provide solutions for these problems. In the case of forgetting sins, the most common remedy given is the recommendation for frequent and timely confession. They counsel against delaying confession for the very reason that sins might be lost in the memory if left unconfessed too long. In *Handlyng Synne*, a penitential work written from the beginning of the fourteenth century by Robert Mannyng of Brunne, a Gilbertine monk from Sempringham, England, and partly adapted from the thirteenth-century *Manuel des pechiez*, generally believed to be authored by William de Waddington, we find a warning against waiting to confess as there is a danger that a penitent might forget his sins if he does not confess them immediately:

(Pe secunde poynt of shryfte)
 Pe secunde poynt ys, next þyr by,
 Pat þou shalt shryue þe hastely.
 For whan þou dost hyt yn longe respyte,
 Hyt ys forȝete þat longe ys olyte [delay].
 Seynt Bernarde þarfore to swyche chyt [rebuke]
 Ad seyt, “moche forȝyt þat longe abyte” (Robert Mannyng of Brunne 1983, 283).

The *Myroure* too expresses the same anxiety with sins being forgotten if not confessed immediately:

The secunde condicioun is þat it scholde be hastifliche [hastily] for fyue skiles ... Þe fyfte skile is drede of forȝetyng; for if a man longe tarieth his schrifte & stynteth not of mysdoynge, his synnes moste nedes multeplye so moche þat he schal not holde hem in mynde but forȝete hem or many of hem, so schal noght he conne clene schryue him of hem, & þat is a greet perill (*A Myroure to Lewde Men and Wymmen* 1981, 124.19–40).

If a penitent “longe tariēþ his schrifte” or does not “shryue hastily,” then he risks being unable to “holde [his sins] in mynde.” As forgetfulness is described earlier in the *Myroure* as a “perill,” the same word is used again here. The defense against this danger is a timely, prompt confession.

The description of forgetfulness as a “perill” is akin to classifying it a sin, if indirectly. Indeed, in other texts, it is portrayed explicitly as a transgression that must itself be confessed. In general, when forgetfulness is mentioned in this context, it is, frustratingly, not defined to any substantive extent, leaving a great deal of room for interpretation. For instance, in Part 5, the section concerning confession, of the *Ancrene Wisse*, a guide for anchoresses composed ca. 1225 to 1240, forgetfulness is included as one of the sins that penitents are encouraged to atone for:

Tale is the fifte totagge—[hu ofte hit is i-don tellen al: “Sire, ich habbe this thus ofte i-don, i-wonet for to speoke thus, hercni thullich speche, thenchen hwiche thoctes, foryeme thing ant foryeoten, lachyen, eoten, drinken, lasse other mare thenne neode asketh.” “Ich habbe i-beon thus ofte wrath seoththen ich wes i-schriuen nest, ant for thulli thing, ant thus longe hit leste, thus ofte i-seid les, thus ofte this ant this.” “Ich habbe i-don this to thus feole, ant thus feole sithen” (*Ancrene Wisse* 2000, 5.237–43).

[Number [of occurrences] is the fifth circumstance—tell completely how often it is done: “Sir, I have done this thus often, [I have been] wont to speak thus, to listen to such talk, to think such kinds of thought, to neglect things and forget [them], laugh, eat, drink, less or more than need requires.” “I have thus often been angry since I was last confessed, and for such [and such a] thing, and thus long it lasted, thus often [I have] said a lie, thus often [I have said] this and that.” “I have done this (i.e., such and such a thing) to thus many [people], and thus many times.”]

In this example of a penitent expressing how often she has committed specific sins, one of the transgressions listed is forgetfulness. Unfortunately, what is forgotten is vaguely described as “things,” which does not provide much specificity. The penitential manual *Weye of Paradys*, ca. 1400, is slightly more descriptive as “forzetyng of reson” is listed as a branch of the sins of gluttony (*The Middle English Weye of Paradys* 1991, 150.5) and “forzetyng of God” as a branch of lechery (*The Middle English Weye of Paradys* 1991, 151.18). The *Myroure* too makes a similar comment as the *Weye of Paradys* about the “forzetnes of goode þat God haþ done to vs and noght þankyng him þefore,” but it classifies the “forgetfulness of God” as a subcategory of pride, or *superbia*, although it still does not give much in the way of a definition of this phrase beyond adding that it is the forgetfulness of the “goode” that God does for each man, thereby preventing the individual from showing Him gratitude (*The Middle English Weye of Paradys* 1991, 105.19–22). The sin of “forgetting God” is also attributed to the sin of *superbia* in Aelred of Rievaulx’s twelfth-century *Speculum Caritatis* (Aelred of Rievaulx 1971). Despite

the lack of specificity, it is clear by the persistent inclusion of forgetfulness in these contexts that certain types of forgetting are considered spiritually problematic.

Forgetting, however, is not a simple concept that is always either positive or negative. There is a type of positive forgetting, that of eliminating all worldly distractions in the pursuit of understanding. The fourteenth-century *The Cloud of Unknowing*, dedicated to expounding the act of contemplating God, asserts that part of focusing the mind on God includes forgetting everything else in the world, for everything that is not God that resides in the mind stands in the way of complete meditation. It encourages:

And do that in thee is to forgete alle the creatures that ever God maad and the werkes of hem, so that thi thought ne thi desire be not directe ne streche to any of hem, neither in general ne in special. Bot lat hem be, and take no kepe to hem (*The Cloud of Unknowing* 1997, 276–79).

This sentiment is repeated later when the text explicates the virtues of the “cloud of forgetting,” the desired separation between the individual and the rest of the world. By placing all of creation out of the mind, it is possible to focus exclusively on God. This aspect of the *Cloud* is echoed in the early fourteenth-century text, the *Privy of the Passion*, which promotes a comparable form of constructive forgetfulness:

I trowe þat a mane behoued to rayse vp all þe scharpenes of his mynde & opyne whyde the Inere eghe of his soule In to be-holdynge of þis b[lesside] passion, and forgett & caste behynd hymne for þe tyme all oþer Ocupacyouns & besynes [...] (*Yorkshire Writers* 1999, 1:198).

The *Privy* and the *Cloud* promote an image of forgetting that enables a closer connection to God by blocking out worldly concerns. The well-known English mystic Julian of Norwich, in her *Revelations of Love*, written in the late fourteenth, or possibly early fifteenth, century, also recognizes this type of positive forgetting, that of eliminating all worldly distractions in the pursuit of understanding. She writes, in her short text, that each person should regard God’s gifts as meant only for him and should concentrate on a personal relationship, “forgettande, if he might, alle creatures, and thinkande that God hase done for him alle that he hase done” (Julian of Norwich 2006, 20.36–37). These texts emphasize that certain types of forgetting are not just acceptable but also desired.

While being unable to remember is a significant issue, there are also problems with inappropriate memory—that is, wasting time and effort by dwelling on memories that are not spiritually beneficial. These memories generally tend to be related to earthly matters and have nothing to do with either God or salvation. Stephen of Sawley, a monk at Fountains Abbey and later abbot of Sawley in the

early thirteenth century, in his *Speculum Novitii*, a work written for the instruction of Cistercian novices, lists types of recollections that are sinful and must, themselves, be confessed:

I think many idle thoughts and my mind wanders through such diverse places as castles, schools, and gatherings; I dwell on them or take delight in them while I attend the Divine Office or when I should listen to the psalms or to spiritual reading. At times things I have heard or saw in the past have come into my mind, distracting it, intentionally or unintentionally, from paying attention to the things of God ... (You must tell what kind of thoughts, to the extent you can remember; for instance:) I have thought long on building a church, writing books, managing the house; or, on hunting, horse-racing, and other such things. At times the image of the coupling of man and woman comes to my mind; at other times my memory alone is occupied with such things ... I confess my guilt before God: I promise amendment [of life] and ask for pardon. This, then, is your mirror. To the extent you feel yourself marred by these [faults], in that measure confess [your guilt] (Stephen of Sawley 1984, 85–88).

Stephen describes the recollection of mundane images such as secular locations or non-religious entertainment as “distractions” for his mind that prevent him from thinking of God. Megan Cassidy-Welch studied the role of memory in this text and writes, “The first chapter of the *Speculum Novitii* provides cues for confession. The novice’s thoughts of writing books and hunting together with the remembrance of managing the house or recalling images of sexual relationships are all integrated textually into a list of subjects deemed suitable for confession” (Cassidy-Welch 2000, 15). Stephen asserts that these types of unproductive recollection are “faults” to be confessed. Only recollection which leads the individual closer to God, such as the contrite remembering of sins within confession with the intention of being forgiven for them, is acceptable.

E Conclusion

Given the wide-ranging discussions on memory, recollection, and forgetting throughout the Middle Ages, particularly within philosophical and theological thought, as discussed above, it is clear that Mary Carruthers’s description of memory as an “institution” (Carruthers 1990, 9) is accurate. It is a pervasive topic across time and geographical space. Yet, even so, it is not a topic that is easily defined, especially when it is examined with respect to varying aspects of culture. It is, however, an essential concept in the search to understand the medieval mind.

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Jeroen Puttevils

Medieval merchants

Medieval merchants are not easy to position within the traditional medieval tripartite scheme of those who worked the land, those who fought, and those who prayed. However, traders had close relations with all three traditional orders: they bought and sold harvests, they lent money to the nobility and sold them luxury goods, and they supplied the church with similar luxuries to those that they sold to the nobility while always keeping an eye on ecclesiastical laws and norms regarding their activities. These were but a few of the relationships between merchants and various other groups in medieval society. Historians have definitely not ignored medieval traders; a long, venerable tradition of research on merchants and trade goes back at least to the Belgian historian Henri Pirenne (1862–1935). The online *International Medieval Bibliography* (Brepols) indexes (almost) all journals and book chapters, as well as a large percentage of all monographs, dealing with medieval history. By examining the trends in this bibliography, we can quantify, in a rudimentary fashion, the increasing importance of the study of merchants in recent years.

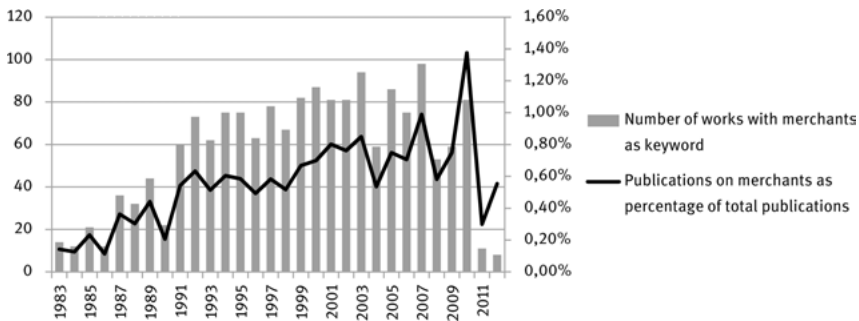


Fig. 1: Works on medieval merchants in *International Medieval Bibliography* (Source: author's analysis of *IMB*).

Interest in merchants has been growing since the beginning of the 1990s. The drop in relevant publications after 2010 does not imply a serious drop in interest but is due to the fact that many contributions that were published after 2010 have not yet been catalogued. Merchants figure prominently in Smithian accounts of the medieval economy since they created markets and fuelled urbanization (Classen 2009, 9). Yet these scholarly studies also deal with a surprisingly wide

variety of subjects, ranging from the linguistic skills of merchants to their political power in cities, their relations with princes, their family lives, and, of course, their economic activities. It would be overambitious and virtually impossible to summarize the findings of this longstanding field of research that deals with a thousand-year-long historical period. This article tries to introduce the reader to what we currently know about merchants. Moreover, it overturns the view that medieval merchants were harbingers of economic and financial modernity who developed commercial techniques and institutions that we will still use today. In scholarly studies of merchants the spectacular life stories of a few well-known merchants, often coincidentally the same people who left substantial documentation about their activities behind, are always repeated; no one ever asks whether these outstanding individuals were truly representative of traders as a group. At the same time, this essay will explicitly describe some of the new insights and methods recently developed by scholars in studying the history of trade and merchants. For example, research in the last few decades has been profoundly influenced by theories from New Institutional Economics and researchers have tried to map the social and economic relationships of merchants with social network analysis, a method invented by sociologists aimed at mapping human relationships.

The term “merchant” is quite hard to define. Generally, merchants can be described as people who buy and sell for profit and who live in medieval urban centers; however, this generic statement conceals the wide range of functions that merchants could play in medieval society. Usually, the mercantile population of medieval society is separated into five idealized categories: 1. the local artisan who sells his produce to the public; 2. the peddler who travels between town and countryside; 3. the middleman who buys and sells at local and regional fairs; 4. the long-distance trader who sends his goods to foreign places by land or sea; and 5. the merchant-banker who coordinated complex flows of goods and money out of his counting office (Hunt and Murray 1999, 52). The scope and scale of these trading operations were of course different, as was the required intelligence, the amount of capital involved, and the risks they faced.

Was trade only a man’s pursuit? To a certain extent, yes. But there are numerous examples of wives of international traders who managed the family business (Hutton 2009). These wives were often actively involved in the business when their husbands were out of town for business travel, as did the wife of the Nuremberg merchant Hans Praun (1432–1492) in the 1470s; she kept his books and executed transactions while he was away (Pohl 1968, 93). Francesco di Marco Datini’s wife Margherita also kept her husband informed about news from Prato while he was out of town (Datini 2012). In the city of Cologne, women could even operate mercantile businesses by themselves (Howell 1986,

137–58). While the number of women involved in trade and its evolution over time will probably continue to elude us, there are strong indications that some property and marriage regimes guaranteed access to trade and property for women, while others did not. Research on Genoese notarial records from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries has shown that women's participation in the city's long-distance trade ventures was commonplace and that women formed an important segment of the trade network. Genoese women invested in enterprises similar to investments of their male colleagues but they were involved with smaller investments, on average. By the end of the thirteenth century, female participation in commercial partnerships had declined due to the increased specialization of trade and the growing importance of the commercial elite; previously, the rewards and risks of Genoese merchants had been distributed more evenly (Van Doosselaere 2009, 82–85). At the same time that women are pushed out of trade, there was a rise in the number of male-dominated craft guilds (Howell 1986).

It is beyond the aims of this contribution and perhaps simply impossible, given the lack of even basic statistical data, to list all of the commodities that were traded by merchants in every location during the entire Middle Ages. In general, any product that could be resold for a higher price could be traded, from entire ships to tiny amounts of delicate spices. The most important goods in the Middle Ages were precious metals, Italian and Flemish textiles, silks from the East, wool from Spain and England, products from the Baltic and Russian forests such as wood and furs, grain, fish, salt, and spices (such as the proverbial spice of the Middle Ages, pepper) (Hunt and Murray 1999; Spufford 2002; McCormick 2007; Freedman 2009).

A *The Argumentum ex silentio*: Merchants in the Early Middle Ages

The period between the fall of the Roman Empire and the year 1000 C.E. is by far the most difficult to reconstruct when one is writing the history of trade and merchants. Because of the obvious lack of written sources, historians of this era have to rely on snapshots, which has fuelled a heated debate about the nature and scale of European trade prior to the tenth century. Historians are split on how to interpret commerce in the Carolingian dynasty. The “maximalist” school, following Alfons Dopsch (1868–1953), maintains that long-distance trade in the Mediterranean was still thriving under Charlemagne and that Muslim gold provided the means of exchange in Europe (Dopsch 1918–1920). Its adversary, the “minimalist”

school, predominates today; it supports Henri Pirenne's thesis, which argues that the Arab conquest of large parts of the Mediterranean halted international commerce and forced Western Europe to withdraw into itself (Pirenne 1922; 1987; McCormick 2007, 2). Although this school of thought does not accept Pirenne's belief that European trade declined because of the Arabic conquest, it does concede that trade declined after that time. Historians of this period never know whether the scraps of evidence they find represent the exception or the rule. The trend of European trade is also heavily dependent on how one interprets the volume and characteristics of late Roman trade. When Dopsch and Pirenne wrote their accounts of early medieval trade, they did not have access to large-scale full-text databases or the integration of archaeology and history that is now transforming the field and producing new results and insights. Archaeological evidence recovered in excavations has improved our understanding of commercial settlements such as Haithabu, Birka, Dorestad, and Hamwic. Wine, weapons, pottery, glassware, etc. circulated throughout the Carolingian empire, proving that commerce expanded around the Meuse Valley and the North Sea during the eighth and ninth centuries (Verhulst 2002; McCormick 2007). Furthermore, the relative silence on merchants in ninth-century sources made Pirenne jump to the conclusion that there was a conspicuous absence of merchants in the ninth century.

Yet, this overlooks a potential disinterest in commerce and traders on behalf of the authors who have produced the snapshots we use to make claims about the early medieval period. When early medieval authors did write about merchants, they did not uniformly condemn all mercantile activity. Bede (672/673–735), for example, noted that the men whom Christ expelled from the Temple were not simply negotiators, but unjust negotiators (Bede 1955, 2.1, CCL, 122.39–43; McCormick 2007, 13). The question of whether commerce was compatible with virtue was very much up for discussion: Tertullian (ca. 160–ca. 225) and Ambrose (ca. 340–397) argued that commerce was the root of all evil, but the majority of early Christian authors did not entirely condemn commerce. In distinguishing honest from dishonest commerce, early medieval thinkers built further on the work of classical writers such as Aristotle (384 B.C.E.–322 B.C.E.) and Cicero (106 B.C.E.–43 B.C.E.). In the course of the ninth century, monks in various parts of Europe specified which particular commercial practices were acceptable or not in their jurisdictions and invoked the concept of the work invested by merchants to justify (potential) trading profits. Slave trading and grain hoarding were labeled as morally reprehensible (Lis and Soly 2012, 223–30).

Most authors believe that there was a certain degree of commercial decline between the end of the Roman Empire and the eleventh century when Europe experienced the so-called Commercial Revolution (see below). Because it is evident that trade was still present in this early medieval society, scholars have

looked for the genesis and origins of merchants. Some merchants can be traced back to the great religious houses. These traders preferred to settle near monasteries or manors of lay rulers because of the security that they provided and the agricultural surpluses that their lands produced. Dependent traders in service of a monastery or a high ecclesiastical official sold the produce of the great estates and brought home scarce commodities. They were able to obtain privileges and toll exemptions in large areas, sometimes even entire kingdoms. Once they had mastered an enterprise of this scale, it was not uncommon for them to go into business for themselves. A well-known example of such a merchant is Ianuarius who worked for the Italian manor of St. Giulia. The manor obtained an exemption from tolls from Louis II (825–875) for Ianuarius in 861 (Wickham 2009, 300). Other merchants operated independently, such as the debt-ridden Cosmas the Syrian whom Gregory the Great (ca. 540–604) helped out in 594, or Eusebius the Syrian, who bought the bishopric of Paris with his profits in 591 (Wickham 2009, 228). Some merchants, including Syrians, Jews, Frisians, and Vikings, worked in groups or networks. The often-quoted Syrian traders of the late sixth century, a swarming group according to Gregory of Tours (ca. 538–594) and Pirenne, have recently been downplayed in importance (McCormick 2007, 125). Jewish traders kept contacts with Muslim Spain and the East; there is evidence that Jewish traders with contacts in modern-day Iraq were active at the St. Denis fairs in the middle of the ninth century (McCormick 2007, 651). Subjugated by the Franks as early as the early eighth century and converted to the Christian faith later in that century, the Frisians were important traders out of Dorestad and visited Alsace, London, York, St.-Denis, and Haithabu. They traded wine, arms, and silver and were the first victims of Viking piracy (Lebecq 1983; 2011). Today, Vikings are known for their role as conquerors and plunderers. Yet before, during, and after their military expeditions, they also acted as merchants. In 834 they attacked Dorestad, which they knew well because they were ship owners and merchants (Wickham 2009, 398). Merchants were often also travelers, pilgrims, diplomats, court officials, etc. (McCormick 2007).

Like the Vikings, (war)lords often shifted between the roles of raider, pirate and merchant. This is evident in the case of Genoa, where the rural nobility took up the sword against Muslim pirates who had previously plundered the nascent town. Over time, these nobles who were able to combine military power with business sense would develop into the great merchants of Genoa (Epstein 1996). The Venetian lagoon, a remote outpost of the Byzantine empire, transformed from a series of fishing villages surrounded by salt pans into one of the greatest commercial centers of the Middle Ages (Lane 1973). Henri Pirenne traces the roots of the medieval merchant class to the poor and dispossessed peasantry. In support of this theory, he cites the example of the eleventh-century English

merchant St. Godric of Finchale (ca. 1065–1170), who began as a beachcomber collecting merchandise from shipwrecks; he next became a merchant, travelling with his wares from England to Flanders, Scotland, and Denmark; eventually, he turned his back on business to pursue a new life as a hermit (Durham 1918). However, it was not only poor merchants who became traders but also the well-to-do peasants who had enough capital to set up businesses, younger sons of aristocratic families, etc. Hence, it is somewhat futile to look for the origins of the prototype medieval merchant; traders came from all groups of society (Hunt and Murray 1999, 27).

Becoming a merchant was one thing; finding clients was another. Where did demand for marketable goods come from? This demand was generated by aristocrats in such wealthy places as Northern Franconia. In order to satisfy this demand, merchants had to turn to northwestern Europe's richer neighbors: Muslims from the Iberian Peninsula, North Africa, and the Middle East, as well as the Byzantine Empire. The elites paid for their luxuries by selling the agricultural surplus of their lands, which were worked by peasants (Hunt and Murray 1999, 28; Epstein 2009, 77). Venues where royal households and grandees converged, such as the Frankish and Carolingian assemblies, proved a boon for traders; these assemblies were often not far from commercial centers (McCormick 2007, 664–68).

Far more is known about trade in the Eastern Mediterranean, thanks to the discovery of a spectacular trove of Jewish manuscript fragments in the Geniza of the Ben Ezra Synagogue in Fustat or Old Cairo, Egypt, now kept in various libraries around the world. This cache existed because these religious and secular texts were written in the Hebrew alphabet, and since Jews considered Hebrew as a sacred language, they had to preserve all documents even if they no longer served any purpose (Hoffman and Cole 2011). The fragments of these religious texts, correspondences and accounts provide unique insights into the economic and social history of the years between 950 and 1250 (Goitein 1967–1993; Goldberg 2011; 2012). The merchants who show up in these documents—Maghribi or Geniza merchants—have fuelled a heated debate on how medieval trade was organized. In a series of articles and, later, a monograph, the economic historian Avner Greif contrasts the Maghribi traders' business methods with those of Genoese merchants. Greif explains the rise of the West—by which he means Western Europe including Italy—as the rise of market institutions which supported the growth of long-distance trade. Institutions, according to Greif, are not only formal rules embedded in laws and organizations such as courts which enforce these rules; institutions also reflect the informal motives, beliefs and values.

Greif raises important questions: what makes agency possible in trade over long distances at a slow speed of communication? How did merchants achieve

security for their persons and goods in distant cities where they were aliens and easy victims for capricious rulers? How did medieval trading communities achieve stable self-government without one faction or another seizing power? To answer these questions Greif relies heavily on game theory, a mathematical technique to study choice-making behavior, as well as economic modeling. To summarize his ideas briefly, there was a coalition of Jewish Maghribi traders that only included merchants who had honest reputations. Their reputations and the trust they inspired structured their commercial relationships; the Geniza traders were reluctant to rely on the Islamic courts that surrounded them. Greif calls the Maghribi collectivists; while working separately these traders did organize their trade through a collective network. Genoese, and, more generally, Italian and European merchants, on the other hand, were backed by states, often city-states, that provided legal courts in which commercial disputes could be decided impartially and which were able to protect their subjects abroad. Gradually, European merchants became individualists as institutions developed that allowed everyone to trade freely with each other, both inside and outside the network (Greif 1989; 2006). Virtually all aspects of Greif's thesis have been criticized but his work has certainly reinvigorated the study of medieval trade and merchants (Clark 2007; Edwards and Ogilvie 2012; Greif 2012).

B The Commercial Revolution

Greif and other economic historians endorse what Roberto Lopez (1910–86) has defined as the “Commercial Revolution,” the period between 950 and 1350 during which Italy and, later, Europe developed new commercial and financial institutions that became the foundations of modern capitalism (Lopez 1971). Lopez describes the evolution of this revolution as follows: “when food surpluses increased, it became possible to release more people for governmental, religious, and cultural pursuits. Towns re-emerged from their protracted depression. Merchants and craftsmen were able to do more than providing a fistful of luxuries for the rich” (Lopez 1971, 56). As Georges Duby (1919–1996) put it, “I saw a swelling tide of mobilized wealth, which seigneurial exactions channeled into the dwelling-places of the rich, and that new wealth fostered a taste for luxury and expenditure that laid the groundwork for the takeoff, for that crucial turning point in the European economy that inaugurated the age of the businessman” (Duby 1994, 61). It is debatable whether this expansion was truly a revolution rather than a slower, cumulative process caused by the increasing demand for luxury goods in the “barbarian” kingdoms and by the increasing food surpluses that could be sold for cash. Yet what is beyond academic dispute is that in this period,

many techniques were developed to manage the opportunities and risks created by the practice of trading goods over long distances. Risks in trade were multifold: merchants could be cheated, goods could be lost in transport, currency rates could fluctuate and eat away profits, political uncertainties could arise due to wars and opportunistic rulers, there could be difficulties in obtaining precise knowledge of consumer preferences in faraway lands Many of the solutions to these problems invented by medieval merchants are still recognizable to us nowadays: the bill of exchange, partnerships, various types of loans, marine insurance, multi-branch banks, and double-entry bookkeeping (de Roover 1956). Gradually, Arabic numerals displaced Roman numerals were adopted to quantify transactions (Crosby 1997).

All of these inventions are Italian and historians usually argue that these techniques were superior to any developed in northwestern Europe. These techniques slowly but surely spread among European traders. Even the small retailers of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Prato, a small town close to Florence, could sustain high levels of credit without large losses and kept track of their activities with accounts structured according to the principles of double-entry bookkeeping (Marshall 1999).

Yet the scholarly focus on the spread of Italian-style mercantile techniques ignores the more indigenous and common ways of doing business. Every group of merchants had its own preferences regarding commercial methods and did not adopt all of the tools invented by the Commercial Revolution quickly or intensively. For example, merchants of Genoa and Venice, who helped pioneer double-entry accounting and sophisticated financial techniques, were very successful even though they did not adopt the Tuscan form of *compagnia* (a partnership lasting several years and including multiple ventures) organization but continued to rely on single-venture partnerships (Hunt and Murray 1999, 57). Equally successful were the German Hansa traders (Hanseatic League) who still travelled with their merchandise, did not use bills of exchange, and worked within single-venture partnerships (Selschop) and through commission trade (Sendeve). Buying and selling on behalf of others without a formal partnership and without direct remuneration was a key feature of Hanseatic trade, which relied on the principle of reciprocity, on family and friends (Ewert and Selzer 2001).

Historians have become increasingly interested in relations between merchants. They argue that merchants relied on social networks of family members and friends to operate in distant markets; family members and friends provided agency services for others. All merchants used family members to do what to execute transactions for them, but they did not exclusively use family members; in trade, one always has to go beyond one's own group in search of commodities and capital. Besides using network as a metaphor, historians have recently

adopted a sociological methodology called Social Network Analysis, in which the networks between people are visualized using dots that indicate individuals and lines that connect the dots that indicate the relationships between them. Using registered business contracts, account books, and correspondence, they have tried to quantify the intensity of the relationships between Venetian merchants in Egypt, Genoese traders or merchants from the German Hansa (Burkhardt 2009; Van Doosselaere 2009; Apellániz 2013). Social Network Analysis is useful for exploring the existence of ties between traders, but it is much harder to explain how such relationships were strategically initiated, maintained, or broken because of the fragmentary surviving documentation. Historians should also be aware of the attitudes of merchants toward their own documents: although Genoese merchants may have intensively relied on notaries to register certain kinds of transactions, not all transactions were notarized. Perhaps notarizations give insight into the exceptional, not the ordinary. However, these ordinary transactions may have been even more important than exceptional ones.

C From Fairs to Cities of Commerce

Merchants from north and south met at fairs, occasionally held markets where merchants were safe. The Lendit fairs, first held in Carolingian times, were organized twice a year by the royal abbey of Saint-Denis in a field just outside Paris. Trade provided a regular income for the abbey, which in return gave the visiting traders a safe place to trade (Epstein 2009, 81–82). By the eleventh century, the counts of Champagne also realized the gains to be gotten out of fairs and sponsored a series of fairs in the main towns of their realm: Troyes, Provins, Barsur-Aube, and Lagny. Six annual fairs in various locations that were not very far from each other provided merchants with a continuous market cycle and a fixed schedule for their operations. The counts proved vital in the success story of the Champagne fairs: fair laws were instituted, commercial disputes were resolved swiftly, and safety was ensured for merchants traveling to and from the fairs. As a result, the fairs attracted Italian merchants as well as Flemish and Hansa traders, and it thrived until the end of the thirteenth century. A political conflict and a less benevolent ruler were responsible for the demise of the once-famous fairs. In 1284, the French king Philip IV or Philip the Fair (1268–1314) became count of Champagne through marriage; as a result of political struggles between the county of Flanders and the king, Flemish merchants were arrested at the fairs and their goods confiscated. Security was no longer guaranteed and because Flemish traders were an important group in the market, the others stayed away too (Edwards and Ogilvie 2012). In addition, political instability and wars haunted Europe at the

end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries (Munro 2001). Overland routes via France between Italy and northern Europe were no longer safe and land transport costs rose, so that maritime transportation was cheaper, relatively speaking. The Venetians and Genoese started sending their galleys through Gibraltar to the North Sea and to ports such as London and Bruges. In the fifteenth century, when land transportation costs declined again, fairs were again an important venue for commercial exchange (S. R. Epstein 1994; 2001).

This shift from land to maritime transport seems to have coincided with the process of commercial sedentarization, a transformation of traders from peddlers and travelers into sedentary branch managers overseeing home offices. The Belgian-American business historian Raymond De Roover (1904–1972) attributed this change to superior Italian business organization that included new long-term partnership agreements, new techniques of accounting and control, and new instruments of exchange (de Roover 1942; 1948). This supposed transformation into sedentary traders was anything but universal: merchants from the Hanseatic League regularly travelled to Bruges and London, as well as within the Hanseatic space of the Baltic. Moreover, it has been suggested that the new business techniques were an Italian way of coping with the new political reality that emerged in their homeland in the middle of the thirteenth century. Political turmoil resulting from factional strife between the Guelfs and the Ghibellines forced Italian merchants to stay within their hometowns in order to defend both their commercial and political interests (Hunt and Murray 1999, 55–56). However, even Italian merchants continued to be mobile: branch managers were transferred to other locations and every merchant-apprentice took a tour of duty in a foreign city in order to learn about trade and gain the necessary experience to either set up his own firm or to become a manager of an established merchant house.

A growing concentration of commerce in cities on a permanent basis, although trade has its seasonal ups and downs, is to be noticed from the fourteenth century onward. The Flemish city of Bruges demonstrates how this process took place (Murray 2006). In the thirteenth century, merchants from Italy met their northern counterparts at the fairs of Champagne, but due to the decline of these fairs, Italian traders travelled northward to the Flemish towns. Gradually, the city of Bruges became the inevitable choice for a commercial venue because of its large population of merchants (it is estimated that there were two thousand foreign merchants in Bruges during the height of the trading season) and because of its location in Flanders, one of the industrial heartlands of medieval Europe (Blockmans 1993; Stabel 1997; Gelderblom 2013, 25). Among these traders were Hanseats, Portuguese, Venetians, Genoese, Luccese, Florentines, Aragonese, Castilians, Biscayans, Englishmen, Scots, French, and local merchants (Gelderblom 2004; Gelderblom and Grafe 2010; Gelderblom 2013). James Murray has identified

the Italians and the Hanseats as the “network makers” of the Bruges market; without their presence, there would not have been such a big market. The other groups of traders were “network takers” because they relied on and supported the commercial network (Murray 2000). Francesco Balducci Pegolotti (1310–1347), in his fourteenth-century merchant manual *Pratica della Mercatura*, names Bruges as the market *par excellence*, where merchants of different nationalities came together to trade and arrange financial transactions (Pegolotti and Evans 1936, 236–37).

All of these different groups of traders brought goods to Bruges from different places in Europe and sent the ones they bought in Bruges elsewhere. As foreigners speaking strange languages, wearing unusual clothes, and having different customs than the locals, they would have stood out among the inhabitants, many of which were also immigrants. Yet traders were socially integrated into the Flemish city to substantially different degrees. Members of the Florentine and Genoese trading communities settled in Bruges, became Bruges citizens, engaged in local public and private finance, married into the local elite etc.; they seem to have been more socially integrated than the Venetians and the Hanseats (Stabel 2001). Venetians and Hanseats only very occasionally show up in the administration records of the Bruges courts of law, much less frequently than do Italians, Spaniards, and citizens of other countries. The difference in the levels of integration of the various groups is explained by differences in their methods of trading and transport. Venetian traders imported Asian spices, such as pepper, ginger, cinnamon, clove, nutmeg, and saffron; luxury textiles (silk, damask); jewelry; precious stones; paper; glass; cotton; sugar; wine; and olive oil. In turn, they brought to the East cargos consisting of English wool and tin; furs and amber from the Hanseatic Baltic; luxury cloth from England and the Low Countries; and other luxuries produced in the cities of the Low Countries. Venetians relied on their galleys, the *galea della Fiandra*, for this trade with Flanders (Lane 1973; Stöckly 1995; Judde de Larivière 2008). This galley system was a state-controlled institution that reserved foreign trade for Venetian citizens and redistributed the profits from that trade among them. The Venetians operated as a group under control of a state-appointed captain of the fleet and Venetian consuls in Bruges; working as a group allowed them to set prices. If a Venetian were to become a citizen of Bruges, he would lose his Venetian citizenship, which would mean losing access to the galley system and other lucrative group benefits. Thus integration into Bruges was a very unattractive proposition to a Venetian. Contrary to the Venetian trade, Genoese trade was mostly a private, rather than a state, affair. Genoese traders engaged in more intense relations with local rulers, were more active in local real estate, and married Bruges girls; some of them even settled permanently in Bruges.

In other cities, the authorities chose to closely monitor foreign traders by spatially segregating them from each other. German merchants visiting Venice were required to reside in the Fondaco dei Tedeschi (first constructed in 1228), which is close to Venice's main market, the Rialto. All their transactions were inspected by government officials, to ensure that trade between Venice and the East remained in Venetian hands (Romanelli 1999). The concept of the *fondaco*, a building where foreigners were required to stay and do business, goes back to the Muslim *funduq*, which was a complex that included a hostel, taverns, markets, warehouses, and sites where goods could be taxed and regulated (Constable 2006). The Hanseats often created separate quarters for themselves within trading cities such as the Kontore in Bergen and Novgorod, as well as the London Steelyard. The Hanse merchants of Bruges tried to carve out their own space in Damme, a port of Bruges, but met with the fierce disapproval of the countess of Flanders, Margaret of Flanders (1145–1194) who did not want a foreign legal independency in her subject town (Stein 1902).

Foreign merchants in Bruges and other cities often formed merchant guilds or merchant nations. Local merchants also developed such organizations; they were first to do so. Local merchant guilds were much more numerous than foreign merchant guilds, since almost every city had its own merchant guild but only a limited number of cities attracted groups of foreign traders (Ogilvie 2011). The Benedictine Alpert of Metz (died in 1024) describes how merchants of Tiel (in Holland) organized into such a guild in the 1020s and how the members of this merchant guild engaged in ritual drinking on holidays to strengthen their social bonds (Akkerman 1962). Local merchant guilds such as the Florentine Arte di Calimala (merchants and finishers of foreign cloth), the Arte del Cambio (bankers and money-changers), and the Arte della Lana (wool manufacturers and merchants) wielded important political power (Goldthwaite 2009). In thirteenth-century Bruges, the city rulers, the aldermen, were always members of the Hansa of London, an exclusive club or merchant guild that controlled the vital trade between Bruges and England (Wyffels 1960; 1991). Hence, elite political circles overlapped with elite commercial circles, and merchant guild membership was a crucial advantage in politics. Merchant guilds had several political, economic, social, and cultural functions. The Venetians were the first to develop a formal nation in Bruges in the early fourteenth century: the count of Flanders and the city of Bruges granted them fiscal and legal privileges, as well as the right to organize (Stabel 2001). Members of the guild elected consuls, who were tasked with communicating with the local authorities in order to further group interests, intervening and mediating in disagreements between members, and representing members in local courts. Membership fees and donations financed the operations of the nation. Guilds allowed foreign mer-

chants to stand strong against rulers who did not protect their interests sufficiently or even harassed them. Merchants could collectively boycott cities and rulers, forcing them to accept the nation's demands. In one of the few xenophobic attacks on foreign merchants in Bruges, a large number of Hanseatic merchants were killed in Sluis, the port of Bruges, in 1436. The Hanseatic League immediately proclaimed a boycott against Bruges until apologies were made, damages paid, and new privileges were granted to secure the safety and property rights of merchants (Dollinger 1970, 368). It was not only locals that sometimes harmed merchants; rivalries between different commercial cities and their merchants could evolve into outright violence. Tensions between different Italian merchant guilds frequently turned into violence in twelfth-century Constantinople, in Messina in 1129, in Acre in 1222–1224 and 1256–1257, and in Cairo in the late 1280s, to name but a few examples. This repeated rioting has caused Sheilagh Ogilvie to argue that the merchant guilds did not ensure their own security by threatening to boycott opportunistic rulers; instead, they increased their commercial insecurity by competing for privileges. Ogilvie claims, in opposition to other economic historians, that merchant guilds were not efficient institutions that promoted trade. Instead, they acted as monopolists, colluding with local governments in exchange for various privileges, and excluded all non-members from trading activities (Ogilvie 2011).

The nations did more than just regulate commercial and legal issues; they also played a large role in the social, cultural and religious lives of foreign merchants. The Venetians, for example, had their own altar in the Augustinian monastery of Bruges that was devoted to their city's patron, Saint Mark (died 68 C.E.). Foreign merchants were also visible in the city's architecture: almost all foreign merchant associations had their own nation houses in the commercial center of the city, epitomized by the Bourse square (De Roover 1949). Over time, these merchant nations sometimes developed into exclusive social clubs such as the German *Kaufleutestuben* (Isenmann 1988, 301–04). The Hanseatic League was by far the most famous organization of medieval merchants. The Hansa was a commercial and defensive confederation of merchant guilds and their market towns; its goal was to protect Hansa merchants' economic and diplomatic privileges in cities and countries where they were active.

Several German cities, including Lübeck, Hamburg, and Cologne, had their own local merchant guilds in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. German merchants formed organizations in foreign towns, such as the guild in Novgorod in the first half of the thirteenth century. By 1356, the previously informal cooperation between more or less independent north German towns had obtained a more formal character and representatives of the towns began to meet at so-called Hanseatic Diets, assemblies of the member towns. Hanseatic merchants and their

representatives obtained *Kontors*, or Hanseatic settlements, in North Sea and Baltic port cities (Dollinger 1970). The study of the Hanseatic League and its merchants has a venerable and long-standing pedigree, but the subject continues to attract economic historians who are interested in how Hanseatic merchants operated (Kiesow-Hammel and Puhle 2009).

Merchants were not the only ones who stood to gain from trade: their presence also attracted subsidiary commercial personnel. Clerks and bookkeepers offered their administrative services to merchants. Brokers matched buyers and sellers who did not have the contacts to seal deals themselves. Hostellers (who often also served as brokers or kept brokers in their service) provided room and board to foreign traders. In Bruges, hostellers and innkeepers specialized in providing services to merchants from specific regions. Money-changers not only provided access to different currencies; they also kept money on behalf of their clients and, over time, would gradually develop into bankers. Notaries, which were well established in Italian cities early on, spread over Europe alongside Italian merchants. Clerks of local governments too registered contracts which could be used as evidence in case of a lawsuit (S. R. Epstein 1994; Reyerson 2002; Murray 2006). All of these businesspeople knew that it was important for them to have some knowledge of different languages. They learned languages by en passant and from an ever-increasing number of foreign conversation manuals and word lists. In addition, craftsmen found buyers for their products through merchants. Yet access to long-distance trade must have been a mixed blessing: producers faced foreign competition and trade could quickly be disrupted by wars and political uncertainty (Munro 2003; 2005; Stabel 2004).

One particularly strong shock to trade was the Black Death, which hit Europe in the late 1340s and remained endemic there for the rest of the Middle Ages. The sudden spike in mortality that erased perhaps one-third of Europe's population, meant that a huge amount of wealth was transferred to those who survived the Black Death. There were therefore large numbers of newly rich people craving luxury goods. Merchants were hard-pressed to satisfy this demand at a time when many of their trusted agents abroad in Europe and the Middle East had passed away. The connotations of the word "risk" changed from positive to negative in Venice and Genoa, reflecting the loss of confidence of the mercantile communities of these cities in trade. Merchant ships that once had names like *Wealth*, *Fortress*, and *Merriment* now were named after saints; mariners and merchants no longer assumed that success came from their own skills and courage but that it primarily came from the grace and protection of God and his saintly assistants (Kedar 1976). Yet the commercial system did not collapse. Merchants continued to use the techniques and modes of operation they had developed during the Commercial Revolution, and adapted them to the increased risks and opportu-

nities of the late medieval crisis, a period haunted by the Three Horsemen of plague, hunger, and war (Hunt and Murray 1999, 148–49).

D Medieval Attitudes Toward Trade and Traders

As has been stated earlier, after the year 1000, most ecclesiastical writers (our sources for most of the extant texts dating from the early Middle Ages) did not automatically condemn commerce. Running an honest business was possible within a religious context, and those who did so even merited praise. Ecclesiastics who came into contact with merchants in urban settings were especially positively disposed toward trade. Gilles li Muisis (ca. 1272–1352), the abbot of the Benedictines in Tournai, emphasizes that commerce as an occupation is a burdensome line of work: the merchant is constantly on the road, always taking risks and looking out for the latest news. Merchants bring people together and import commodities from where they are abundant to where they are scarce. Traders, he concludes, should be honored, not mistreated (Schilperoort 1933, 107–13). The Franciscans developed the most pronounced view of professional merchants: namely, that ethical merchants are able to produce useful riches and are not to be confused with usurers (Todeschini 2004). The Franciscan Bernardino of Siena (1380–1444) argues that a merchant requires a specific set of qualities: diligence, efficiency, and responsibility. Merchants need to be energetic for their long voyages and are always exposed to dangers (Lis and Soly 2012, 237). Beginning in the late fourteenth century, humanists, especially Florentines, expressed an equally favorable view of trade and traders, stressing the intrinsic value of *mercatura* or commerce (Bec 1967). Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406) wrote, “holiest of all in our view is the *mercatura*, as mankind cannot live without exchange” (De Rosa 1980, 38). It is not a coincidence that the man who said this was a Florentine, given Florence’s economic and cultural dynamism. Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459), in his 1428 *De avaritia*, argues that profit is central to urban life and that without profit there would be no mercy and charity. The rich should use their wealth wisely and spend it for the benefit of the common weal (Bracciolini 1978, 260–61). Some merchants were rather open about their riches: in 1287, Benedetto Zaccaria (ca. 1235–1307), a Genoese merchant, ship owner, and *condottiere* or mercenary leader who befriended the Byzantine Emperor and supplied war fleets to the kings of France and Castile, even dared to name the largest ship in his merchant fleet *Divizia* or “Wealth” (Renouard 1949, 123–30).

Not only churchmen and humanists wrote about trade and traders; over time, merchants themselves also started to write in order to justify their own activities (Dahl 1998). Again, most of the extant evidence comes from Florentines such as

Giovanni di Paolo Morelli (1371–1444) and Paolo da Certaldo (ca. 1320–1370), both of whom stress the merits of hard work. One’s reputation and trustworthiness should be kept in mind at all times. The goal of hard work is enrichment, but one has to be prudent in how one earns and spends it. One has to take risks in order to earn profits. Yet these risks clearly affected merchants such as Francesco di Marco Datini (1335–1410) from Prato, close to Florence, who left one of the richest medieval collections of account books and correspondence, or the fifteenth-century Hanseatic trader Hildebrand Veckinchusen (ca. 1370–1426). Both lament the fears and anxieties of business (Stieda 1921; Lesnikov 1973; Origo 1992; Seifert 2000; Nigro, ed., 2010; Lis and Soly 2012, 278–79). The Renaissance has also been characterized as the period in which a merchant mentality of individualism and economic rationalism in the pursuit of profit started to develop. According to some historians, this merchant mentality translated into a so-called *comptabilité de l’au-delà* or “accounting for the hereafter” (Chiffolleau 1980). Merchants were allowed to pursue profits if they gave some of them to the Church. Francesco Datini lived all his life in the merciless pursuit of profit. His friend, the pious notary Lapo Mazzei (1350–1412), often warned him not to go too far. Yet Datini observed all the conventions of Christian religious practice and in his testament he bequeathed his entire fortune to the poor of his birth town, Prato (Origo 1992). This generosity was often publicized through public works, architecture, and the visual arts. By doing so, businessmen displayed their exquisite taste. Tommaso Portinari (1424–1501), the manager of the Bruges branch of the Medici bank and financial advisor to the Duke of Burgundy, had large altarpieces made by the Flemish painters Hans Memling (ca. 1430/1440–1494) and Hugo van der Goes (ca. 1430/1340–1482) that included depictions of himself and members of his family in the religious scenes (De Roover 1966; Boone 1999; Wolfthal 2007).

Merchants’ wealth eventually brought them political power. With the growth of trade, cities started to develop or redevelop. Inhabitants of the growing towns sought to obtain urban freedom and rights. These demands sometimes lead to clashes between merchants and local rulers. Merchants, while not always at the forefront of the push for urban political independence, made sure their demands were heard. They clearly had a lot to gain from increased security and transparent tolls and duties, which were aims of early urban communities. Urban elites were often a hybrid group consisting of local noblemen of various ranks, members of the clergy, and *nouveaux riches* who had either currently or previously earned their livelihood in trade or industry (Crouzet-Pavan 1997; Jones 1997; Dutour 2003; Buylaert 2010). In the cities of north and central Italy, country nobles and businessmen converged socially and culturally: the nobles invested in non-agricultural activities, while businessmen emulated the lifestyles of the traditional elite (Goldthwaite 1993). It was often difficult to combine (semi-)noble status with

economic activity. Filippo Strozzi (1426–1491) planned to build a gallery of shops right across the entrance of his family palace, but the Florentine banker and politician Lorenzo de' Medici (1449–1492) warned his colleague that such “utilities” would tarnish Strozzi’s reputation (de Roover 1963; Martines 1963, 32; Goldthwaite 1987). In the Low Countries and in the county of Flanders in particular (which was the mirror image of highly-urbanized Italy), the urban elite closed its ranks in the thirteenth century. As in Italy, the Flemish urban elite adopted aristocratic lifestyles, conspicuously displaying costly fabrics and knightly arms and armor, building stone houses and towers, and buying lordly estates. In medieval Venice, the commercial elite were the political rulers of this lagoon metropolis. Venetian merchants governed the city to their own advantage, building public infrastructure such as the galley system, which they used for trade with the East and northwestern Europe, and denying Venetian citizenship to foreign merchants, consequently squeezing them out of Venice’s highly profitable long-distance trade. Only in the sixteenth century would the Venetian elite turn its back on active commerce (Lane 1973; Tucci 1973; Cecchini and Pezzolo 2012). Merchants did not always try to enter the nobility, however: in the cities of the German Hanse, businessmen lavishly displayed their wealth but they did not attempt to become nobles because the nobility had little political power (Lis and Soly 2012, 243–44). Rulers could privilege their own traders and exclude all others from trade, often in return for financial services, as the rulers of Venice did; alternately, they could open up trade to all merchants, regardless of their origins and legal status, and hope to benefit from larger markets. Oscar Gelderblom recently has argued that cities of commerce competed for long-distance merchants, and that this competition pushed them to develop openness, infrastructure, and legal institutions according to best practice. He argues that this competition took place for the first time in the urbanized Low Countries, where there were several competitors in the battle for commercial primacy (Gelderblom 2013). Eventually, in the early modern period, all European cities would gradually develop open-access commercial regimes, allowing all traders to trade in these cities.

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Werner Heinz

History of Medieval Metrology

A Introduction

1. Today it is easy to think about different measurements of length, about uniform standards when measuring, and so on. During the French Revolution the “meter” became a completely new unit of length for measurements in a completely new society: it was calculated as the ten-millionth part of the meridian between the North Pole and the equator (Trapp 1992, 30). The meridian was measured with a fathom called *Toise de Pérou*. This toise was divided into 864 lines, and its length equalled 1949 mm (Brachner 1996, 41). After many calculations, the length of the *mètre vrai et définitif* was defined by law to be 443.296 lines of the *Toise de Pérou* (Trapp 1992, 31). This meter became a new standard by which to measure length in 1799. Older standards with lengths close to one meter are, thus, incorrectly called a “meter” (e.g., Wallenwein 1995, 69–78; Sperling 1999, 280–81; Kottmann 2011). The standards used for measurement before the invention of the meter are called “pre-metric measures.”

As demands for accuracy increased, new definitions of the meter were adopted in 1889, and the standard measure of a meter as a fraction of the meridian was abandoned. From then on, length was measured by optical methods with a standard deviation of $\pm 10^{-7}$ meter. From 1960 onward, the meter was defined in terms of atomic wave length, and, in the year 1983, scientists calibrated the meter’s length according to the distance that light travels in a very tiny length of time (Lemmerich 1987, 87–89).

2. This search for exactitude begins in antiquity, and not with us. From the first records detailing such investigations, lengths were calculated with accuracy not only during antiquity, but also into medieval times. In Windisch (Switzerland) Roman measures were excavated that could be traced back to the Roman foot = *pes Romanus* and to a length we call the *foot of Vindonissa* (after Windisch) (Heinz 1991). Normally, the cubit comprises 24 fingers; the cubit₂₄ of the *pes Romanus* equals 444.2 mm. But, one finds also a longer cubit of 28 fingers. This cubit₂₈ of the foot of Vindonissa is 511.8 mm long. In Assisi (Italy), three standards exist, some witnessed by inscriptions explaining what they were used to measure, items like wood, silk and so on. One of these measures is exactly 512 mm. The difference between it and the standard cubit of 511.8 mm is incredibly low, differing by only two tenths of a millimeter or 0.04%. An inscription states that the Assisi stan-

dards go back to the year 1349. They are then at least 1200 years younger than the Vindonissa measures. We will return to these measures again.

This high accuracy with which standards were passed down from ancient to medieval times can be observed in many locations (Heinz 1999). It is reasonable to say that one neighbor knew about the standards of the other—this would be an inevitable result of trading—and that he transformed other standards of measurement to fit his own uses. Descriptions of these processes are extremely rare. However, there exists a witness to this process from Roman Imperial times. The *agrimensor* (i.e., surveyor) Hyginus who lived in the second century C.E. reports details about the Roman foot: It was a standard kept in the temple of the highest goddess on top of the Capitol hill in Rome: the *pes monetalis* or *pes Romanus* in the temple of Iuno Monetalis.

3. The standards in other countries and regions differed from those in Rome. We learn from Hyginus that in one part of the Empire, there was a length called the Ptolemaic foot: *praeterea pes eorum, qui Ptolomeicus appellatur, habet monetalem pedem et semunciam* (Blume, Lachmann, and Rudorff, ed., 1848, 123). This length was the Roman standard plus one-half ounce, to be defined later. Although this newly-created foot was longer than the *pes monetalis*, it was regarded as a foot of 16 fingers (we write: foot_{16}). Each finger is a little longer than the *digitus* of the *pes monetalis*. Hyginus continues with remarks about the *pes Drusianus* found in *Germania* (today: Tongeren in Belgium): *Item dicitur in Germania in Tungris pes Drusianus, qui habet monetalem pedem et sescunciam* (Blume, Lachmann, and Rudorff, ed., 1848, 123). This length was the Roman foot plus *sescuncia* or $1/8\text{th}$. This word (from the Latin *sesquiuncia*) means $1\frac{1}{2}$ ounces (Hultsch 1882, 88). The elongation of $1\frac{1}{2}$ ounces equals exactly two fingers. Thus, the *pes Drusianus* was always referred to as a foot of 18 fingers (foot_{18}). We find examples of exactly these lengths in later sections of this article.

4. The first question is the actual length of these three different standards. The Roman foot (*pes Romanus* or *pes monetalis*) was identified by occasional inscriptions and by the Imperial column of Marcus Aurelius in Rome, described as *columna centenaria* (i.e., a column of 100 feet) in an inscription. The length of this column revealed the Roman foot to be exactly 296.2 mm (Heinz 2003, 68). Thus, one may calculate from that fact the Ptolemaic foot as having a length of 308.5 mm and that of the *pes Drusianus* of 333.2 mm. Three of these feet add up to 999.6 mm. The difference between this and 1000 mm = 1 meter is only -0.04% . Nevertheless, these facts do not establish the meter as an ancient standard. Other measures of length existed as well: the Roman *pes monetalis* of 296.2 mm, and both longer standards (e.g., *pes Drusianus*) and shorter measures (Heinz 1991).

When Rolf Rottländer compiled and grouped his archeological data, he found different classes of lengths which, by mathematical calculations, have to be separated (Rottländer 1994a). Derived from real examples of measures, he recognized (among others) the length of the Roman foot to be 296.2 mm, the Ptolemaic foot to be 308.5 mm, and the *pes Drusianus* to be 333.2 mm (Rottländer 1991, 66). Thus, the classification of actual measures derived from archaeological data squares exactly with mathematical calculations made from ancient texts.

5. Since Rolf Rottländer included measures from ancient and medieval times, an important question concerning the exactness of the tradition can be answered easily: The very high accuracy of handing down the standards from one generation to the next is not only a phenomenon characteristic of antiquity, but also of the Middle Ages (see below).

6. These different standards of measurement were mainly generated by mathematical transformations. The two examples given above by Hyginus show two different methods of adjusting standards to one's own needs. There are more ways discussed below (below, section C). However, by means of statistics, it can be proven that it is extremely unlikely to “create” by chance a new standard which equals an existing one.

Thus, not only were the ancient standards preserved despite their adaptation in later times, but also the same fact applies to the bulk of medieval (Rottländer 1994b) and even later measures (Heinz 2000, 136–39). And one notes the high precision—within a range of only $\pm 0.2\%$ (Rottländer 1996, 147)—with which standards were handed over. Those measures which seem to be very close together must be separated into different classes by means of the so called “t-test” (Ihm 1978, 144–70). The knowledge from ancient times was, thus, not forgotten in the medieval era.

B Ancient Sources

1. Standards of measurement in Middle Ages were based entirely on ancient systems of measurements. Looking at only a few written sources from Roman and early medieval times, we realize the continuity in the descriptions of measures and in the idea of measuring itself.

Toward the end of the Roman Republic in the last decades of the first century B.C.E., the Roman architect Vitruvius published his *Ten Books About Architecture*. In book six we read: “Non minus etiam [...] eum perfectum constituerunt, cubitumque animadverterunt ex sex palmis constare digitisque XXIII. [...] E cubito

enim cum dempti sunt palmi duo, relinquitur pes quattuor palmorum, palmus autem habet quattuor digitos. Ita efficitur, ut habeat pes sedecim digitos et totidem asses aeracius denarius” (Vitruvius 1976, 3, 1, 7–8). These sentences tell us about the Greek influence on the Romans; to paraphrase: The number six was considered to be perfect by the Greeks, and they realized that the cubit also had six palms, or, if counting, 24 fingers. If one takes away two palms from the cubit, one gets a foot of four palms, and a palm has four fingers. Thus, a foot has to have 16 fingers, and the copper denarius the same amount of asses.

More than one hundred years later the *agrimensor* Balbus provides similar information: The smallest unit of measures is the finger; the ounce has a finger and one third of a finger; and about the palm he says: “palmus habet digitos IIII, uncias III”—‘one palm consists of four fingers or three ounces.’ He continues: “sextans, que eadem dodrans appellatur, habet palmos III, uncias VIII, digitos XII. pes habet palmos IIII, uncias XII, digitos XVI” (Blume, Lachmann, and Rudorff, ed., 1848, 94–95). This text clarifies the meaning of two different units: the first one, usually called the *dodrans*, means three-fourths of a foot; it has three palms or nine ounces or 12 fingers. The foot has four palms or 12 ounces or 16 fingers.

2. These passages provide much information about the ancient and medieval system of measurements: The cubit with the length of $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot; the foot with four palms, and each palm with four fingers or, as shown, above, with three ounces. This system was transferred right from antiquity into the Middle Ages, but with two exemptions: The ounce is much more common than the finger, and the basic length of the foot very often differs from the basic length of the cubit. The Regensburg standards prove this to be so. The *dodrans* mentioned by Balbus was well in use in Renaissance times.

The Romans measured larger distances with the *stadium*, being one eighth of a mile (Pliny 1997, 2; 21; § 85), or with the mile of 5,000 feet, or, in late antiquity, with the *leuga* with the length of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, as Iordanes (1991, 36) states (see Heinz 2003, 69). Note that, in the early Middle Ages, Isidore of Seville (2006, 15; 16; 2) defines the mile and the *leuga* in the ancient Roman way (Hultsch 1882, 81, note 2), whereas later on, the mile differs completely from its well-defined Roman length.

3. These very few witnesses might give an idea of how the medieval system of measures emerged from ancient standardization. In order to combine the measurements described in ancient texts with the lengths we find in archaeological relicts, we have to know how long the Roman *pes monetalis* was. Occasional inscriptions (rather modern) and the *columna centenaria* of Marcus Aurelius in Rome lead us to the best value of 296.2 mm, as shown above (Heinz 2003, 68).

4. How was it possible that a specific standard was copied in other regions? Of course, people could copy the measure generally. But this copied measure could also be shortened. It might be useful for our understanding of ways to copy standards exactly to use an analogy that refers to people gifted with an absolute musical ear: According to the frequency of the tone, such people will be able to cut a flute exactly in the length of one foot. This practice is known at least from ancient China (Haustein 2001, 2), where the standard was preserved with the Yellow Bell.

In this article, it will not be possible to examine squares or volumes, since both of these calculate measurement of length in the second or third dimension. Taking the length is just the beginning of measuring something (Rottländer 1994a, 23). This fact is important in order to minimize any mistakes which, in the field, would be multiplied by themselves.

C Creating New Standards by Mathematical Transformations

What methods gave rise to new lengths? To put it briefly, communication between different partners revealed the necessity of creating new standards. Imagine a salesman travelling by chance to the edge of the world. In his back-basket, he carries a fathom of six feet equivalent to 96 fingers. His business partner, however, does not accept this new measure entirely, for he lives in a region where the decimal system is common (Ifrah 1991, 52–75). So, he agrees to use the fathom length, but he will divide it into one hundred fingers (in this way, the so-called foot of Gudea was created). Of course, this new finger is a little shorter. So, if a third person recalls the original shape of a foot and calculates the foot of 16 of these shorter fingers, the new foot will be a little shorter than the original one was.

There are many other ways in which mathematical transformations create new standards (Rottländer 1994b). They tell us that, in fact, all ancient systems of standards are coherent. Rottländer proved (1994a) that all ancient lengths can be traced back to the so called Nippur cubit (the oldest measure of this class was found in the temple of Nippur, Mesopotamia, and it dates back to the beginning of the third millennium B.C.E). This basic unit has a length of 518.4 mm. Exactly this length may be found in one of the standards dating from about 1450 in the Vienna cathedral (*Der Standard*, March 25, 1997). As a last example, the *pes monetalis* mentioned above has 16 fingers, each one of which is 18.51 mm long; the Nippur cubit has 28 fingers of 18.51 mm—but the *digitus* is exactly the same in both examples.

In medieval contexts, we find all of these different units, along with many others, including the ancient Egyptian cubit used in the time of the Suebian emperor Frederick II († 1250). The Egyptian cubit depends on the Nippur cubit. As discussed by Rolf Rottländer (1979, 31), we have a square, each side of which is divided into five units of the Nippur cubit. The diagonal of this square is defined by the square root of two. Thus, it is impossible to define the diagonal as an entire number of Nippur cubits. Therefore the Egyptians calculated the diagonal with seven units, each one a little longer than the Nippur cubit. In this way, the royal Egyptian cubit gained a length of 523.6 mm. We will find traces of the Egyptian system of measures, e.g., in Rothenburg o.d. Tauber.

D Setting up the Standards in the Middle Ages

1. Supposedly for the first time in history, the emperor Diocletian (r. 284–305) tried to impose a unique system of measures, money, prices, etc. in his empire (Haustein 2001, 75–78). He did not succeed: The Edict of Prices issued in 301 was intended as a device to curb inflation. Instead, it led to the collapse of the economy, and people turned back to direct exchange of goods (Scharf 2005). In terms of metrology, it is important to realize that, in this document, the term *pes* as a unit measurement of marble obviously does not refer to a cubic foot. For two reasons, it must mean the square foot: First, the use of the cubic foot in Latin sources is rare, and—much more importantly—marble would have been far too cheap compared to other luxury goods if the *pes* actually meant a cubic foot (Corcoran and DeLaine 1994, 272).

2. In the Carolingian era, the Emperor Charlemagne (d. 814) similarly tried to control markets and prices. Different maximum prices were imposed on different kinds of grain, as well as on bread. Even in times of economic difficulties, it was forbidden to practice usury: Too high a margin (*turpe lucrum*) was rejected in favor of a just price (*iustum pretium*). All people in the cities, in the monasteries, and in the countryside were required to use the correct standards and weights (Laudage et al. 2006, 190).

These data were published in the general admonition (*admonitio generalis*) in 789. Four years later, when changing the standard specifications of money by exchanging the *libra* gold for the *pondus* silver (Witthöft 1986b, 215), these new regulations were imposed everywhere. The standards of length were deposited in the royal imperial palaces and the centers of the royal real estates, and every count palatine was furnished with these standards, which were to be used when paying taxes (Haustein 2001, 82).

It is nearly impossible to say if Charlemagne succeeded with his attempts at regularization. That he attempted at all, however, casts light on the fact that the handling of standards was the business of the sovereign (see below), not of different regional centers.

E The Mathematical Background when Making Inquiries into Ancient Standards

1. Although very little research has been done on ancient and medieval measures as described in literary texts, even less has been done on measures used in real terms (I will call them “real measures”). The data for these “literary measures” were usually gained by comparing the pre-metric feet to the royal French standard (the “Pied de Roi” with 324.8 mm; Rottländer 1994b, 29) or later to the meter. These tables provide registers of utmost importance since they contain information not to be obtained any other way: In Friedberg (Hessen), e.g., the length of the foot is known as a length of 292.1 mm (reflecting the Roman Vindonissa-foot mentioned above with a length of 292.5 mm; the difference is a very low -0.13%), though the real measure is lost nowadays (Belz 1968, 23).

2. We have to watch carefully the quality of the information about these “literary measures,” since these data usually cannot be verified independently. Thus, it is better to treat “literary measures” as a class of their own. In this article, we leave them aside in favor of the “real measures,” which can be assessed by way of independent witnesses. In this class, other difficulties occur: The metric values are rounded off (e.g., Rothenburg o.d.T.: Pfeiffer 1986, 620: 1 foot = 303 mm; Pfeiffer 1986, 135: the wrong value of 300 mm for the same foot) or the data, if published at all, are incomplete (Pfeiffer 1986 mentions two measures in Rothenburg; there are four of them right next to each other). Important places with standards presented to the public, like Regensburg, the Freiburg i.Br. cathedral with its many standards, or Michelstadt and Alsfeld in Hessen, and Assisi (Umbria), with different late medieval standards are completely missing from Pfeiffer’s book. Likewise, much data published on the internet are not reliable. Most of these standards—actually in use as gauges—are not published at all.

For these reasons, only approved data will be taken into consideration here. In many places, I took the measures myself. In all cases, these data have to undergo a special mathematical treatment, which will be introduced here.

3. Taking measures always means creating a proportion: An existing dimension—e.g., the length of a church or of a foot—has to be compared to standards familiar to us (Lemmerich 1987, 1). Measuring a specific object several times will result in very similar, but not identical outcomes. Taking the measures of two parallel walls of a large building which are intended to be equal, one might find a significant difference.

Mathematically, this means that we have to take measurements several times in order to calculate the mean value. The next step is the calculation of the standard deviation, which gives the range of the amplitude of plus and minus to the mean value. Details will be given when discussing the Regensburg measures below, where we find the mean value and the standard deviation like this: 313.66 ± 0.24 mm. It is noteworthy that, within the range of ± 0.24 mm above and below the mean value, all data have to be treated equally; there is no emphasis on the mean value.

The standard deviation tells one about the absolute amount of scattering. In order to compare several statistic units, we have to calculate the relative scattering using the coefficient of variation (cv). The formula is: the coefficient of variation (cv) equals the standard deviation (sd) divided by the mean value (mv) times one hundred ($cv = sd / mv * 100$). The result is the relative scattering given in percents. If ten percent is exceeded, we have a rather high scattering (Kellerer 1960, 67).

F A Prominent Example: Regensburg (Bavaria), The Medieval Town Hall with Different Units of Lengths

1. Short description of the measures, including the inscription. The favorite places to present standard lengths to the public were either churches or town halls. As they were gauges, they had to be available to the public and close to the markets. In the city of Regensburg, all these important requirements were met: The market east of the town hall was mentioned for the first time in the year 934, and the measures of the city are supposed to go back to late medieval times.

The gauges are installed at eye-level at the left hand side of the representative stairs of the town hall. Three measures in vertical position are identified by an inscription: *der stat schuch* / *der stat öln* / *u. der stat klafter*; in fact the foot (*schuch*) is in the middle, the cubit (*öln*) on the right hand side, and the fathom (*klafter*) on the left. All measures are deflected at both ends, so that the actual length has to be taken in between these two ends. There is no indication of any special use (i.e., for tissue, wood, etc.) for these measures.



Fig. 1: The Regensburg standards; from the left: the fathom, the foot, and the cubit (photo: author).



Fig. 2: Details of the Regensburg standards. A rare picture: the foot has the shape of a real foot (photo: author).

The fathom has a length of six feet. These feet are marked by notches, and each foot is about 314 mm long. The bottom part is divided into 12 inches. The foot has the shape of a real foot, which is very unusual. The ell has a groove in the middle; the upper part is subdivided into two parts of around 202.5 mm, whereas the bottom part is intentionally tripartite.

2. These three measures seem to have been ignored by most scholars. They are not mentioned in Elisabeth Pfeiffer's book (1986) or in the paper by Harald Witthöft (1986a). Stephan Albrecht (2004, 214–17) describes the town hall of Regensburg without even one word about these standards. They are omitted by Eugen Trapp (2008, 85) as well as by others. Only Hartmut Boockmann (1986, 139) provides a picture and a short description, but he does not list the length of these standards. Since there is no reliable data base, I took the measures myself on July 11, 2009. So far, these lengths are unpublished sources of medieval material culture. The results are as follows.

3. The foot, the fathom, and the cubit. The foot is the smallest unit. The maximum length between the two ends was taken three times, obtaining measures of 314 mm; 313.5 mm; 313.5 mm. This provides the tangible distance of 313.66 ± 0.24 mm with the very small $cv = 0.075\%$. Since it is not realistic to take a measure of one hundredth part of a millimeter, the value has to be rounded up to 313.7 mm. This figure is very close to an ancient length which was in use on the Greek island of Aigina (Hultsch 1882, 499–505; 534). The best value for this ancient foot was calculated to be 314.2 mm (Rottländer 1991, 66). The difference Δ between the Regensburg foot (*schuch*) and the foot of Aigina amounts to only -0.17% . In terms of statistics, the Regensburg foot definitely belongs to the class of the foot of Aigina.

Once more, we find proof that the ancient standards were handed down with utmost accuracy (Heinz 1999), either without any change or with a clear mathematical transformation (Rottländer 1994b), like the addition of two fingers and so on. The old names, however, were lost.

The fathom (*klafter*) had to be the length of six feet, as indicated above. The tangible distance between the ends was ascertained to be 1891 mm; 1890 mm; 1890 mm; so on the whole we get 1890.3 ± 0.47 mm, $cv = 0.02\%$. Hence the Regensburg fathom counted six feet of Aigina, each one 315.05 mm long. Compared to the best value of 314.2 mm, we get a difference of $+0.27\%$.

So we have two feet of the same class. They differ a little. But we can calculate the mean value between the foot of the *schuch* and the one of the *klafter* as follows:

1 foot <i>klafter</i>	315.05 mm
1 foot <i>schuch</i>	313.66 mm
\bar{x} =	314.36 mm; Δ to 314.2 mm = +0.005%

The tradition of the ancient length is as accurate as one can imagine. Without a doubt, we find the same length for the foot and the fathom.

The cubit is different. The measurements obtained were: 811 mm; 812 mm; 811 mm; 812 mm; this means 811.5 ± 0.5 mm with the low $cv = 0.06\%$. The partition in the middle provides two lengths of about 405.75 mm. This is very close to the cubit of 24 fingers from the so-called foot of Bologna (the Bologna cubit: 406.35 mm; $\Delta = -0.15\%$). Two cubits₂₄ are identical with three feet₁₆. We cannot say how this ell of Regensburg, with its unusual length, was generated.

The foot of Bologna is a recently discovered standard which was found in the church of San Petronio in Bologna. When the astronomers Cassini set up the meridian in this church in 1656, they used a measure which they themselves described as *8/10 del piede scientifico francese*. The meridian is exactly 250 feet long, and we find the length of one of these feet imprinted on the wall. With very high accuracy, we can then calculate this foot of Bologna to be 270.9 mm long (Heinz 2000, 136–39). However, the fact that we find this foot here for the first time does by no means indicate that this standard could not have been older than the meridian. The bottom part of the Regensburg ell is divided into three parts, each about 135 mm long. Two of these parts add up to one so-called foot of Bologna.

4. When did these measures emerge? This question is not an easy one to answer because there are no inscriptions giving further details. The architecture of the town hall goes back to medieval and to Renaissance times. The flight of steps next to the standards was built around 1400/1410 (Albrecht 2004, 217). The entrance hall around the steps with the measures at the left hand side of the door was restored in 1564. However, the relief above the entrance door, with its two protecting figures (*Schutz und Trutz*) from about 1400/1410, was reused. Thus, it is probable that other parts of this entrance hall were constructed in the fifteenth century.

A paleographical analysis of the inscription provides an answer. The letters are in Gothic minuscule. They can well be compared to Gothic *textura* (Bischoff 2004, 175, Fig. 26; Schneider 2009, 53–56), but not to letters from the sixteenth century (Bischoff 2004, 197). The early book printers used the *textura* type of writing for the incunabula. Thus, it appears most likely that the Regensburg measures were set up in the fifteenth century.

5. The Regensburg measures were obviously standards used for different purposes. In contrast to other places (e.g., Assisi), there is no inscription for a

differentiated use on the scales. Since both ends are deflected, it seems unlikely that these measures were used for tissue. Small units, however, like the inch or the half foot can be taken from these standards. They definitely served for many needs in everyday life, rather than having a special application.

The lengths of the Regensburg standards continued to be used up to the nineteenth century, when they appear in those tables which expressed the medieval measures in metric values (Trapp 1992, 226). In the tables, the Regensburg foot like the *schuch* with 313.6 mm and the cubit with 810.0 mm as stated by Trapp are said to be slightly shorter than my own measurements revealed.

G A Short Investigation into Further Real Standards

We recall the definition of the *pes monetalis* and of the foreign feet given by Hyginus (above: section A). We realized, above, that ancient units of length emerged from each other. Likewise, just about all of the medieval standards I took note of could be traced back to ancient measures. Today, this kind of metrological work seems to be more or less unknown. Most of the single measures or even the groups of measurements seem to be unpublished. For special information, I would like to thank the municipal archives of Michelstadt, Riedlingen, and Wetzlar.

When dealing with figures and numbers in this paper, I would like to take the continuity between ancient and medieval measures as a guide for presenting other cities with public measures. Looking at medieval standards, we sometimes even nowadays are able to grasp the economic and juridical power of the cities involved, a power to some respect comparable to the municipal right of coinage.

In many places, the standards of length are combined with models of bricks (e.g., Assisi) or bread and other goods from everyday life (e.g., Freiburg), or with tiles (e.g., Weil der Stadt). It seems strange to regard these tiles just as models for a future repair of the roof of the church (e.g., Weil der Stadt: Seeliger-Zeiss 1999, 26). Instead, they are metrological objects of another kind, and they were publicly displayed as standards in commerce (e.g., Ochsenfurt: Wagner 1993, 112; 118, Fig. 7–8).

1. The *pes monetalis*—the standard of the ancient city of Rome—was never forgotten. We find it in Assisi (Italy, Umbria) among the different measures twice. In the center of the city, next to the ancient temple of Minerva (today a church), rises the tower of the Palazzo del Capitano del Popolo. At eye level, there is one slab of stone with four different tiles; an inscription on the slab from the year 1349 states

that these measures were set up by local authorities. To the left of this slab, there are three different standards, all of them iron measures fixed in the wall. From top to bottom, numbers one to three, I will describe them:

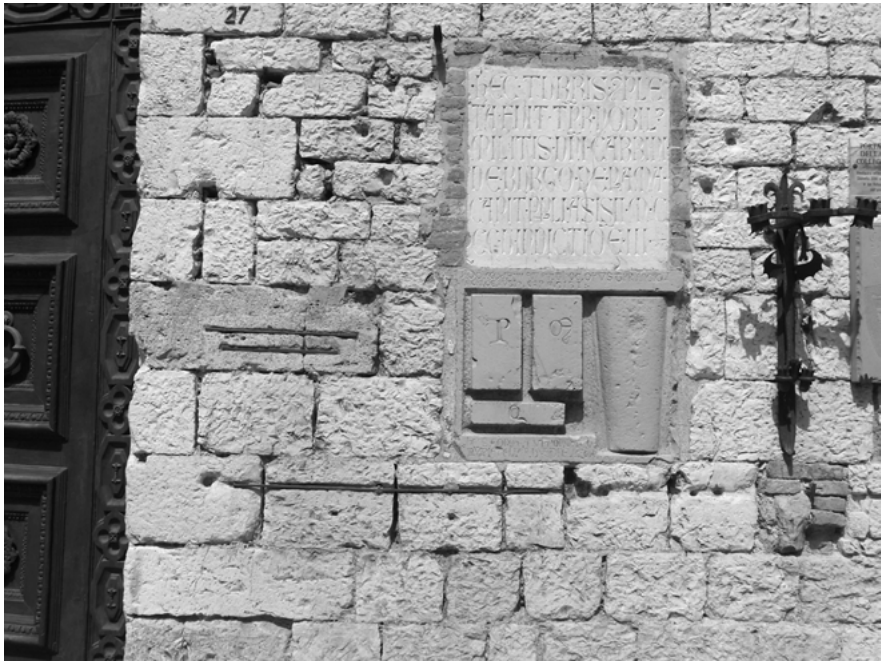


Fig. 3: The standards in Assisi, Italy, on the outside of the Palazzo del Capitano del Popolo (photo: author).

Number 1 is one unit divided by two notches into three parts. The entire length (carefully taken at least for four times) is 512 mm. With regard to ancient standards, this measure is very interesting since the cubit₂₈ of the Vindonissa foot mentioned above (section A) has an ideal length of 511.8 mm. There is practically no difference then from the standard in Roman times, witnessing a living continuity, since the chance to match an existing standard just by invention was calculated to be smaller than hitting the jackpot.

Assisi number 2 is even more interesting. With a total length of about 391 mm (to be exact: 390.75 ± 0.43 mm; $cv = 0.11\%$; $n = 4$), this measure is divided in the middle by an X, and the left half again is divided into two equal parts. They carry an inscription: *PIEDE · D · LEGNO | E · FORMONI*. So this was a measure for certain kinds of wood and tiles. The length of 391 mm is close to an ancient unit of 20 fingers called *pygon* (Hultsch 1882, 36). In this case, it is the *pygon* of a measure

called Late Byzantine foot (related to the *pes Drusianus*). The foot has an ideal length of 312.4 mm; the *pygon* has a length of 390.5 mm, making it very close to the Assisi standard 2.



Fig. 4: A small detail of the Assisi standards: The measure of wood “*piede di legno*” (photo: author).

Assisi number 3 with 1040.5 mm is the longest. It is divided into six different sections by way of five notches, three of them marked by an X as well. All of them can be traced back to ancient standards. In the third section c, I found a length of 148.17 ± 0.24 mm ($cv = 0.16\%$; $n = 3$) that is very close to one half *pes monetalis* of 296.2 mm ($\Delta = +0.05\%$). Even more interesting are the last two sections: Part e carries the inscription SETA. This part, used for measuring precious silk, has the length of one half Byzantine foot, consisting precisely of 160.5 ± 0.4 mm. Compared to the ideal value of this foot (i.e., 320.6 mm), I observed a difference of only $+0.12\%$. The last section of this long measure is one foot long. It is reserved for ordinary wool tissue: The inscription says LANA. The length of the foot is 296.6 ± 0.47 mm which again is the *pes monetalis* $+0.14\%$.

The standards of Assisi deserve a publication on their own which include all the inscriptions, an evaluation of the measures of the tiles, etc. But the few facts

mentioned above give an idea of the role of these standards in everyday life and of their importance for the economy of this medieval city.

Assisi number 1 represents the cubit of the ancient Vindonissa foot. This foot itself was found as a real measure in the small city of Eibelsstadt (Bavaria, near Würzburg). The church has stone carvings representing the length of 146.05 mm (Wagner 1991, 88). This foot is about one-half of a Vindonissa foot ($\Delta = -0.14\%$), which was actually one-fourth of the so-called “Würzburg cubit.” We get a hint that this cubit consisted of two feet (two feet as a cubit is often found in medieval times). Some inscriptions seem to date this measure to between 1480 and 1523.

A cubit as a double foot decorates the beautiful town hall of Augsburg (Bavaria). The building is Baroque, and the presentation of the standards is supposed to be as well. But we can assume that the lengths as such were already in use during the Middle Ages. There are four standards. From top to bottom: One half fathom for wood with 855.5 mm, which is two times the cubit₂₄ of another Ptolemaic foot; one cubit for linen with 606 mm representing two Egyptian feet; one cubit for fustian with 585.0 mm, which is exactly two Vindonissa feet; and, finally, the Augsburg foot (called “Stadtwerkschuh”) with 296.2 mm, which is exact the *pes monetalis*.

2. Among the foreign feet Hyginus (section A) mentioned was the Ptolemaic foot. It was calculated to have the length of 308.5 mm. The cubit₂₈ of this foot₁₆ has a length of 539.8 mm. Let us examine the city of Freiburg im Breisgau (Baden-Württemberg). The western entrance hall of the main church (Freiburger Münster; since 1827 Freiburg cathedral), crowned by a beautiful octagonal tower, is equipped with a series of different measures. I do not know any other place where there are so many of measures.

In a small booklet about the church, the metrological objects are mentioned. The author states that the emphasis lies on the “just measure,” justice being the second of the cardinal virtues (Lützeler 1955, 8–9). A guide-book gives much more specific information, on the measures and the adjacent inscription. Yet details about the lengths and so on are missing (Becker 1974, 7). Very recently, all the different measures were published in a separate paper (Kalchthaler 2011).

Overall, this entrance hall contains about 16 metrological objects. The most important ones will be treated here. Looking from the west toward the entrance, we start at the left hand side with the northern pier. On the outside, there are different measures for bread (Kalchthaler 2011, 39, Fig. 27; Kiesow 1995, Fig. 4, cf. Fig. 5 and 6 for other Freiburg measures). The top line shows a circle that is not really round, but which is, rather, the shape of a loaf of bread; it has the year 1320 engraved. Below and to the left is the shape of a big oval loaf of bread dated 1270, and, right next to it, are the shapes of two much smaller bread loaves from 1317;

when the circumstances were bad, the bread was smaller, but the price was the same.

Turning to the inner side of this buttress, several measures may be seen. First of all, there is a circle with the diameter of 387 mm (from my own data: 388 mm). In combination with a line of 194 mm (own data: 190.5 mm; it is difficult to take this length), we can imagine a cylinder of nearly 23 liters for measuring grain.

This inner wall has two measures of the same length: They are both 540 mm, showing a high rate of accuracy. These standards have been called the *Freiburg cubit*. Both of them are extremely close to the cubit₂₈ of the small Ptolemaic foot (best value: 539.8 mm) described by Hyginus (section A). To underscore this fact: The most important medieval measure of this important city reflects without doubt and with great exactitude an ancient length.



Fig. 5: The Freiburg Cathedral with one of the measures: The Freiburg cubit (photo: author).

High above these measures, there is a metrological object of another kind: a tub for charcoal. Its capacity is 182.26 liters. The inscription says that when this tub is filled eight times in a heaping measure (“GEHUFOT”), one cart of charcoal will be filled (Kalchthaler 2011, 40). This measure is dated 1295.



Fig. 6: The Freiburg measure for charcoal from 1295 (photo: author).

On the southern side of this entrance wall, there are two rows of standard bricks and tiles (details: Kalchthaler 2011, 40), in between is engraved a beautiful lily, maybe in the form of a fleur-de-lis (Kühnel, ed., 1984, 35, Fig. 38). Above these tiles, there is a long measure of 2276 mm, both ends of which are marked by a piece of iron. This length also reflects an old Ptolemaic measure. Its purpose is unknown. It is certainly not correct to call this length a fathom (Kalchthaler 2011, 40: “Klafter”) since it contains about 7.5 feet, instead of six feet. Completing this list are three other standards on the outside of this southern wall: One fathom of 1816.5 mm is equal to six ancient Egyptian feet; one measure of 1594.5 mm (a fathom of six so-called feet of Gudea), and a length of 914 mm (i.e., three feet of 304.6 mm; this foot out of the Ptolemaic family of measures is still in use in England).

Back to the bricks and tiles: Next to them, there is an inscription in Gothic minuscule in the wall, telling how the city markets (“ein jar merkt ...”) have to be set up over the year (Kalchthaler 2011, 41). It can be assumed that this inscription was engraved fairly soon after King Wenzel issued a corresponding edict in the year 1379.

Many of the Freiburg i. Br. specialties are not understood so far. But we can claim one thing for sure: All these different items inform us about the economy of

the city. Even the kind of bricks that was used to build houses was regulated. The Freiburg ensemble, in fact, is the largest and most important one I know of in medieval Europe.

3. The small Ptolemaic foot (Hyginus) is the standard for the Freiburg cubit, as well as for the small city Weil der Stadt (Germany, Baden-Württemberg). When it comes to measures, the Catholic church of St. Peter and St. Paul is the most important building in this medieval town. The massive western tower was erected about 1370/1380 (Hammer 2006, 4). On the south side of this tower, we find the measures of two tiles engraved in the stone. An inscription in Gothic minuscule runs around one of the tiles. The inscription says that a man called Benzlin of Heimsheim (“benczlin · von · haimczhin”) laid the first stone, and his son the top one (Seeliger-Zeiss 1999, 26). Looking at other inscriptions we learn that this man died in 1388. The inscription must have been finished at that time. And the models of the tiles must have originated at least a little earlier.

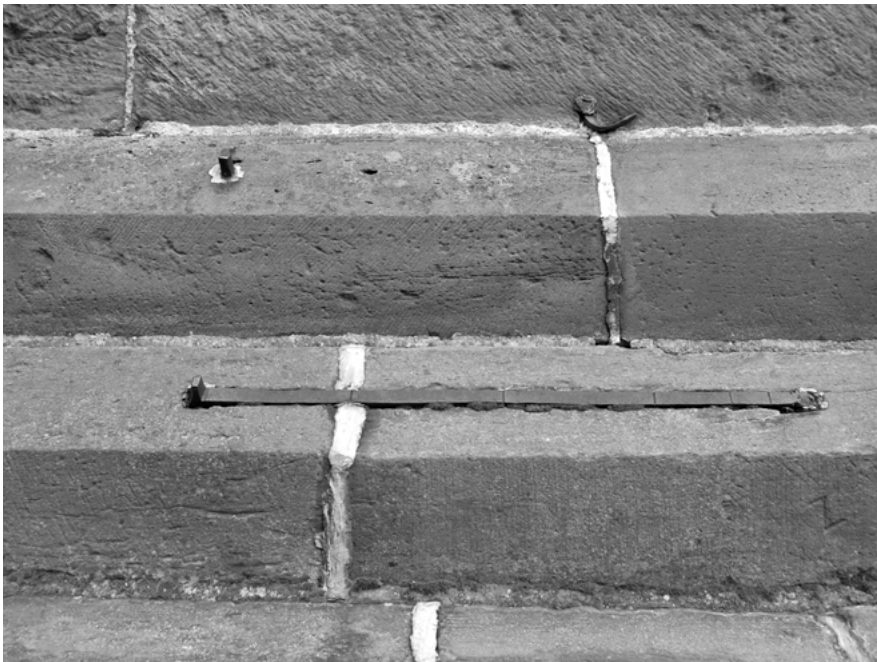


Fig. 7: The measure in Weil der Stadt is slightly damaged on the right hand side. The original length, however, can still be obtained (photo: author).

The standard in question is fixed to the western wall of this tower. Since there is no inscription it is not really datable. There are good reasons to assume that Weil did have its own standard in the fourteenth century: The Hohenstaufen Emperor Frederick II bestowed on Weil the rank of an imperial city with self-governance subject only to the emperor (Seeliger-Zeiss 1999, XXV). A long series of further inscriptions reveals that Weil was a rich and autonomous city. So maybe the measure is contemporaneous with the tiles. Although there is a little damage at one end of the measure I could verify a length of 615.9 ± 0.48 mm. This cubit also constituted two feet. The calculated length of one foot is 307.9 mm, only 0.18% smaller than the ideal value of the small Ptolemaic foot, which is 308.5 mm.

4. Returning one last time to Hyginus, we recall the *pes Drusianus* with a best value of 333.2 mm. Jesi (Italy, Marche) is a medieval town like many others. The old Palazzo della Signoria (the palace of the city's government) houses three measures dated by inscription to 1496. On the left, there are models of one stone and one tile. On the right hand side, two measures are engraved in the slab: the top one is 1335 mm long, the bottom one 1495 mm. The first one can be interpreted as a standard of four *pedes Drusiani* ($\Delta = +0.16\%$); the latter can (among other possibilities) be read as five ancient Egyptian feet. The inscription names Pope Alexander VI, who held office from 1492 to 1503. This monument belongs in fact to the Italian Renaissance.

The town hall of Bad Langensalza (Germany, Thuringia) is a Baroque building. There I found a standard of 666 mm length, which is, with high accuracy, the double foot of the *pes Drusianus* ($\Delta = -0.06\%$). Again, this proves how carefully standards were handed down from generation to generation.

5. The genesis of the Egyptian cubit was explained above (section C). Once again, a whole group of Egyptian standards were well-known in medieval Europe. The town hall of Rothenburg ob der Tauber (Germany, Bavaria) has been mentioned. The older Gothic part of this building goes back to the thirteenth century (Reitzenstein 1974, 831). Here we find four different standards next to a door. The shortest one is a foot of 303 mm, by my own measurement. This standard exceeds the foot belonging to the big Egyptian Royal cubit (best value: 302.2 mm) only very little ($\Delta = +0.26\%$). Right next to it is the rod with 3936 mm (Pfeiffer 1986, 612). Since this length has been identified as a rod of thirteen (!) feet (Pfeiffer 1986, 617), we have a foot of about 302.8 mm which is even closer to the Egyptian standard. The third measure is a cubit of double foot; I found it to have the length of 588.8 mm. Thus one foot is 294.4 mm long, so it belongs to the Punic foot (in use in North Africa): With a best value of 294.1 mm it is a class between the foot of Vindonissa and the *pes monetalis*. We will return to the Punic foot in point 7 below. The fourth

standard in Rothenburg is a fathom of 1807.8 mm (my own data). Taking six feet as its length, we find the basic standard of 301.3 mm. With 301.2 mm, we hit the foot of another class derived from the so called New cubit₂₈. The difference is only 0.03%.

Generally, the Rothenburg measures are an excellent example of the diversity of medieval standards: The foot is not compatible with the cubit since both belong to different classes of standards, a phenomenon found in many places.

The beautiful medieval town of Todi (Italy, Umbria) deserves a visit also because of its standards. We find them at the Palazzo del Popolo, which dates back to the early thirteenth century. The entrance door to the *piano nobile* is flanked by five standards for bricks and tiles, and three lengths. The longest one on the right hand side is 1816.3 mm long (from my own data, taken from the original standard which a few years ago seems to have been replaced by a new one). It is a fathom of six Egyptian feet of 302.7 mm (instead 302.2 mm; $\Delta = +0.17\%$). Again, the other two standards belong to other classes. The longer one of 1436.3 mm can be identified as five feet belonging to a class called *Baumaß* (measure of construction; Rottländer 1994b, 29), with the mean value of 288.0 mm ($\Delta = -0.26\%$). The third standard, decorated with the heraldic eagle of the city, is 533.2 mm long (this is the ancient cubit₃₀ of a foot from the Ptolemaic family).



Fig. 8: The standards in Todi (Italy) next to the door and to the window (photo: author).

The city hall of Michelstadt (Germany, Hessen), with its beautiful wooden framework and its big arcades on the ground floor, dates to 1484. One of the pillars carries a cubit with the inscription “ELLE.” In the archives of the city, there is no information concerning the date when this cubit was installed. But together with big scales on this open ground floor and a well in front of the town hall, we find everything that is necessary for public commerce. In all likelihood, the entire ensemble goes back to late medieval times. On one side, the cubit is flat, meaning that it is probably a cubit for measuring tissue. The Michelstadt cubit is 600 mm long (Heinz 1999). This means a cubit of two ancient Egyptian feet (best value: 299.2 mm; $\Delta = +0.267\%$). In the nearby city of Erbach, there is a younger cubit of the same length.



Fig. 9: The measure in Michelstadt is not easy to find. It is open at the top since it does not have the shape of a mouth (photo: author).

The situation in Büdingen (Germany, Hessen) is very similar: There is the same type of standard (one side open), with exactly the same length of 600 mm reflecting an ancient Egyptian doubled foot (like Michelstadt), on the outside of the town hall dated to 1458. This tradition appears to be older. In the time of the Hohenstaufen emperors, the Count of Büdingen was also the ruler of the nearby *palatium* Gelnhausen (Sante 1993, 66) where a standard of 555.3 mm length can be found on the outer wall of the main church. This is the cubit₃₀ of the *pes monetalis*. Thus, in these two places, we find exactly those standards that were in use for the construction of the Apulian Castel del Monte built by Frederick II.

6. Another ancient standard was the Attic-olympic foot (the table: Rottländer 1991, 66, is in the meantime slightly enlarged), with a length of 311.0 mm. So the cubit₃₀ is 583.2 mm long. This foot is very close to the standard of medieval Florence: the *braccio Fiorentino*. It is 583.6 mm long (Zervas 1979, 8). In Florence, I did not find a standard at the place described. There is one, however, in the *Palazzo del Comune* in Pistoia. This DOPPIO BRACCIO | ANTICA MISURA TOSCANNA seems to be a fairly new copy done precisely. I found the length of the *doppio braccio* to be 1167.17 mm. One cubit is 583.585 mm by 583.6 mm long (Heinz 1999, 487–89), identical to the data by Diane Finiello Zervas (1979, 8). The *braccio Fiorentino*—the standard length in medieval Florence and Toscana—exceeds the ancient cubit of the Attic-olympic foot by only 0.07%.

Nearly the same length was found in Lübeck (Germany, Schleswig-Holstein) with 582.0 mm (Witthöft 1986a, 296) dated 1469. It is the same cubit of the Attic-olympic foot (Δ -0.2%).

Somewhat curious is a foot presented in the entrance hall of St. Mary's church in Munich. Legend says that this is a footprint the devil left there when the building was completed in 1488. This foot points directly to the main altar. The length of the foot is 310 mm, which is 1 mm or 0.32% less than the mean value of the Attic-olympic foot with 311.0 mm. It is, however, likely that this foot was not intended to be a metrological object. Since ancient times footprints are found in sanctuaries, as well as in secular contexts (e.g., in baths). Possibly in Munich the principal notion of the footprint is one of "passage, especially over a threshold" (Dunbabin 1990, 107).

7. The famous *Palazzo dei Consoli* in Gubbio (Italy, Umbria) was built from 1332 to 1349. The stairs leading to the *piano nobile* end in front of a door flanked by two standards (others are missing today). The very large measure of 2936.0 mm represents the ancient *decempeda*, which is a measure ten feet long. One foot is thus 293.6 mm long, making it very close to the Punic foot (best value: 294.1 mm), missing it by only 0.17%. The second preserved measure is 491.3 mm long,

representing the cubit₂₈ of a unit called New cubit₃₀ with 492.0 mm. The palace is now a museum. Inside it, there are five models of bricks and tiles from the fourteenth century.



Fig. 10: The preserved standards at Gubbio (Italy) at the Palazzo dei Consoli built 1332–1349 (photo: author).

The parish church in the small city Ochsenfurt (Bavaria, near Würzburg) has two standards next to the entrance which are intentionally equal. The length could be calculated to be 588.2 mm (Wagner 1993, 110–11; 115), or exactly two times the ancient Punic foot. Both measures can be dated to before 1500. There are other metrological objects in Ochsenfurt: models of tiles, measures for grain and wine.

The small town of Frickenhausen is situated quite nearby, where a measure can be found at the outside of the church (like the others). The length is reported

to be 589 mm, or just a little bit larger than the double Punic foot ($\Delta = +0.14\%$). An inscription on a nearby slab reads 1548. The measure may be as old as the inscription, or perhaps even older.

Moving from Bavaria to Württemberg: The city hall in Riedlingen shows a medieval standard with a length of 294.5 ± 0.5 mm ($cv = 0.17\%$). This data is reliable, though it was not quite easy to obtain. This measure also resembles the Punic foot very nearly ($\Delta = +0.14\%$). Ms. Hafner from the municipal archive was kind enough to provide further information: Since the “four” is written as half an “eight,” a medieval origin can be assumed. A picture taken prior to 1955 shows three standards, but two of the measures are now lost.

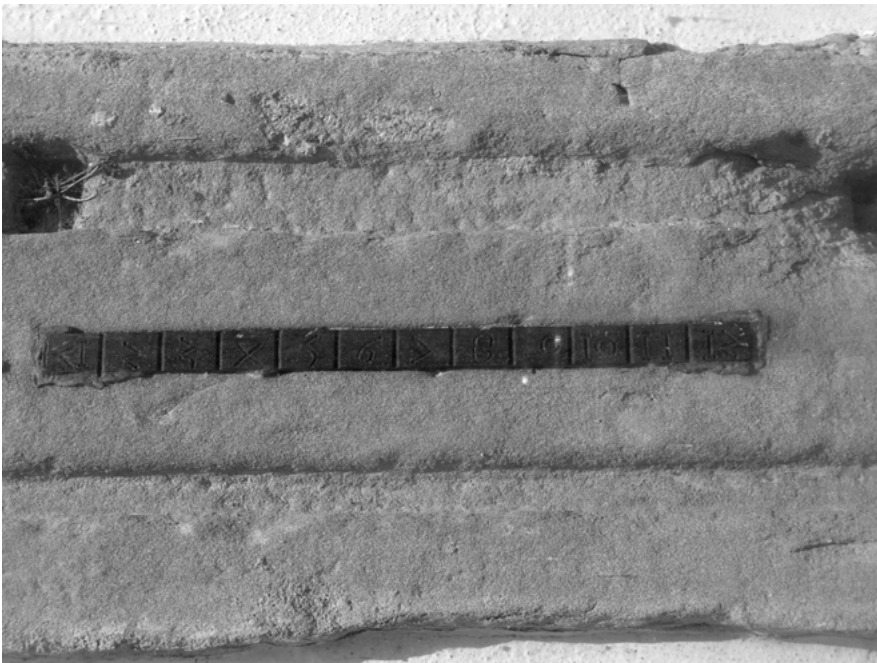


Fig. 11: Only one measure survived in Riedlingen. Most probably it goes back to medieval times (photo: author).

8. Another ancient standard is the above-mentioned “Baumaß” with a foot of 288.0 mm. The double foot adds up to the cubit in use in the city of Goslar (Germany, Lower Saxony) where this standard was found to be at a length of 575 mm (only 1 mm or 0.17% missing). It dates around 1300 (Witthöft 1986a, 295).

The town hall of Marburg a. d. L. (Germany, Hessen) was built between 1512 and 1524/27 (Großmann 2010, 55). By chance I discovered a standard (obviously

completely unpublished) on the outside in November of 2013. The calculated length between the ends is 576,75 mm ($n = 4$). Hence this cubit is the double foot of the “Baumaß” with a difference of only 0.75 mm or 0.13%. Possibly the measure is older than the town hall; however, I cannot prove it.



Fig. 12: The Marburg cubit containing two feet of the “Baumaß” (photo: author).

Finally in Wetzlar (Germany, Hessen) a cubit of exactly 576 mm, said to be a model, is presented to the public at the town hall. The Wetzlar cubit has two feet, and one foot has a length of 288 mm (Schoenwerk 1975, 133). According to these data, the Wetzlar cubit seems to be reproduced (actually it is a “literary measure”).

9. To complete this overview, I would like to summarize further medieval standards found in town halls. All of these measures may be traced back to ancient units (as seen above).

- The measure of Brunswick (Germany, Lower Saxony) goes back to the fourteenth or fifteenth century. The cubit was about 570 mm long (my own data; Ziegler 1997, 26: about 571 mm).
- The *Palazzo del Capitano del Popolo* in Perugia (Italy, Umbria) has three standards. One is incomplete. The two standards which can be measured are lengths of two feet (own data: 627.7 mm equal to two feet of Aigina as described above) and three feet (969 mm). All of these measures probably go back to medieval times.
- The town hall of Wasserburg am Inn (Germany, Bavaria) was built at the end of the fifteenth century. We find there a well-preserved standard of about 833.3 mm.
- In Alsfeld (Germany, Hessen), the town hall is very similar to the one in Michelstadt (above point 5), featuring arcades on the ground floor. Having been built in 1536, the Alsfeld town hall contains a measure of 601 mm length with one flat side. This standard might have been used for tissue, too (Heinz 1999).
- The town hall in Birkenau (Germany, Hessen) dates to 1552, a little bit younger than the one in Alsfeld (Hessen). We find a standard of 655.4 mm, and a pillory is located not far away.
- There is a standard in the *Loggia dei Mercanti* in Ascoli Piceno (Italy, Marche) called BRAZOLARO with 636.7 mm. We find another standard in Alzey (Germany, between Worms and Bingen) at the town hall (built 1586) with a length of 660.8 mm. But both of them are definitely post-medieval.

10. Similar observations pertain to standards found on some churches.

- The entrance hall of the main church in Bad Saulgau (Germany, Württemberg) was renewed in 1420. There is a measure with a length of 635.4 mm.
- The Bamberg cathedral (Germany, Bavaria) has a door dedicated to St. Mary, featuring both a foot and a cubit standard, both possibly dating to the thirteenth century. We could expect to find a foot of 267 mm and a cubit of 668 mm (Witthöft 1986a, 297) there. Both measures actually would have to be taken using two small lion heads as end-points. The published length of the cubit is correct. I identified this length on April 7, 2013. However, the length of the foot cannot be measured because the right small lion head's final point is missing.
- In Alsfeld, there is a standard at the town hall (see above) and another on the outside of the church, measuring 548.5 mm (Heinz 1999, 479–80, with a drawing).

11. Major cities such as Münster (Germany, Westphalia) or Heilbronn (Germany, Württemberg) have not yet been mentioned. The reason is simple: The actual measures there were destroyed in WWII. The copies we find today are not really trustworthy. We do have some information about the standards, but this in terms of literary measures (Spiegler 1971, 23–24). The inscription in Heilbronn given in rhyme is intriguing: HAILPRONNISCHE MESSRV T SCHV VND ZOLL HIE AVCH DER WIL DIE ELEN HOLL. In other words, we are told that in this place we find the measures valid in Heilbronn: the rod, the foot, and the ounce, as well as the cubit.

The inscription in Rimini, *Palazzo dell'Arengo* telling the names of the different bricks and the different lengths (like *Piede Comune* and so on) is dated 1544, i.e., in the late Italian Renaissance. The length of the *Piede Comune* cannot be measured exactly: two of the original ten parts of the *piede* are broken. But the inscription certifies the existence of the *piede*.

12. Most of the data given above is the result of my own investigations. We have to realize that real measures are the lost foundlings of research. Harald Witthöft (1986a) collected data from museums for all kinds of measures and lengths. However, the standards for public use in markets and so on were regularly placed on the outside. These are the most important evidence about the economic situation and the juridical power of a city.

It was not possible for me to cover all countries. Undoubtedly, the data base could be enlarged considerably by investigating other countries. I cannot address the situation in Spain for lack of knowledge, while the situation in England seems to be much more promising (Connor 1987).

In France, however, there is hardly anything left of medieval measures in public places, since most of them were destroyed during the French Revolution. So far, I have seen only two places with standards. One is the parish church in Saverne (Dép. Bas-Rhin, Region Alsace). Next to the main entrance I found two measures of 480 mm and 1350 mm. An inscription, “dis ist di holtz dan,” which means that this is the measure for wood, refers to both of them. The letters are comparable to the Regensburg inscription (see above section F). So the Saverne standards supposedly were set up in the fifteenth century.

The Gothic church Saint-Georges in Haguenau (Dép. Bas-Rhin, Region Alsace) has eight standards on one pier at its southern side, all of them very close together. Supposedly, they go back to medieval times, but there is no inscription to confirm this assumption. The last standard represents two different lengths. From west to east, I measured the following distances: 714 mm; 1053 mm; 1092,5 mm; 843,5 mm; 1265 mm; 2033 mm; 537,5 mm; finally 348 mm respectively 474 mm. All the standards in Haguenau and Saverne go back to ancient classes of standards.



Fig. 13: This pier of the church Saint-Georges in Haguenau (France) has eight different medieval measures. Four of them are visible on this photo (photo: author).

H Scales and Weights, Dry Measures and Buckets

1. The following sections will briefly summarize other types of measure. Most of the basic data are already published. Scales were very important to calculate the tithe: Farmers entered the arcades of the town halls like in Alsfeld with their wagons, and the authorities took the weight of the grain and deducted one tenth as tithe right away. Most famous proves to be the Nuremberg relief from 1497 showing the inspector of weights at work (now: Nuremberg, National Germanic Museum; Steingraber 1966; Kühnel, ed., 1984, 32, Fig. 29). Big public weighing-houses as an architectural type of its own were especially common in the Netherlands from the late sixteenth century on (Kiem 2009).

The history of scales was always important for scientific reasons (e.g., Haerberle 1967) and for different religions: We find images of Osiris, as well as of St. Michael, weighing the souls (very famous: St. Michael in Beaune; Droste 2001, 256).

2. Scales usually are combined with weights of very different kinds. They were common in the ancient Orient, as well as in Greco-Roman times (Hultsch 1989; Mutz 1983), and, of course, in the Middle Ages. Excellent examples of heavy gauges are exhibited in the Lübeck town hall (Boockmann 1986, 139, Fig. 218).

Bread was measured by size rather than by weight, which recalls the loaves engraved on one pier of the Freiburg i.Br. cathedral and the different sizes of bread established within only a few years (above section G 2). The model of a loaf of bread on the south side of St. Catherine's church in Oppenheim (Germany, between Mainz and Worms) is significant, but has hardly ever been mentioned in research. It shows a loaf of bread, inscribed with a date of 1317. Popular opinion says that this was a loaf of bread which, after many bad years, could be bought for four farthings. This model, however, cannot be regarded as standard: We find it about three meters above ground level.

3. There are two kinds of measures for capacity: dry measure and liquid measure. We have seen before that both types were well known from very ancient times onwards (Oxé 1942). I want to point out a very few important examples because there are already many publications on and references to measuring vessels (Witthöft 1986a; Kühnel, ed., 1984, 34, Fig. 34–35).

A dry measure for grain in Bonn (Rheinisches Landesmuseum) deserves attention above all: It is a round bronze vessel, about 25 cm high, with an inscription on the outside telling that this vessel was produced in order to have a just measure: VME · EYN · REICHTE · BESHEIDIEIT ... The vessel itself is called SVMERI which means "Simmer," "Sömmer," "Sümmer" referring to the vessel

itself and the unit of measurement. The capacity was 26.5 liter. The inscription and heraldic signs of the city of Boppard, where it originated, suggest that this vessel might have been a gauge (Nikitsch 1997).

In Roman times, a *mensa ponderaria* (e.g., in Pompeii: Coarelli, ed, 1979, 129–130) was cut in a slab of stone. In a similar way, these dry measures were made in medieval times. I have seen an example even in France in the small village of Crémieu (about 32 km east of Lyon). Wagner describes a set of dry measures for different types of grain in Ochsenfurt (near Würzburg), dated 1564 by inscription (Wagner 1993, 103–104; 113).



Fig. 14: Krk, Frankopan Castle (east coast of the Aegean Sea), dry measure for grain (photo: Albrecht Classen).

In Ochsenfurt, another gauge (including the documents of the gauger) can be seen: It is a bucket for measuring wine, with a capacity of 75.09 liter. The inscribed date is 1458. A gauge for wine could also be much smaller: The vessel for the holy water in the church of Eller (Moselle) was originally a gauge for wine with a capacity of 2.22 liter (Witthöft 1986a, 298) in the high Middle Ages.

I Using the Standards and Holy Lengths

1. Many attempts have been made to calculate the length of the measure used for the construction of ancient or medieval buildings, and sometimes the result is convincing. Our first example is the Baroque royal Catholic church in Dresden. The length is 52.36 m (Ullmann ca. 1989, 10), exactly the length of one hundred cubits₂₈ of the Royal Egyptian cubit ($\Delta = 0\%$).

The bronze door formerly part of the ancient *Curia* of the *Forum Romanum* in Rome was moved to the church *San Giovanni in Laterano* in Rome. I measured the two sides of this door at 4435 mm, or the length of ten cubits₂₄ of the Roman *pes monetalis* with very high accuracy ($\Delta = -0.16\%$).

The cathedral Saint-Julien in Le Mans (France, Dép. Sarthe) was built in Romanic times. In the thirteenth century, the desire for representation led to the building of a new quire. But, first of all, the French king Philipp-Auguste, who had meanwhile reconquered Normandy and Anjou, had to give his permission. The quire was built, and at this moment the span of the pillars was enlarged from 10.06 m to 10.72 m (Schäfer 1979, 190). The reason is very simple: 10720 mm are exactly 33 *pied de Roi* ($\Delta = +0.015\%$). With the participation of the French king, the Royal French cubit—the *pied de Roi* (Rottländer 1994b, 29: 324.8 mm)—was used. The number 33 has, of course, an important symbolic meaning: It tells about the years Christ lived on earth (see also the 33 cantos in each one of Dante's three parts of his *Divina Commedia* (ca. 1308–1321).

In Florence, the situation is easier. For the construction of the cupola of the cathedral, the proposed model from 1367 shows a height of 144 *bracci Fiorentini* (see above) and a diameter of 72 *bracci* (Naredi-Rainer 1989, 193). Brunelleschi was bound to this existing model and to its measures, as his plans for the cupola were chosen in 1420 (Fanelli and Fanelli 2004, 19).

2. Very different from these examples are the so called Holy lengths. They play an extraordinary role in connection with the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. People came to the holy city, buying strips of leather or linen measuring the length of the sepulchre of Christ (Jacoby 1929, 189–91), amulets for personal protection, and so forth. The sepulchre was imitated in Europe throughout the Middle Ages (Kroesen 2000; Morris 2005); see, for example, Northampton (Morris 2005, 230), Cambridge (Untermann 1989, 71), Brindisi (Finocchi and Corbella 1978, 383), or the very important site of Paderborn, from which a person had even been sent to Jerusalem to take exact measures as a model for their own church (Niggemeyer and Nübold 2002, 12; 17).

In the cloister of the Benedictine monastery of Bebenhausen (Germany, near Tübingen), two lines engraved in the northern wall represent the lengths of the

tombs of Mary and of Christ, which inscriptions state. The entire work was executed in 1492. The only publication of the inscriptions I know of (Köhler 1995, 330) is partly wrong. The correct texts, as well as more facts about the historical background, will be published in the journal *Mediaevistik* (Heinz forthcoming).

I measured the length of the tomb of Mary as 1729 mm, and the one of Christ as 2008.3 mm. Without doubt the first line has the length of a fathom. The calculation is as follows:

$$1729 \text{ mm} / 6 = 288.17 \text{ mm.}$$

This is exactly the standard called *Baumaß* with a best value of 288.0 mm ($\Delta = 0.06\%$). This exactness tells us that this line was not drawn just by chance. This fact is true of the other line representing the tomb of Christ. Nearly all witnesses of the Jerusalem tomb state a length of seven feet. One of the early texts, written by Adamnanus around 670, describes the visit of Arculfus as follows: “cuius longitudinem Arculfus in septem pedum mensura propria mensus est manu” (Adamnanus 1898, 229), which means that Arculfus took the length of seven feet with his own hand. Still in 1599 Petrus Bungus tells us: “septem habens pedes longitudinis” (Bungus 1983, 297; for full reference, see Heinz 2014); so Bungus clarifies that the tomb of Christ is seven feet long. For this line the calculation is like this:

$$2008.3 \text{ mm} / 7 = 286.9 \text{ mm.}$$

We recognize the same length called *Baumaß* ($\Delta = -0.38\%$; this is not too high, since this line is part of architecture rather than being used as a standard). Using this standard the length of the line representing the tomb of Christ is very similar to the original length in Jerusalem which is said to be 202 cm (Vincent and Abel 1914, 108, Fig. 59). One glimpse at the Holy Sepulchre shows that the sarcophagi might exceed the Jerusalem length. The tomb in St. Mary's church in Reutlingen (Germany, Württemberg) has a table (without a figure of Christ) which is 2335 mm long (my own data). This length equals nearly exactly seven *pedes Drusiani* (above section A; $\Delta = +0.11\%$). This beautiful tomb (Knorre 2003, 16), only one or two decades younger than the one with the Bebenhausen lines, is not the only one with a table-length of seven units.

Presumably these Holy lengths have never been taken into consideration within the context of medieval metrology.

J The Economic and Social Background

Medieval standards gained their importance in the economic and social context of the cities or, to be more exact, at the time when the cities emerged. Different kinds of standards were developed, of course; we saw measures for bread, salt, char-

coal, and other goods. In Basileia, special measures were known for oil, grease, and honey (Haustein 2001, 94). The council of a city was in charge of just and correct measures, and the members of the council controlled the standards and the public scales (Planitz 1965, 319, with documents from the thirteenth century). Particularly those cities with self-governance under the emperor enjoyed royal privileges like holding markets, as can be observed with regard to the Freiburg inscription (above section G 2). All kinds of measures and standards were part of the knowledge of the city governments, but not necessarily known to ordinary people.

This fact underscores another very important point. Freiburg is only one of many cities where churches, and especially their entrance halls, fulfilled secular functions (Witthöft 1986b, 218). In fact, the Church, as the biggest owner of feudal property, had to ensure that a good administration and organization of the economic conditions was in place (Haustein 2001, 96). Town halls and churches presented the devices for just standards, and hence for justice. All kinds of military equipment and their development did not influence the use and the characteristic features of standards in medieval times, although this situation changed considerably in the Renaissance.

Scholars doing research on measures and weights have always found an utmost accurate tradition of standards over centuries and even millennia (Witthöft 1986b, 223), as our examples above have proved. Rolf Rottländer, for instance, points out the *pes monetalis*, later identified as the “Augsburg foot,” “foot of Ulm,” and so forth, always with the same length. This standard was carefully handed down over time whereas the original name was forgotten (Rottländer 1994a, 18).

Many different standards emerged, and people tried hard to clarify the situation. Between 1533 and 1550 Georg Agricola wrote thirteen books on measures and weights trying to restore the ancient order (Witthöft 1999, 134–37). In 1627 Johannes Kepler presented his famous kettle for the calibration of measures, volumes, and weights to the city of Ulm (Haerberle 1967, 109–11 with a good picture). A copy is preserved in the museum of Weil der Stadt (mentioned above), where Kepler was born in 1571. In 1765, King George III of England issued a decree concerning the standardization of the measures in all the counties of his kingdom: one foot has twelve ounces, one cubit has two feet, one rod has 16 feet, and so on (Lemmerich 1987, 2–5). Very similar was a decree for the Prussian states in 1816 based on pre-metric standards. In most European regions, metric standards were not valid until about 1870 (Trapp 1992, 32–34).

From the nineteenth century on, two major efforts were noticeable. First of all, it became necessary to create extremely exact copies of the new metric standards for all countries involved. Secondly, books were published with calcu-

lations converting the lengths of pre-metric standards into metric units (e.g., Köser 1871). The result was a good knowledge of “literary measures.” Eventually the pre-metric real standards got lost or were taken away deliberately. Some of these places where this happened (like Gubbio) are mentioned above.

Thus, the discussion of the old real standards was no longer of interest. Metrological research created some funny theories about the ancient standards, e.g., about the *pes Drusianus* (see above section A 3): “This ‘Drusian’ foot of about 33 cm may have been based on two fists with outstretched thumbs in contact” (Roche 1998, 24). Usually, however, metrological research deals with weights (Centre National 1981; Garnier 1989) and numismatics (Pritsak 1998) as part of economic history (Witthöft: all articles and more).

The story of instruction on measures as part of applied mathematics in ancient Greece involves philosophy, but not real standards (Lelgemann 2010, 26–82). Metrology also plays a role in medieval philosophical and theological discussion, as well as in poetry (Zimmermann, ed., 1983–1984; Paravicini Bagliani, ed., 2011) and literature (just one example: Cristiani 2011). But those topics are far away from the ancient standards of length.

The pre-metric lengths were mostly forgotten or treated by amateurs. Every engineer learns: “If you repeat a measurement in exactly the same way a million times, you will get a million different answers” (Potter 2000, 11). We do have to take the measurement of the same wall and especially the same standard different times, and we do have to verify all kinds of metrological research at the starting-point: the pre-metric standards themselves. And that is the premise of this article.

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Richard Landes

Millenarianism/Millennialism, Eschatology, Apocalypticism, Utopianism

A Definitions

The complex of beliefs that historians variously refer to as millenarianism, millennialism, chiliasm, hold that this broken, fallen, imperfect, even evil-ridden, world will be transformed into a perfect world of justice, peace, abundance, and mutual love. The name comes from the most popular Christian form of this belief: at a future time (initially at the end of six thousand years of earthly history), there would be a thousand-year (millennial) “reign of the saints” (*tausendjähriges Reich*), when the “good” would enjoy this messianic era *on earth*, and the evil (along with Satan) would be bound in the pit. In the Christian scenario, at the end of that thousand years, Satan and his minions would be unleashed, leading to a final conflict that would culminate in the *eschatological* Last Judgment, in which *the earth would be no more*, and the saved would go to heaven and the evil to hell. It helps to distinguish between these two cosmic transformations at each end of this thousand-year period. Hence, *millennialism* remains *within the time-space continuum of history* (the *saeculum*) and is therefore necessarily political; *eschatology*, on the other hand marks the *end of the physical universe*, with the entirely spiritual rewards of redemption, and has many a-political forms.

Among the answers to *theodicy* (why does a good God allow evil to flourish?), millennialism and eschatology are one of the most compelling and popular. They explain God’s tolerance for evil in this current world as a test, and anticipate an apocalyptic resolution that will publicly reward those who do good and suffer now, and punish those who do evil and prosper now. For religious authorities, this complex of end time events provides an endless font of motivation for “being good” in this world, even if doing so makes you a “loser.” For the losers, it’s an endless font of fantasy about a spectacular moment of retribution.

The only problem with this elegant solution to theodicy is that, at least until now, God and his agents have failed to deliver on the promises of a final reckoning. In this lies the great strength and weakness of end-time speculation: the less urgent the sense of judgment, the less intense the commitment, and, vice-versa. Moments of urgency, when critical numbers believe that the Judgment is imminent, can become immensely powerful public moments where whole populations behave in highly unusual ways.

Millennial and eschatological beliefs alternate between quiescent and volatile depending on contemporaries' convictions about the proximity of this future dramatic transformation. *Apocalyptic* believers hold that the Day is coming very soon, if not now. They tend toward dramatic, even extreme actions that fluctuate wildly between self-abnegation and megalomania, abstinence and indulgence, pacifism and violence. Norman Cohn (1970 [1959]), defined millennialism as including this apocalyptic sense of imminence, in part because such beliefs only become visible historically when activated by apocalyptic expectation, but as the sabbatical millennium (below) shows, there can be non-apocalyptic millennialism.

Convinced that the powers of evil rule the world—corruption, oppression, cruelty, dominion—and that this evil will be destroyed and replaced by a truly just world, often conceived in radically egalitarian terms (“world turned upside down,” Hill 1984), millennial movements have a long pedigree as violently subversive, or, as Norman Cohn called them, “revolutionaries” and “mystical anarchists” (Cohn 1970; Mendel 2000 [1987]).

When believers accept that the Day is far off, on the other hand, they tend to passively accept current conditions of suffering on the understanding that, that Day come, they will be justified and rewarded while the evil who now dominate this world will get their just punishment—pie in the sky by and by. (When Marx [1818–1883] referred to religion as the “opiate of the masses,” he referred to this passive belief, while he espoused a “scientific” apocalypticism that promised an egalitarian millennium.) Emphasis on *eschatological scenarios*, a post-millennial final and non-earthly resolution to the problem of injustice, tends to reinforce the passivity of believers, since such scenarios demand major divine intervention, thus ruling out active participation in the transformation/perfection of *this world* (Landes 2011, chpt.1).

All apocalyptic beliefs (until today) have proven wrong, and thus, exceptionally, the study of millennialism or eschatology in action (i.e., apocalyptic movements) is the study of mistaken beliefs and how believers deal with disappointment (O’Leary 1994). This unusual element (most religious beliefs cannot be empirically proven wrong) has made apocalypticism one of the more problematic subjects of historical research. Not only are apocalyptic movements brief (the briefer, the more intense), but, in order to deal with the inevitable disconfirming evidence (cognitive dissonance), they go through rapid changes (Festinger 1956; Carroll 1979; O’Leary 2000). In most cases the dissonance of apocalyptic believers, faced with clear disproof of their outrageous expectations to which they have dedicated every fiber of their being and their community, generates extensive improvisation, a kind of apocalyptic “jazz.” Movements, trying to maintain (even increase) the dynamics of the apocalyptic

time that is rapidly fading, adapt and adopt beliefs often diametrically opposed to the original ones: from pacifist-egalitarian to violent-totalitarian (Münster Anabaptists, Taiping), from violence to pacifism (Quakers, Bahai), from egalitarianism to hierarchy (Maccabees-Hasmoneans, Marxism-Communism), etc. (Landes 2011).

Moreover, religious movements set in motion by apocalyptic time tend to mutate upon re-entry into normal time, from new religious movement/sect to church (Swatos 1981; Lewis 2008. Since almost all of the documentation is written from this post-apocalyptic period (*ex post defectu*, from after the disappointment/failure), the later faithful often eliminate from the record the (mistaken) beliefs of the founders, replacing them with less disprovable (but also less gratifying) claims (“the kingdom of heaven is within”). Similarly, hostile outsiders tend to depict apocalyptic preachers as either knaves or fools, with little appreciation of either their passion or their appeal. As a result, one of the most fertile and influential complexes of belief in human history gets overlooked by historians, both the positivists “trying to get the story straight,” and the post-modernists “trying to get the story crooked.” To understand apocalyptic millennialism, one has to get the crooked story straight (Landes 2011, chpt. 3).

All monotheistic religions have major components of millennial-eschatological thought, as well as a linear concept of time to match those expectations. As a result all monotheistic religions have elaborate chronologies, and repeated instances of apocalyptic outbreaks when a critical mass believed they were witnessing and participating in final Days. Indeed, many “new religious movements” that arise from monotheistic beliefs (including Christianity and Islam) first “take off” in apocalyptic time.

The more common notions of time tend to be cyclical, and where it measures large segments of linear time, it subordinates that to larger cycles, a belief in some form or other that appears the world over. These “great cycles” or “great years” variously defined generally take (some combination of) two forms—the circular and the linear. In circular cosmogonies, the most widespread variant, creation goes through cycles from origins to annihilation (a non-redemptive eschaton), and then to a new beginning and repeating indefinitely. These cycles tend to be extremely long, measured in chronological units ranging from the Roman and Greek “great year” (365 years) to the Babylonian *sar* (3600 years each) to Hindu kalpas (8.64 billion years each). From such mega-cycles, people looked upon the yearly cycle as a microcosm, and celebrated the completion and new beginning of a cycle as a “myth of eternal return” (Eliade 1965). Greek philosophical thought leaned heavily toward cyclical cosmologies in which everything repeated, or even replicated exactly, the details of the previous cycle ad infinitum as in Stoic *ekpyrosis* (Campion 1994; Kragh 2010).

In both linear and cyclical cases, the future “end of the world” had more than conceptual significance depending on where they placed the *present* in the larger process. The most prominent approach viewed the cycle as one of monotonic declension from a golden age to the current (worst) age. Often these schemes placed the present time toward the middle of the final age. Hindu scriptures (e.g., *Surya Siddhanta*) start the last and most debased cycle, the *kaliyuga* in 3102 B.C.E., placing the present the early millennia of that *yuga*, and the cataclysmic “end” some 420 *millennia* away. Greek and Roman ideas of these cycles appear in most philosophical schools (Pythagorean, Platonic, Stoic), although the associated cycles are measured in chronological units taken from Babylonian astronomical calculations, but significantly reduced. Drawn from the second century B.C.E. Babylonian astronomer Berossos’s 12,960,000 year cycle, Cicero (106–43 B.C.E.), dated the *magnus et verus annus* to 12,954 years. The final conflagration in these scenarios often appears as both a destructive and a purging flame that wipes out impurities and reunites creation with eternity.

A sufficiently long period between cycles, such as the Vedic, may discourage any kind of apocalyptic thinking, *a fortiori*, millennial. But within a seemingly cyclical vision of time, chronology can emerge, and both apocalyptic and even millennial themes can result, such as in Egyptian, Zoroastrian, Taoist and Buddhist prophetic texts that have strong millennial traditions (Gnuse 2011; Naquin 1976; Ownby 1999). In other cases, as with many tribal cultures, millennial beliefs can develop in response to events, rather than chronological calculations, e.g., conquest by imperial conquerors (first example of this may be Judaism; Hanson 1979).

Whatever its presence in other cultures, there is no doubt that eschatological and millennial beliefs are fundamental to monotheism and millennialism a common feature. Most significantly, while secular thought in the West prides itself on shedding the superstitions of religion, secular forms of millennialism (often called “utopianism”) have developed, some with even greater vigor and impact on society and polity than their predecessors (Manuel and Manuel 1979). After all, if there is no God to bring it about, the creation of the millennium falls entirely on the shoulders of the “faithful”: Communism (Riegel 2005), Nazism (Redles 2006), even democratic revolutions (Landes 2011, chpts. 9–12). More broadly speaking, however, both millennialism and redemptive eschatology (in which believers are rewarded and unbelievers punished) tend to flourish in cultures with a linear sense of time.

B Terminology

The following vocabulary facilitates discussion and analysis of millennialism and its cognate beliefs.

Millennialism: (*mille anni* = a thousand years) belief that at some point in the future this material world will be transformed into a just and peaceful one, heaven on earth, the *perfection* of the world.

- *Demotic millennialism*: egalitarian, without hierarchy, “no king but God,” bottom-up, holy anarchy (Jewish Zealots/Essenes, Anabaptists, anarchist communism); apocalyptic enemy: evil empire.
- *Imperial millennialism*: hierarchical, peace and order imposed from above through conquest, “one God, one ruler”: Constantinian Christianity (see below), Jihad and Muslim imperial dynasties (Yücesoy 2009); apocalyptic enemy: chaos and anarchy.
- *Restorative*: model taken from a past “Golden Age,” Eden restored: Xhosa Cattle-Slaying (Landes 2011, chpt. 4), Ghost Dance, Salafism.
- *Progressive*: perfect world to come new, based on the cumulative development of mankind, never before seen: communism, democracies, technology-based utopias (Noble 1999), Woodstock Nation (Mendel 2000; P. Berman 1996).
- *Messianic*: led by a dynamic, charismatic (often mystical) figure who has salvific powers and attains a near- or deified status in the minds of his or her followers (Idel 2000). Messianic movements tend toward hierarchical structures no matter how egalitarian the ethos: e.g., Jonestown (Chidester 2004), and in the cognitive dissonance of failure can develop strong anti-nomian dimensions: Shabbatianism (Scholem 1976); Ranters (Hill 1984).
- *Pre- and Post-Millennialism*: variants of modern Christian millennialism. In the pre-millennial scenarios, Jesus comes *before* establishing the millennium, which tends to encourage passivity. In post-millennial scenarios, Jesus comes *after* believers establish the millennium, therefore encouraging a more activist approach (Searle and Newport 2012).

No matter how diametrically opposed, these variants often mix, either at the same time (egalitarianism for the in-group, subjection for the out-group), or in often rapid sequence (from radical egalitarianism to theocracy/totalitarianism, from acephalous to messianic leadership, from asceticism to libidinal excess).

Eschatology: (*eschaton* = the end), belief in a final cosmic resolution to human history, the *end* of the world. Religious forms tend to emphasize God’s justice

(Last Judgment), while more secular forms anticipate the annihilation of all life (including spiritual).

- *Moral eschatology*: one is saved by one's behavior, especially toward one's fellow humans. Natural affinity with demotic millennialism.
- *Creedal eschatology*: one is saved by one's denominational beliefs that claim to have a monopoly on salvation (*extra ecclesiam nulla salus*). Elective affinity for imperial millennialism and coercive conversion.
- *Annihilationist eschatology*: all life is extinguished, no distinction between good and bad, nothing to be done (ELE—extinction level event, comet, nuclear war).
- *Avertive eschatology*: Warnings of impending disaster meant to spur efforts to avert the catastrophe (global warming, see Wojcik 2011).

Because eschatological beliefs demand the most fantastic events for fulfillment, they tend not to survive in apocalyptic mode very long (days to months), whereas millennial beliefs that inaugurate reformist/perfectionists projects can last longer (months to decades).

Apocalypticism: (*apocalypsis* = revelation [about end time events]), a belief that the great revelation/resolution of theodicy is about to happen, now or imminently, and apocalyptic belief varies both according to the intensity of the imminence, and the various scenarios on how this cosmic transition will occur. Apocalyptic transitions can either lead to the *millennium* or the *eschaton*.

- *Passive*: God or the forces of the cosmos (e.g., comets) accomplish most if not all the necessary actions, humans should repent in hopes of being saved. Only religious forms of millennialism can be passive: “Repent for the Kingdom of Heaven/Last Judgment is at hand.”
- *Active*: Humans act (in conjunction with God) to bring about the needed transformations. All secular forms of millennialism are active. Some secular active cataclysmic movements are “avertive,” mobilizing believers to avoid a catastrophe (Y2K, Anthropogenic Global Warming).
- *Cataclysmic*: in order to pass into the “new world” vast destruction must occur to pave the way, in millennial variants only a small remnant survives to enjoy the new era. Active: Destroying the world to save it—Aum Shin Rikyo (Lifton 2000); Passive: Tribulation. Most eschatologies are cosmically cataclysmic: *end* of the world. Cataclysmic apocalyptic has an elective affinity for paranoid, Manichean, genocidal thinking: forces of evil (Antichrist, *Dajjal*)

are ubiquitous and nearly omnipotent; they must be utterly exterminated in order for good to prevail (Landes and Katz, ed., 2011).

- *Transformative*: the transition occurs through a voluntary transformation of people's hearts in which they renounce evil ways. Most millennialism begins with important transformative currents: *perfection of the world*. Natural affinity for positive-sum interactions, embrace of "Other" (Isaiah 2, Micah 4).

Modern versions involve technology as a redemptive force (Noble 1999).

All apocalyptic thought contends with the paradox that the more imminent (and hence rapidly disprovable) the promises, the more intense both the movement and its disappointment. Thus apocalyptic time varies from intense (imminent) to more drawn out expectations (decades away, but within the lifetime of the believer). Any belief in a coming apocalyptic transformation after the death of the believers is not "apocalyptic" by this definition. Thus, the death of the final disciples of a messianic pretender produces a crisis among the now orphaned next generation (e.g., *John*, 21:23–24).

Apocalyptic Moments occur when a public sphere—of a city, a region, even a country—is taken over by people who act out their belief that the final moment is at hand. Such moments can have powerful effects on monotheistic faithful who believe that God is about to judge the quick and the dead, as in this example from sixth century Constantinople, described by the Byzantine historian Agathias (530–582/94):

At the time, however, there was no one who was not greatly shocked and afraid. Litanies and hymns of supplication were everywhere to be heard, with everyone joining in. And things that are always promised in words, but never carried out in deeds, were at that time readily performed. *Suddenly all were honest in their business dealings, so that even public officials, putting aside their greed, dealt with law-suits according to the law, and other powerful men contented themselves with doing good and abstaining from shameful acts.*

Some, changing their life-style completely, espoused a monastic and mountain way of life, *renouncing money and honors and all the other things most pleasing to men*. Many gifts were brought to the churches, and *by night the most powerful citizens frequented the streets and cared for those wretched and pitiful people who lay crippled on the ground, providing all that they needed in food and clothing*. But all this was limited to *that fixed space of time in which the terror was endemic* [i.e., the apocalyptic moment]. As soon as there was some respite and relief from danger, most people reverted to their normal ways (Magdalino 1993, 6).

Apocalyptic time has its own peculiar dynamics. Among them, one finds regular if not unbreakable patterns:

- *One person's messiah is another's Antichrist*, making the apocalyptic "other" the "enemy to be exterminated."

- *All apocalyptic movements are wrong*, no prophet predicting either the millennium or the Eschaton has been right (till now).
- *Wrong does not mean inconsequential*, millennial movements, no matter how “wrong” about what they anticipate, can nonetheless have enormous consequences.
- *Wrong does mean all consequences are unintended*: The actual results of apocalyptic movements, some of them powerful and enduring, are all unintentional. However great its achievements, no millennial movement ever accomplishes what it intended: a perfect world.

Apocalyptic millennialism, that is millennial hopes activated by a sense of their imminent fulfillment, constitutes one of the most powerful belief sets in human history. The two most influential forms of these multiple variants are *active cataclysmic apocalyptic aiming at a hierarchical millennium*, on the one hand, and *active transformational aiming at a demotic one*. In the former, true believers consider themselves the (divinely) appointed agents of cosmic destruction intended to clear the way for an imposed perfection—Jihad, Abbasids, Crusades, Thomas Müntzer, Taiping, Communism, Nazism. In the latter case, true believers attempt to transform the world peacefully into an egalitarian society—*Isaiah* 2:1–4; Sermon on the Mount, Montanism; Peace of God; Joachim of Fiore, Anabaptists, Quakers, Hippies (Mendel 2000).

Ultimately the historical course and significance of a millennial movement rides on how much it uses violence to respond to the cognitive dissonance of prophecy failed in order to sustain its momentum and achieve its goals. In other words, the key issue is not so much the beliefs, but the character of the believers. In many cases at least for a moment, violence is necessary, and a peaceful outcome depends on whether, once the sword raised, believers can set violence aside and accept imperfection (e.g., contrast between French Revolution to Terror to Napoleon, on the one hand, vs. American Revolution, via the Federalist Papers to constitutional democracy on the other).

C Case Studies

All the varieties of this complex of beliefs have multiple variants and take widely different social forms, even though they share a number of key elements including the intensity of the conviction and of the disappointment. To familiarize researchers with the range of these variants, I list below various relatively well-known movements (whether or not they are currently viewed as millennial) and

characterize them according to their dynamic types, with particular focus on the Christian Middle Ages. NB: in any specific apocalyptic movement, the nature of the endgame is secondary to the sense of urgent imminence that brings the believers together. Thus, while the believers may all share the sense of imminence, they may have different expectations about the apocalyptic scenario, and may differ even more widely on the meta-apocalyptic goal: what kind of *millennium*, what kind of *eschaton*?

I Moses Movement-Israelite Nation

From the standpoint of the above terminology, the biblical story of the Exodus and entrance into the Promised Land narrates a divinely appointed millennial experiment: God tries, through his agent Moses, to create a nation of free peasants following an egalitarian (*isonomic*) law code. The Mosaic legislation, and especially Deuteronomy, in this sense, constitutes the earliest recorded egalitarian constitution (J. Berman 2008). The “apocalyptic” (transitional) scenario that leads to this utopia involved the freeing of slaves from the yoke of the most advanced “civilization” of the time (Egypt), and bringing them to a “Promised Land” (Canaan).

Initially, the transitional scenario had passive humans acted upon by a strong-handed God who would take them straight to the promised land. But, so the *ex post defectu* biblical narrative tells us, the people proved a weak vessel for God’s expectations, and after two major disappointments—the worship of the Molten Calf (*Exodus* 32) and the report of the Spies (*Numbers* 13)—God readjusted his plans and created a more active apocalyptic community through forty years of “training” in the desert. The passage chronicling God’s cognitive dissonance and His recalculation of the redemptive process (*Numbers*, 14:21–25) is exceptional in world literature, especially in monotheistic traditions where God is assumed omniscient.

The forty years of preparation lead to an active cataclysmic transition via the genocidal wars of conquest (*Joshua*). The result, however, unlike most cases of ruthless wars of conquest, was the establishment of a demotic polity in which charismatic Judges, acting as courts of appeal, led a federation of self-regulating tribes. The tribes are literate, aniconic, have an egalitarian law code in civil and criminal matters, are led by charismatic judges (including a woman), and consider the worker of the land as paradigmatic free citizen. An anti-monarchical ideology prevails: *No king but God* (*Judges*, 8: 23; I *Samuel* 8: 11).

Later, under the blows of empire, Judaism developed many of the most popular demotic millennial scenarios, most prominently, the transformational world peace of Isaiah and Micah: “they [the warriors] will beat their swords into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks.” Constant frustration with the non-

arrival of the messianic era in which “all sit under their fig and vine with none to harass them,” and continued external imperial rule, produced increasingly cataclysmic scenarios on the one hand, and elaborate Davidic messianism of the other (Russell 1964; Hanson 1979; Collins 1999; VanderKam 1999).

Most Jewish apocalyptic thought is this-worldly (Scholem 1971): millennial, not eschatological, and that millennialism, despite its Davidic royal tropes, is much more demotic (“No King but God”) than imperial (no example of Jewish sources for “one God, one Ruler”). This demotic Jewish millennialism has inspired a wide range of apocalyptic and post-apocalyptic behavior:

- active cataclysmic episodes, guerilla insurgencies among both Jews (Maccabees, Zealots, Bar Kohba), Christians (Dolcinites, Hussites, Müntzerites), and Jihadis (Cook, 2005).
- passive cataclysmic: Essenes, Qumran, retreat to monastic (strictly egalitarian) life awaiting the Endtimes (Baumgarten 1997);
- active transformational: early Christian missionary (Gager 1975);
- passive (slow) transformational: (*Avot* 2:21); mysticism (Mach 1999).

II Christianity: From the Early Jesus Movement to Imperial Millennialism

The early Jesus movement starts in apocalyptic time. Both John the Baptist and Jesus call out: “Repent for the Kingdom of heaven is at hand!” (Mt 3:2; 4:17). It combined a divinely carried out catastrophe (“Little Apocalypse,” Mk 13; Mt 24; Lk 21) and transformative moral eschatology (Sermon on the Mount), with strong demotic millennial elements (Gager 1975). Papias’s (ca. 100) attribution to Jesus of the passage from Jewish Pseudepigrapha (2 *Baruch* 29:5) about the supernatural, carnal millennium of the messianic feast suggests that Jesus’ preaching, like all other Jewish teaching before him, involved both revolt against empire and the delights of the millennium (Ehrman 1999; Horsley 1999). Those, like Eusebius (260–340), who wanted to exclude the *Book of Revelation*, with its carnal millennialism, from the canon, preferred a Jesus of pure spirituality. That theological move has had a continuing impact of subsequent historians who share the apologetic program of both clearing Jesus of millennial carnality (Hill 2001), and apocalyptic error—“the seemingly humiliating discovery that Jesus was, in effect, a false prophet” (Allison 1999, 269).

The first inescapable disappointment for the followers of Jesus (Crucifixion), with its failure to end Roman rule (a millennial *sine qua non*; Luke 24:21), led to a two-stage salvific plan in which an active transformational stage (Christians bring

Gospel to the nations) would end in a divinely-wrought cataclysmic messianic scenario in which Jesus would return (*Parousia*) and destroy the forces of evil (*Revelation* 19) and inaugurate the millennium (*Revelation* 20–22) for the saved (saints, martyrs and company).

Within the framework of this persistent and punctuated disappointment, Christians developed a “normal time”/between-times institution, the Church, to which the agonizingly delayed hopes of the faithful shifted. The Church, the community of true believers became a salvific vehicle carrying the faithful toward the *Parousia*. Over the centuries, this salvific institution became increasingly hierarchical (clergy-laity split, monarchical episcopacy), and claimed a creedal monopoly on salvation: *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus*.

The Church’s theologians grew correspondingly hostile to any demotic millennial teachings in Christianity (a “Judaizing heresy”), and insisted on an increasingly other-worldly (i.e., passive cataclysmic) eschatology in which the Final Events occurred in a purely spiritual, i.e., non-material, setting (Mendel 2000, Tabor 2011). This shift was reflected in the deep hostility, already visible in the second century in response to the Montanists, to a main source of inspiration for these apocalyptic beliefs in the New Testament, the book of *Revelation* (Tabbernee 2007). In the East, where imperial millennialism dominated (Alexander 1985), *Revelation* disappeared from most Greek NTs and from the official lectionaries of the Greek Church (Metzger 1997). By the third century, these anti-millennial, hierarchizing trends gave birth to the “monarchical episcopacy” which formalized hierarchical organization (and corresponding belief) within the Church. Ironically, the most voluble opponent of demotic millennialism, Eusebius, coined the imperial millennial formula to describe Constantine (272–337): “One God, one Emperor” (Peterson 1935 Drake 1976). For more than one contemporary (including probably the emperor himself), the messianic emperor Constantine, ruled over the salvific Christian Roman Empire (Bardill 2012).

With the failure of the imperial millennial project, especially visible in the Western empire in the early fifth century (Sack of Rome, 410), Augustine (354–430) developed with a systematic rejection of every kind of millennialism (including Roman imperial). In the West where *Revelation* was firmly ensconced in the Latin canon, Augustine attempted to ban any effort to interpret the text as a symbolic description of current events: e.g., Gog and Magog were *not* the Goths and the Visigoths (*De civitate dei*, 20.11; Fredriksen 1982, 68). At the same time, he accomplished an exegetical pirouette in which, rather than looking forward to an earthly millennium of peace and justice, believers should understand that the millennium, invisible to the eyes of fallen man, had already begun with the Resurrection and the formation of the Church (Markus 1989). The opacity of both the human soul and human society, *corpora permixta*, meant that no carnal

millennium could ever occur, that the actual millennium was only visible to the spiritual eye, and that the *Parousia* would only come at the end of the *saeculum*. Hence the faithful should be looking forward not to a perfect world, but the End of the world and the Last Judgment. Augustine's domination of subsequent theology, especially in these matters, meant that for more than six centuries until the eleventh century, "a profound millennialist silence" fell upon our surviving texts (Lerner 1999, 329).

III Islam, From Last Judgment to Millennial Imperialism

Muhammad began his prophetic career announcing the imminent Judgment Day (*apocalyptic eschatological*). His initial preaching (Suras 90–114) formulates a *passive cataclysmic* scenario in which God would resurrect the Dead, *Yawm al-Qiyāmah*, and judge all mankind, *Yawm ad-Din* (Arjomand 2002; Waldman 2005). With the (inevitable but unimaginable) delay of that judgment and the shift to Medina, Muhammad and his followers became increasingly active, replacing Allah's delay in punishing with their own infliction of punishment on unbelievers (Landes 2011, chpt. 14).

The shift to creedal eschatology occurs simultaneously: from believers (*maamunim*) who await and believe in God's coming punishments, to submitters [to Allah] (*muslimim*) who fight a Jihad to punish those who do not submit, the mockers and unbelievers (Donner 2010). The astonishing success of Jihad, both during the prophet's later career (return to Mecca) and among his successors (west to Spain and east to India in a century) gave birth to a global millennial dream in which those lands submitted to Muslim Sharia (*Dar al Islam*/land of submission, or peace) would continue to expand, while those still resisting (*Dar al Harb*/land of the sword, or war) would eventually disappear (Karsh 2006).

No matter how wildly successful early Muslim warriors might have been, however, they could not meet these global millennial ambitions. Inevitably, hierarchy and abuse of power stepped in, and over the centuries, a secondary imperial millennialism set in with messianic claims underlining the takeover of various imperial dynasties, Umayyad, Abbasid, Fatimid, Savafid, Mughal (Cook 2002; Yücesoy 2009; Moin 2012). These empires, then, constitute the unanticipated consequences of failed millennial ambitions, and their dissolution/defeat, even long after the initial millennial period has faded (e.g., Ottoman Caliphate) inevitably had apocalyptic implications.

IV Christian Sabbatical Millennialism and Apocalyptic Chronologies

The scenario of the *Parousia* (Appearance/Return of Christ *in power and glory*) has guaranteed a permanent condition of cognitive dissonance to Christians who inhabit this “middle age” between the first and second (still unaccomplished), a period whose (continuously expanding) length was well beyond the apocalyptic horizon of all the early generations and even well beyond those of the early centuries (Landes 1988, 45–46). A reasonable working hypothesis considers the possibility that *every* generation of Christians experienced collective waves of apocalyptic hope and despair, that every generation knew communities that “jumped the apocalyptic gun” as it were, as described in Paul’s earliest letters (*Thessalonians* I and II) or in Hippolytus’s *Commentary on Daniel* (IV, 18–19). In response to this repeated hope and despair, Christian exegetes and chronographers elaborated an *anti-apocalyptic* millennial scenario. In this teaching, the millennium would not come until the year 6000, since a thousand years are a day in the sight of the Lord (Ps. 90, II Peter 3:8), and God toiled to make the world for six days, then mankind will suffer for six millennia, at which point, Christ will return in power and glory, and bring on the *sabbatical millennium*.

Putting eschatological expectations in the framework of millennia, created a large buffer between the present and the End, a teaching that responsible clerics, concerned about the excesses of the faithful in apocalyptic time could use to counter apocalyptic prophets like the Montanists (Tabbernee 2007). Thus, around 200 C.E., with even bishops jumping the apocalyptic gun, Hippolytus of Rome (170–235) dated his present to 5700 AM (*Annus Mundi*), and urged his readers to wait 300 years till the millennium.

The formula was well suited to transfer from generation to generation, gaining credibility every time premature apocalyptic enthusiasm failed. The problem came at the approach of the year 6000 (500 C.E.). Not only did sabbatical millennialism have the stamp of approval of church traditions but the very teaching that had served prudent ecclesiastics, became a powerful weapon in the apocalyptic prophet’s rhetorical armory (Landes 1988; O’Leary 1994). Some long-range thinkers, anticipating the problem, tried to “correct” the calculations of AM I. The most important chronographical suggestion, first proposed by Eusebius in 300 C.E./5800 A.M. I), rejuvenated the world by three more centuries, postponing the millennium to 801 CE. While Eastern chronographers ignored it, Latin ecclesiastical historians and chronographers adopted the new system in the early 60th century A.M. I (fifth century C.E.), with strong urging from Jerome (347–420) and Augustine. Thus, when the year 6000 A.M. I came (500 C.E.), a contemporary like

Cassiodorus (484–585) dated it 5699 A.M. II, without a mention of the apocalyptic beliefs the date may (or may not) have inspired in contemporaries.

A similar phenomenon occurred at the approach of the year 6000 A.M. II (801 C.E.). In the early 60th century (eighth C.E.), Bede dismissed A.M. II, and proposed dating either A.D., or A.M. III (Incarnation in 3952). Both English and Carolingian authorities, lay and clerical, picked up A.D., which rapidly became the major chronology for historians, annalists, computists, and even chancelleries. Thus, when 6000 came again, and Charlemagne (769–814) was crowned on the first day of that millennial year, none of the chroniclers who recounted this momentous event, even mentioned the coincidence.

V Apocalyptic Expectations and Millennial Movements at the Millennium

The preference for A.D. as an alternative system over A.M. III may have come from the need to have the apocalyptic date in the not too distant future: thus, in the eighth and ninth centuries, A.D. 1000 for the *Parousia* seemed more realistic than A.D. 2048. A.D. 1000 constitutes the first openly preached apocalyptic date that was not “disappeared” before its advent, and as one might expect from the earlier efforts to suppress such an advent, a wide range of apocalyptic manifestations marked its advent and passage (Frassetto, ed., 2002; Landes et al., ed., 2003). Indeed, according to Rodulfus Glaber (985–1047), with its passage, many contemporaries re-dated the hopes and fears (*tam spem quam formidolositatem*) to 1033—the millennium of the Passion (*Quinque libri historiarum*, IV.1).

At the approach of 1000, another calculation for the apocalyptic moment rose to prominence: the coincidence of the calendric date of the (original) Passion (a movable feast) and the Annunciation (Friday March 25), also the day humankind was created. This coincidence occurs generally around three times a century, but only took on apocalyptic significance in the latter centuries of the first Christian millennium (Van Meter 1996). At the approach of the year 1000 it occurred in 970, 981, and 992 (Landes 2000b). After the millennium, it occurred in 1065 (also the end of the Easter Annus Magnus of 532 years, hence the exact replica of the first Annunciation) and 1076. In 1065 it provoked a massive apocalyptic pilgrimage to Jerusalem led by the Gunther, Bishop of Bamberg (Joranson 1924). And 1076 was the year in which the papal-imperial rivalry first heard accusations of anti-Christ. In 1155, Louis VII, King of France (1120–1180) attempted to institute a “pax” for his entire kingdom. Along with others, these calculations seem to have taken up the apocalyptic cause in the absence of the now-defunct sabbatical millennium.

The Peace of God (990s–1030s) consisted of a wave of extremely popular ecclesiastical assemblies that summoned the whole people—including the aristocracy and commoners. Assembled through the unprecedentedly liberal use of relics brought from different places, these assemblies gathered large “civilian” crowds—men, women, children, commoners, powerful, lay, monks, clergy. There the organizers extracted oaths from the assembled warriors that protected the unarmed religious and commoners (*inermes*) from the arbitrary violence of the weapons bearers (Head and Landes, ed., 1992).

In the terminology laid out here, this movement arises at a time when a wide range of apocalyptic expectations (eschatological and millennial) grew more intense at the approach of the millennium of the Incarnation and the Passion (1000, 1033). Signs and catastrophes (Halley’s comet, earthquakes, episodes of ergot poisoning) brought on apocalyptic moments in which large collective penitential assemblies gathered to beg God’s mercy. These large gatherings in response to imminent *eschatological* expectations—Final Judgment now!—swelled in size, generating even vaster, regional assemblies where all the most important personalities of the region and their *milites* gathered together with commoners. Drawing large crowds with relics, the miracles showed God’s approval of the proceedings of the assemblies. Accordingly, its two “peak” periods clustered in the decade approaching the two millennial dates of 1000 and 1033 (Duby 1968). At its second peak (in 1033), these assemblies attempted to inaugurate an “absolute peace” including the end of feuds (Van Meter 1996, Landes 2013). In the minds of at least some of the participants in this quixotic two score-long movement, these assemblies marked a covenant with God and inaugurated an era of messianic peace (Landes 1994; Landes 2013).

The “Truce” of God, first detectable in the late 1020s and becoming more prominent after 1033, shifted the focus from space to time, sacralizing the last days of the week (Thursday evening to Monday morning), Lent and Easter, as days where no warfare should take place, and protecting certain populations (the unarmed, pilgrims, peasants *at their plow*). The Truce became increasingly popular with those calling peace assemblies in the aftermath of 1033, including a major initiative under the aegis of Odilo of Cluny (962–1049) in 1041–1042 (Cowdrey, 1970). In addition, in the aftermath of 1033, we find more practical formulations, including the formation of “peace leagues” in which even commoners joined to punish oath breakers, most notably in Bourges under the initiative of the Archbishop Aimon in 1038. In this case the Eudo, Count of Déols smashed the Peace League. The idea did not, however, fade. In 1056 in Narbonne, a peace assembly declared that no Christian should shed the blood of a fellow Christian, a radical formulation with little chance of succeeding.

The subsequent history of the *Pax Dei* can best be understood in terms of a cognitive dissonance that sought in some way to at once cope with the disappointment and find alternative (and often more practical) ways to implement the messianic program. The combination of drives toward purity and the enthusiastic crowds of layfolk who supported such developments, dates back to the Peace movement earlier in the century (Moore 1980; Remensnyder 1992; Van Meter, 2003). More recently, some historians have linked the reform, which some, both back then and now, consider more a revolution or heresy than a reform (Moore 1977; H. Berman 1985) to apocalyptic theology (McGinn 1999 Whalen 2009). Retrospectively, the great church historians of the twelfth century repeatedly interpret the Church and its reform in an eschatological framework in which the purified Church plays a central role (Morrison 1992). Subsequent clashes, especially during the reign of Frederick II (1194–1250) took on particularly sharp apocalyptic turns, both millennial and eschatological (Whalen 2009).

The holy war of the end of the eleventh century (known *ex post defectu* as the “First” “Crusade”), has long been linked to the Peace, but only recently to apocalyptic expectations. The violence that had (only partially) been repressed by the “Peace” (e.g., the impossible restraints on killing Christians at Narbonne) and the open hostility it had mobilized against aristocratic violence (e.g., the Bourges Peace League of 1038 viewed peace-breakers as Canaanites and themselves as the Children of Israel), now directed legitimate aristocratic violence outside the society and sacralized as “God’s will.” This remarkable and radical move unleashed waves of enthusiastic violence that not only swept Europe (the slaughter of Jewish communities) but engulfed the Holy Land (Erdmann 1977; Rubenstein 2011). Moreover, and unexpectedly, the Pope’s call to take the Holy Land, directed at the *milites*, also aroused a widespread enthusiasm among commoners (People’s Crusade), in which one can detect, some two generations later, the same sense of standing at the center of God’s covenant with his people first described by Glaber for 1033: *gesta Dei per populum Dei*. Subsequent crusades consistently had apocalyptic dimensions.

VI Philo-Judaic/Anti-Semitic Apocalyptic Cycle

Apocalyptic expectations had a paradoxical impact on relations between Christians and Jews. By the end of the tenth century, the apocalyptic scenario was fairly well set on this score: some of the Jews would convert and the rest would join the Antichrist, himself a Jewish messianic pretender who would fight the returning Christ at Armageddon (Libellus de Antichristi; Gow 1995). This, of

course, made the elimination of the Jews, either through conversion or extermination, an urgent agendum of apocalyptic time.

Historically speaking, Christian-Jewish relations in apocalyptic time have followed a two-stroke pattern. In the early stages of enthusiasm, when Christians believe that Christ is about to return, filled with confidence and excitement, they try and convert the Jews by embracing them, by reaching out in the most generous and affectionate ways. But with the rebuff of the Jews (almost as predictable as the failure of the Messiah to appear), the feelings turned bitter. In the painful cognitive dissonance of apocalyptic disappointment, at least some of the Christians, once so generous, turn on the Jews and blame the failure of Christ to return on their refusal to convert.

This apocalyptic scapegoating, especially if it occurred while still in apocalyptic time, could lead to the most ferocious, even genocidal assaults of the Jews. Any Jew who did not convert became, for the apocalyptic Christian, one of Antichrist's minions and had to be destroyed. As with the apocalyptic "First" (really Last) Crusade, Jews are given the choice between conversion (saved Christians) or death (the forces of the Antichrist destroyed). Most of the worst anti-Semitic episodes in Christian history arise in the later stages of an apocalyptic movement, preceded by both a generous offer and bitter disappointment. Martin Luther's (1483–1546) career illustrates the pattern well: having discovered "true" Christianity at the end of time, he (thought he) understood why the Jews had rejected the Church, and reached out to them with the true message. When rejected, he became one of the most ferocious purveyors of hatred toward the Jews in Christian history (Oberman 1984).

There is, however, an upside to this apocalyptic process as well. When Christians and Jews draw together in religiosity, when Christians grow *Philo-Judaic*, they find demotic values most congenial—equality, dignity of everyone, empathy for the "other," kingship of heaven, positive-sum relations. In these (even temporary) periods of *convivencia* (living well together; see the contribution on this topic to the present *Handbook* by Mark Abate), the mutual respect and cooperation that results do much to change the larger society. In the eleventh century, in the period before the Crusade (1096), both Jews and Christian commoners lived in cities where both populations acquired the freedom of self-rule, a symbiosis which may have contributed to the communes (Grabois 1983). In the ultimate positive-sum/negative-sum dilemma, those who bless the Jews (i.e., enter into positive-sum relations with them), are blessed (Western democracies, especially USA). Those who chase the Jews away (and thereby cement authoritarian and theocratic regimes), suffer, no matter how much wealth they have at their disposal (Spain in the 16th century, Arabs in the second half of the 20th century). The philo-Judaic strain of Western Christian millennialism (Lerner 2000), may

have contributed significantly to the rise of the democratic West (Landes 2011, chpts. 8–9).

VII Millennial Movements after the Millennium

Most of the explicitly recorded medieval millennial movements occurred after the passage of the year 1000. Western theologians began to break the “millennial silence” in the latter half of the twelfth century, when a new round of imperial millennialism inspired by the Tiburtine Sybil gained widespread currency in political circles, and the popularity of the prophetic writings of Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179) and Joachim of Fiore (1135–1202; Lerner 1999). The formal appearance of millennialism in these (and other) theological writings, inspired a wider range of popular apocalyptic millennial movements (Cohn 1970; Reeves 1969; Whalen 2009).

The role of written millennialism in encouraging popular millennialism, already negatively visible in the silences surrounding the advent of the two years 6000, is particularly notable in the impact of Joachite writings on the thirteenth century. In the final decades of the twelfth century, the Calabrian abbot, Joachim of Fiore developed an elaborate historical scheme based not on the sevens of the sabbatical millennium, but the threes of the trinity. He placed himself (as do most “salvific historians”) at the turning point between the age (status) of the Son/flesh (the current Church), and the new age, about to dawn, of the Holy Spirit/fire. In this last age, which would dawn *after* the defeat of Antichrist, spiritual men would live in complete freedom and mutual love, and of messianic peace. This age of earthly perfection, in which the differences between Jews and Christians would disappear, represented the first formal depiction of an optimistic earthly expectation of redemption since the fifth century.

The early interpretations of the advent of this new age were purely transformative (the Holy Spirit descending upon chosen people and infusing them with spirit), almost imperceptibly apocalyptic, but distinctly demotic (freedom, end of hierarchy, holy anarchy). Thus despite the controversy that Joachim elicited with his embrace of the book of *Revelation* as a guide to history and the future, his millennialism made it past the censors, even finding papal support. Had Augustine been present at these papal discussions, he would have been distressed at the inability of ecclesiastics to “stop up the mouths” of the millennialists and warned that the coming century would pay the price of their folly. And indeed it did; one might even call the thirteenth century, the “Joachite century.”

The first major movements to draw inspiration from Joachite salvation history were the two mutations in monastic history, the preaching orders of Dominicans

and Franciscans. They were widely seen both within the orders and without as the new “spiritual men” whose advent Joachim had predicted. Over time, the radical millennial movement split off from the institutional one (Spiritual vs. Conventual Franciscans), and both popular movements and sophisticated exegetical treatises came to identify the Church (including the Conventual Franciscans) as agents of Antichrist (Burr 2001). The thorough mixing of millennial prophecy and contemporary historical interpretation led to opposing strains that saw either a coming “angelic” pope or a coming messianic emperor as the millennial savior. At the same time, at the turn of the fourteenth century, a violent demotic millennial movement under the leadership of Fra Dolcino (ca. 1250–1307) broke out (in part in response to the burning of their previous leader, Gerardo Segarelli in 1300). Based in the Alps, his disciples waged war on the clergy and the rich. In the same way the peace of God had become a holy war in the course of a century, so the transformative millennialism of Joachim had become active cataclysmic within a hundred years of his death.

Subsequent Christian “medieval” history is so thick with millennial themes and movements that it is hard to enumerate them all. Exegetes and theologians like Peter Olivi (1248–1298), Ubertino da Casale (1259–1329) and John of Rupescissa (d. 1366) elaborated millennial themes, while radical groups like the Beguins and the Beguines incorporated them into their spirituality. Prophecies related to events in the East (Prester John, Mongols, Cedars of Lebanon) repeatedly inspired both individuals and groups to believe they had entered apocalyptic time and in some cases to launch millennial movements. Apocalyptic millennial themes appear repeatedly in the “reforming” literature including the Lollards, the Hussites, and the early Protestant sects like the Anabaptists and the followers of Thomas Müntzer (Potestà 1999), as well as many if not most “peasant” revolts like the Jacquerie and English Peasant Revolt (Mollat and Wolff 1973). Even the Western scientific tradition has a millennial genealogy that dates back to the Middle Ages (Noble 1999), with particular significance to the work of Roger Bacon (1214–1294; Abate 2000; Matus 2012) and Arnold of Villanova (1235–1313; Backman 1995).

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Ralf Lützel Schwab

Western Monasticism

A Introduction

For Bernard of Clairvaux, Cistercian monk and one of the most influential figures of the first half of the twelfth century, monastic life symbolized not only the “stomach” of the Church (*venter Ecclesiae*) but also its basic structure (*sustamentum*): “For it is from the stomach that nourishment is distributed to the entire body. Similarly, the role of the monks consists in providing spiritual lymph to the people in charge as well as the subordinates” (Bernard of Clairvaux 1964, 74). Much earlier, Evagrius Ponticus, a fourth-century desert father, had already articulated the same ideas, describing the monk’s role with an aphorism: “A monk is one who is separated from all, but united to all” (Casiday 2006, 198). Monastic spirituality has not changed a great deal since then. The abbot of the Belgian monastery of Scourmont, Dom Anselme le Bail, could still develop similar thoughts in the first half of the twentieth century: “The Christian life is a social life where each member, each constituent part, should work toward achieving the perfection of the whole body, of the whole Church, without which one cannot not attain one’s own individual perfection” (Dufrasne 2010, 152).

The *vita religiosa* which comprises a voluntary commitment to vows (*consilia evangelica*) and juridical regulations is by definition a *vita regularis*, a life under a rule. As a spiritual and juridical phenomenon, the *vita regularis* is divided into four types: 1. *vita monastica*; 2. *vita canonica*; 3. military orders; 4. mendicant orders. Monastic communities provide a material and spiritual structure necessary for every individual striving for eternity whereas orders (*ordo/ordines*) are institutions transcending the confines of particular dioceses by their universality being therefore as universal as the Church itself (Landau 2003). *Ordo* is a juridical term describing a monastic reality that came into being from the twelfth century onwards. It is not to be used for the early period of monasticism.

The most noble task of monasticism has always consisted of the search for God. Western monasticism was not the product of a well-formed plan and did not come into being via conciliar decisions. During its existence from the third century onwards, monasticism has found lots of different ways of realizing this ideal of combining religious needs with normative instructions and everyday monastic reality (Lawrence 2000; Brooke 2003). The innovative potential has always resided in the balance of (interiorized) faith and the pragmatic organisation of life, in which legislative norms and texts are of the utmost importance.

Medieval monasticism found a plethora of names for them: *regulae*, *consuetudines*, *statuta*, *instituta*, *decreta*, *constitutiones* and far more. All these names can be subsumed into three main types of legislative texts: rules (*regulae*), customaries (*consuetudines*) and statutes (*statuta*) (Melville 2005).

Western monasticism quickly became a success story. It relied not only on the principle of guidance through a qualified head, the abbot, and the obedience shown to this head, but also on poverty and chastity. Within this framework, there was a scope for an astonishing variety, as the great canonist Henry of Segusio (ca. 1200–1271) noted in his *Summa Aurea*, “there are many different monasteries which all have different regulations” (*diversa sunt monasteria, et diversas habent institutiones*) (*Henrici de Segusio Cardinalis Ostiensis summa aurea* 1574, 1144). Different ways can lead to God: this is especially true for monasticism.

B The Origins

I The Desert: Egypt

Western monasticism has its roots in the deserts of Egypt and Palestine. In places far away from big cities and commercial hubs, solitaries and little groups tried and tested new lifestyles: the desert was an experimental laboratory in which lots of different ways of life could coexist. Two different types of monasticism developed, with Egypt at their center: 1. eremitic life—people living alone (the greek word *eremós* means “desert”); 2. cenobitic life—people living together (from the greek *koinós biós* which means common life). In sharp contrast to the later western model, desert spirituality consisted in what was caught, not in what was taught. One of the most precious sources giving insight into this very early stage of monasticism is the “Sayings of the Desert Fathers” (*Apophthegmata Patrum*), short narratives and examples describing the advantages and disadvantages, benefits and dangers of desert life (Harmless 2004). Warnings of spiritual pretension, “If you see a monk levitate, catch him by the foot and throw him to the ground, for it does him no good” (*The Sayings of the Desert Fathers* 1984, 107), are found alongside invaluable advice, “If we stretch the brethren beyond measure they will soon break. Sometimes it is necessary to come down to meet their needs” (*The Sayings of the Desert Fathers* 1984, 13). This last example goes back to Anthony the Great (ca. 251–356), also called “father of the monks,” one of the most experienced and influential desert fathers who not only fought the whole of his life against temptations and diabolic phantasm but also defended a responsible handling of one’s own needs and corporal weaknesses. He would certainly have disapproved of the way of life chosen by certain Syriac fathers. Some of them

lived in trees for long periods, some on columns for years. The latter are called stylites—with Simeon Stylites (389–459) as the most famous example (Brown 1971). Simeon lived on his column for nearly forty years. This kind of exaggerated ascetism, however, was reserved for only a minority of monks.

II The Forest: Europe

How did Egyptian deserts, Syriac columns, and European forests come together? (Dunn 2000) John Cassian (ca. 360–ca. 435), knowing the situation in Palestine and Egypt very well, was responsible for the transmission and implementation of the Egyptian experience into Europe. After moving from Egypt to Marseille he adapted oriental ideas to the material, cultural and climatic situation in Europe via his influential Rule (*Institutiones*) and his “Lives of the Desert Fathers” (*Vitae Patrum*). He laid the foundation stone of a structure which developed and expanded rapidly. One of the most interesting and culturally progressive projects was a monastic foundation established by Cassiodorus (ca. 485–ca. 580), son of a Roman senator, on his family’s estates in South Italy. As he could not create a school of theology in Rome due to a lack of institutional support, he founded a monastery in Calabria instead. Vivarium—its name refers to the fish ponds nearby—rapidly became *the* religious and cultural center of the South of Italy. Central to the monastic existence at Vivarium was the library where numerous texts of antiquity were copied and therefore transmitted to posterity. In his *Institutiones* Cassiodorus refers to the overall importance of study—copying texts was considered not only manual labour but also divine service (*opus divinum*) (Cassiodor 2003, 266–74). Cassiodorus’s project did not survive his death, but the texts did—most of them probably ended up in the papal library in the Lateran basilica.

C Saint Benedict and his Rule

I The Beginnings

Essential for the further development of western monasticism was the Rule of Saint Benedict (*Regula Benedicti*) whose content is usually summarized in the words (albeit not found in this combination within the rule) “Ora et labora”—pray and work. Relying heavily on a previous rule called the “Rule of the Master” (*Regula Magistri*) (Jaspart 1975), Benedict wrote his instructions at a time of political instability and unrest. His intention was to found a *dominici scola servicii*, a community longing for learning to know and serve Christ. For the

individual monk this meant a lifelong process of transformation. Regulations were made to support this transformation process through practical arrangements for the organization of community life. Benedict—the only substantial information we have about his life goes back to the second book of Gregory's the Great's "Dialogues" (*Dialogi*)—wrote in order to secure a *vita communis*, a common life for individuals united by one and the same goal: finding God. Uniformity (*uniformitas*) is one of the key features that defines this common life, in clothing, in eating and in the acceptance of rules and statutes.

A monastery was therefore considered an island of tranquillity and order in a world full of conflict and chaos. The cloister was "the other," defining itself by what it was not: it was conceived as counterpoint to the secular world, a place in which nothing should be preferred to God's love (*nihil amoris Christi praeponere*). The material sign of this "otherness" consisted in the enclosure, separating the cloister symbolically and physically from the world (RB 66,7). The cloister of the Cistercian monastery of Maulbronn (southern Germany, founded in 1147) is a good example for the idea of a *hortus conclusus*, an "enclosed garden," surrounded by the church and different administrative buildings. Very often parts of the cloister area were used to cultivate medicinal herbs (see Fig. 1).

It was within the enclosure that the salvation of every individual could be realized. Fundamental to the life of every monk entering a monastery were the so-called essential vows (*vota substantialia*). In the case of the *Regula Benedicti*, they were formed by three elements: 1. *stabilitas loci*—the promise to remain in the same monastery for the rest of one's life; 2. *oboedientia*—strict obedience under the abbot; 3. *conversatio morum*—the intention to adapt one's behaviour to the charism of the cloister, including poverty and chastity. The structure and rhythm of the day were of the utmost importance. Benedict gave the example to be followed by dividing the day into three main elements: 1. *labor manuum*—manual labour; 2. *opus divinum*—divine service and the liturgy of the hours; 3. *lectio divina*—the study of sacred/liturgical/hagiographical texts. These elements coexisted in a fine harmony balancing labour and tension with periods of recreation and relaxation. Jean Leclercq rightly characterized the *lectio divina* as mixture of reading, meditation, and memorization, this last being "what inscribes the sacred text in the body and the soul" (Leclercq 1982, 90; Robertson 2011). *Lectio divina* not only involved understanding the meaning of a text: it was considered a dialogue between God and the reader/listener. The extreme harshness of Egyptian regulations was not imitated: monks in a Benedictine monastery were able to sleep about 7–8 hours, work for 4–5 hours, pray for 4 hours and consecrate themselves to study and lecture for 4 hours. Even if this is only an approximative scheme, it shows nevertheless the fine balance inherent in Benedict's monastic timetable. In the early Middle Ages, children formed an integral part of monastic



Fig. 1: The cloister of the St. Martin's Cathedral, Utrecht, The Netherlands (Photo: Albrecht Classen).

communities: whereas the *pueri oblati* were given to the monastery at a very young age—John Boswell characterized this oblation as humane form of abandonment (Boswell 1984, 17)—others profited from the education received in monastic schools. In contrast to the latter, *pueri oblati* were expected to remain within the monastery (Boswell 1988; De Jong 1996). A year of novitiate initiated a lifelong process of conversion: this preparation culminated in perpetual vows (RB 58, 17) (Constable 1987; Moos 2007).

Every monastery following the Rule of Saint Benedict enjoyed a high degree of autonomy: it was subject only to the Rule and (in very specific—and urgent—cases) to the local bishop. This kind of freedom guaranteed not only survival but also the integrity of tradition and discipline. It was the abbot who guaranteed the autonomy and the well-being of the monastery—particularly concerning questions of inward discipline like the administration of temporal goods and elections. He represented Christ within the monastery's walls, possessing nearly absolute power. One key qualification for the exercise of his powers was *discretio*, which means the ability to measure and judge situations taking into consideration variations in individuals, time and space. The monastery's well-being was

rooted in this gift of discernment, called the “mother of virtues” (*mater virtutum*) by Benedict (RB 64,19). The abbot was constantly reminded that it was better for him to serve than to rule (*prodesse magis quam praeesse*, RB 64,8). Petrus Damiani (d. 1072), one of the main representatives of the eleventh-century Benedictine Reform movement, characterized the *regula* as a “great and spacious mansion in which provision is made for the strong and the weak, men and boys, people of every conceivable description” (Petrus Damiani 1993, 27). And indeed, the great advantage of this rule consists in its astonishing flexibility.

II Further Development

It should be understood, however, that the success of the *Regula Benedicti* was not immediate, and was due to a number of very influential supporters. After Benedict’s death his rule was confined to only a handful of monasteries, all located south of Rome, centered on Montecassino. At that time, most monasteries followed so-called “mixed rules” in which elements of several rules were combined to create regulations tailored to specific situations. One of the best examples—Adalbert de Vogüé calls it “le chef-d’oeuvre”—is the anonymous *Regula Tarnantensis*, written in the third quarter of the sixth century for an unknown monastery in Gaul (Vogüé 2005, 202). The time from 300–700 C.E. can be considered an experimental phase in the history of western monasticism with lots of different projects and rules. From that entire period, thirty sets of rules have come down to us. Their main purpose, however, was not a kind of demarcation from other monastic communities but the wish to secure a proper tradition. The monasteries founded by Columbanus illustrate this fact. At the end of the sixth century, missionary work on the continent began, undertaken by monks who left their native Ireland in order to follow the precept of homelessness. Pilgrimage for Christ (*Peregrinatio propter Christum*) was their device (Ebrard 1971). New monasteries came into being in regions that had previously only superficially been touched by Christianity. Columbanus founded two monasteries of the utmost importance: Luxeuil in 590 and later on Bobbio in Northern Italy where he died in 612 (Stancliffe 2006, Richter 2008). These monasteries—Luxeuil quickly became one of the most important houses in Gaul—followed a rule called the “Rule of St. Columban,” an outstanding example of a “mixed rule” (Lapidge, ed., 1997). Another important Irishman on the continent was Gallus (d. 650), the first to establish a place that subsequently became the abbey of Saint Gall, later on famous for its immense library (<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/csg/Shelfmark/20/0>).

The influence of Gregory the Great in the process of propagating the *Regula Benedicti* was considerable but, in reality, it was the imperial court of Charles

the Great and his successors which created from Benedict's rule—one monastic rule among many—the mandatory rule for all monasteries within the Empire. For Charles the Great and his counsellors, monasticism signified not rejection of the world but integration and active commitment within it. The *eremos*, the desert, was transformed into a flourishing garden. Royal monasteries ("Königsklöster") became important pillars of the Empire's expansive politics headed by abbots experienced in administration. In the Eastern parts of the realm, this also meant a central engagement in mission. North of the Alps, the *Regula Benedicti* was considered the "Roman Rule," a label which conferred a high degree of importance and reputation. Responsible for this success was the head of the imperial commission, Benedict of Aniane (ca. 750–821), later called the "second Benedict" (Semmler 1983). Through his writings and political engagement, Benedict played an influential role in imperial synods around 800. He was not naïve, however: he recognized that not all monasteries across the Empire could be treated the same. Therefore he allowed Saint Benedict's rule to be joined by so-called "customaries" (*consuetudines*) designed for the situation of individual monasteries. Within a short time, monasteries had become repositories of the Empire's unity.

III The *ordo canonicus*

Imperial synods not only imposed the exhaustive implementation of the *Regula Benedicti* but also maintained a clear distinction between monastic and canonical orders. This was a reaction to a progressive clericalization of monasticism which since its beginning had shown a pronounced reserve vis-à-vis the integration of priests into its ranks—a reserve motivated by ascetic ideals, not by anti-clerical resentment. An ambivalence around the admission of priests into monasteries and the appointment of resident monks to the priesthood is already articulated in the *Regula Benedicti*. In this case, the ambivalence is due to the fear that the new clerical status could entail arrogance—*superbia* has always been considered one of the most prominent mortal sins. In the eyes of Benedict, priests were not necessary for a well-ordered house. But the expressed wish of ordained men to live according to canons (*canonice vivere*) had to be answered. The solution to the emergence of "clerical monasteries" (Klerikerklöster) in which all—or almost all—members were ordained consisted in the clear separation between a "monastic" and a "canonical" way of life. The *ordo canonicus* was born. Chrodegang, bishop of Metz (d. 766), was the first to write a rule for the clerics of his diocese, but it was at the imperial synod of Aachen in 816 that the separation between the monastic life and canonical life was definitely formulated. The biggest difference between

the two *ordines* consisted in poverty: whereas monks had to be personally poor, canons were allowed to have personal possessions.

This changed with the reform movement of the eleventh and twelfth centuries—a period decisive for the development of canonical orders (Andenna 2004). By the middle of the twelfth century there were already over 150 canons' houses in the Holy Roman Empire. Regular Canons now followed the so-called “Rule of Saint Augustine,” written around 400: that is why they are called “regular,” i.e., “guided by a rule.” The rule's character was very monastic indeed: canons lived not only a common life, but a life in poverty. However, there were two differences separating them from Benedictines or other “orders” which also developed at this period: first, they were ruled by a provost rather than an abbot; second, there was no enclosure. Canons proclaimed the Word of God via preaching and pastoral care. The most prominent of all regular canons were the Premonstratensians (Crusius and Flachenecker, ed., 2003), founded by the highly charismatic Norbert of Xanten (1080/85–1134) at Prémontré and officially approved in 1126. With one of its main bases in the imperial city of Magdeburg, Premonstratensians assumed important functions in the colonization of the areas East of the River Elbe (Bond 1993).

IV Imperial Monasteries

The bigger monasteries—Fulda in 781 is one of the most impressive examples with 364 monks (Raaijmakers 2012)—became quasi self-sufficient: from being mainly places of worship, they came to resemble villages with a well-ordered array of workshops, gardens and other places of work (Zimmermann 1972). A very impressive visualization of such a large building complex is the mid-ninth-century plan of the monastery of St Gall in Switzerland showing some 40 structures which due to copious inscriptions and annotations can all be identified (Jacobsen 1992; Constable 2009). Space is organized by function: we find not only places for work, for worship, for silence, but also for the poor, the sick, the novices and the guests. These big monasteries were not able to evade the influence of the Frankish rulers who assigned them new responsibilities. The imperial monasteries not only functioned as schools providing basic knowledge for the sons of the surrounding higher and lesser nobility, but also as centers for missionaries going Eastwards.

D Reform(s): Cluny

The strong relationship between the Carolingian dynasty and monasticism was risky insofar as a breakdown of the dynasty severely affected the future of monasticism. The destruction of Montecassino by the Saracens in 883/884 stands symbolically for the potential doom that could befall this kind of monastic organisation.

It was obvious that Benedictine monasticism had to be reformed (Engen 1986). The biggest and most influential reform movement started in Burgundy where a monastery was founded at the beginning of the tenth century which later came to be known as the “light of the world”: Cluny.

But Cluny was not the only center of reform: Brogne (Northern France), Gorze (near Metz), St. Benigne in Dijon, Westminster or Einsiedeln (Switzerland) also contributed to a return to traditional monastic values. This could not have been realized without the combined forces of monastic communities, local bishops and nobles collaborating for a common good. When Cluny was founded by Duke William of Aquitaine in 910, he ensured the unrestricted freedom of “his” monks by giving up his proprietary rights over the monastery. This was not enough: the titles were transferred to the pope. Cluny had obtained the privilege of exemption from local diocesan or noble control, being subjected to the pope alone. Remarkable longevity also contributed to this success story. For 210 years, only five great abbots (from Odo in 927 to Peter the Venerable in 1122) kept watch over the destiny of Cluny.

Cluny became the center of a monastic congregation which dominated Western monasticism for at least two hundred years (Rosenwein 1989; Wollasch 1996; Constable 2010; Iogna-Prat 2004). The head of this congregation was always the abbot of Cluny. For the first time in monastic history, a real “order” with a general abbot, subordinate abbeys and legally binding customs came into being. Cluny stood for the religious establishment flourishing in a time when the papacy was trying to implement a general ecclesiastical reform movement. Cluny was at the very center of this reform.

Cluniac life was characterized by the importance given to liturgy: it was the liturgy that commanded the Cluniac monk’s existence. This led to spectacular forms of canonical hours and splendid masses celebrated in an appropriate setting. The new church built between 1089 and 1095, known as Cluny III, was by far the biggest church in Christendom: the monastic claim to power realized in breathtaking architecture. At the same time, this undue emphasis on one monastic element resulted in the loss of the equilibrium between manual labour, *lectio divina* and divine service—something which was heavily criticised and finally led to a “reform of the reform” in the twelfth century, headed by the newly-founded Cistercian order.

E The Return of Eremitism

This triumph of cenobitic monasticism was accompanied by a new blossoming of eremitism, but, in contrast to the desert fathers, it was evident to the eremites of the eleventh and twelfth centuries that a life in solitude was only possible if a solid basis had been established: this basis was the cenobitic life. For the high middle ages it is true: no eremite thrived without a cenobitic background. This system came into being in two new foundations in central Italy: Fonte Avellana and Camaldoli offered a kind of structured form of the eremitic life, one in which the monks lived in cells under the direction of an abbot or prior. At a time when real martyrdom was no longer possible, eremitic life represented the new kind of martyrdom (McCready 2011).

The most prominent eremitic order was founded by Saint Bruno of Cologne in the valleys of the Grande Chartreuse near Grenoble in 1084: the Carthusians (Bligny 1984; Ravier 1995). Although conceived as strict eremitic order—even today the Carthusians are considered to be the strictest order in Christendom—Bruno nevertheless added a few elements rooted in cenobiticism, for example, communal meals on Sundays and feast days only. Masses were also celebrated together—but compared to the 700 conventual masses celebrated every year at Cluny, the 155 masses at the Grande Chartreuse seemed quite meagre. Community life was therefore reduced to an absolute minimum. The cell constituted the monk's place of life and retreat. Protected by the intimacy of his own cell, the Carthusian could dedicate his existence to divine reading and meditation (Hogg 1989; Mursell 1988).

The absence of a rule underlines this ambivalence toward a life in community. It was only under the fifth prior of the Grande Chartreuse, Guigo I (d. 1136), that the first customs were written down (Hogg 1989). Longing for a truly contemplative life, every Carthusian prized solitude and strict isolation. Silence was absolute and seen as prerequisite for prayer, lecture and meditation. This led to a very elaborate sign language to preserve the monastery's peace (Vanderputten, ed., 2011). The prestige of the order has always been very high. Created for the "happy few," it was nevertheless considered essential for the spiritual well-being of the whole Church.

F Cistercians

Something new happened with the arrival of the Cistercian order (Eberl 2002; Burton and Kerr 2011), soon regarded as a "symbol of the innovative" (Melville 2002, 36). After the confirmation of its foundational document, the *Carta caritatis*,

by Pope Calixtus II in 1119, every monastery in the order remained independent, but was subject to a well-defined twofold supervision guaranteed by a strong relationship to the “mother-house,” i.e., the founding monastery of Cîteaux, and by the annual gathering of all the abbots for the general chapter which usually took place in Cîteaux (Cygler 2002). The *Carta caritatis* was rightly called a “blueprint for a new type of community or federation of houses” (Sykes 2011, 2), guaranteeing unity (*unitas*) and uniformity (*uniformitas*) within the order (Waddell, ed., 1999).

When Robert, abbot of the Benedictine house of Molesmes, left his monastery with a handful of monks in 1098, his new foundation in Cîteaux was very soon at the brink of extinction. It did not attract a sufficiently high number of aspirants. It was Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153), the “difficult saint” (McGuire 1991; Dinzelsbacher 1998), who joined the order in 1112, together with some thirty relatives and friends, that secured its survival (Vacandard 1910; Bredero 1996; McGuire, ed., 2011). His relentless work on behalf of the order brought him into contact with all the major rulers of Europe. His influence on curial and French politics was considerable, his position vis-à-vis the aesthetic excesses of the Cluniacs merciless (Rudolph 1990). At the end of his life Bernard described his position in cruel words: “I am the chimaera of my century” (*Ego enim Chimaera mei saeculi*) (Bernard of Clairvaux 1977, 147). From 1112 to 1115 the four primary abbeys of La Ferté, Pontigny, Clairvaux and Morimond were founded—centers for a breathtaking expansion of the order not only in France but across the whole of Europe. Cistercians were especially important in the monastic settlement of Britain. After the first Cistercian foundation at Waverley in 1128, monasteries like Rievaulx (1132) or Fountains (1133) followed in quick succession. In 1153, there were more than 300 Cistercian abbeys in Europe; by 1253, there were 647 abbeys belonging to the order (Winkler 1980). The dormitory of the Cistercian abbey of Eberbach (founded in 1136), 74 m long and 14 m wide, comprises more than 1000 m². Up to 150 monks could sleep in this room which by a staircase is connected to the transept of the abbey church (see Fig. 2).

Bernard of Clairvaux was not alone in promoting the Cistercian influence on Christian theology; the writings of Aelred of Rievaulx (d. 1167), Isaak of Stella (d. 1178) and Gueric d'Igny (d. 1157) led to them, along with Bernard, becoming known as the “four evangelists of Cîteaux.” Miracle stories flourished within the Order. The best example is Conrad of Eberbach's *Exordium magnum*, compiled from the 1180s to about 1215—stories showing the transforming presence of God in human affairs, especially the affairs of the order of Cîteaux (Conrad of Eberbach 2012). Also the impact by Cistercian bishops and cardinals on ecclesiastical affairs was considerable. In the time span from 1098–1227 no less than 19 cardinals and 151 bishops and archbishops came from within the Order (Lipkin 1980; Lützel-schwab 2010).



Fig. 2: The dormitory of the Cistercian abbey of Eberbach (founded in 1136)
(Photo: Albrecht Classen).

The basic elements of Cistercian legislation were filiation—the dependency of new foundations from their mother house—, general chapters and visitation. The order abhorred the multitude of useless statutes and avoided their accumulation by a simple means: to adopt new statutes it was obligatory for them to be read and accepted during three consecutive general chapters. A characteristic feature of Cistercian monasticism was the location of its monasteries. As laid down in the statutes of 1134, the monks were not allowed to build monasteries within city walls, but only in places far away from men (*in locis a conversatione hominum remotis*). This meant that in the majority of cases land had to be cultivated in order to accommodate monastic settlements. Very soon Cistercians cultivated large areas clearing forests and reclaiming land and marshes. Their exploitation lay on the shoulders of a special group of monks, the converses (*conversi*). The converses' main task was manual labour. Compared to their "brothers," the so called choir-monks, dwelling in the same monastery, they did not have exactly the same rights but were regarded somehow inferior (Waddell, ed., 2000). The fundamental motif of Mary and Martha—Mary representing prayer, reflection and meditation, Martha standing for manual labour—triumphed within the Cistercian

precincts. The Cistercian economic system was responsible for the material well-being of lots of monasteries (Bouchard 1991; Rösener 2011; France 2012). And without the Cistercians' cultivation-work the German Eastward expansion would have developed significantly more slowly. The Cistercian abbey of Eberbach's dormitory for the lay brothers, 85 m long, was built in the beginning of the 13th century. Its sheer size is surprising and highlights the importance of the abbey's lay manpower. Up to 200 *conversi* could sleep in this vaulted room (see Fig. 3).



Fig. 3: The dormitory of the Cistercian abbey of Eberbach for the lay brothers (Photo: Albrecht Classen).

G Orders of Knights

One groundbreaking novelty was the emergence of the order of the Knights Templar (officially approved around 1129) whose way of life seemed highly innovative—and not only to contemporaries (Demurger 2005). Backed by a rule written by Bernard of Clairvaux (*De laude novae militiae*), they embodied a strong connection between the monastic and military ways of life, initially protecting pilgrims to and in the Holy Land. This led at the same time to a new valuation of lay forms of life.

Not everybody cherished the type of self-sanctification cultivated by the Templars: the Cistercian Isaak of Stella even accused the “new monster” (*monstrum novum*) in very harsh words, explaining and deploring that “unbelievers are forced to believe with the aid of lances and bludgeons. Those who do not bear the name of Christ are plundered without restraint and murdered on the basis of religion” (Isaak von Stella 2012, 768). Even after the loss of the Holy Land, the Templars retained or even expanded their influence on political affairs in the West. In France, they were responsible for the safe-keeping of the kingdom’s treasury. King Philip IV. of France (1268–1314) who did not want to be confronted by a “state within the state” put an end to these aspirations: in October 1314 all Templars within the kingdom were arrested, the order subsequently forbidden, its possessions and wealth (if not reclaimed for the royal treasury) transferred to the Templars’ great rivals, the Hospitallers or Knights of Saint John. This order, which was founded in 1113 (Nicholson 2001; Riley-Smith 2012), initially took care of pilgrims in Jerusalem, even providing substantial health care, but quickly assumed more or less the same responsibilities as the Templars and the third knights’ order, the Teutonic Knights (founded in 1198/99): the care and defence of the Holy Land. Hospitallers included professed knights bound to the order by perpetual vows and secular knights only temporarily engaged in the order’s affairs. Therefore, a tripartite structure consisting of military brothers, brother infirmarians and brother chaplains ensured the Hospitallers’ effectiveness. All military orders constituted private armies, built a huge number of castles and therefore controlled large parts of the Holy Land (Bériou and Josserand, ed., 2009). After the loss of their strongholds in the East, the Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights also succeeded in creating new operational bases in the West—the Hospitallers settled in Rhodes, and later in Malta, whereas the Teutonic Knights moved as far as Prussia and Livonia, engaging in the belligerent Christianization of Europe’s still pagan Eastern part (modern day Poland and the Baltic states) (Christiansen 1997; Boockmann 2012). The coexistence of clerical and secular elements within all military orders testifies to the laity’s reticence to accept a strict separation between a clerical or monastic caste and a laity with no right of active participation in religious affairs. This becomes even more apparent with the next type of monastic orders.

H The Mendicant Orders

From the beginning of monasticism, the ideal of withdrawal from the world has revealed highly problematic. Monasteries may have been considered—idealiter at least—islands or havens guaranteeing protection from the outward world, but in reality it has always been necessary for orders and individuals to find a balance

between life within the cloister and (spiritual) engagement outside (Vanderputten 2012).

In the beginning of the thirteenth century, the old “order” par excellence, the *Ordo Sancti Benedicti* with its reformed branches like the Cistercians did not correspond any more to religious sensitivities. Even the eremitical orders could not and did not want to step in to fill the spiritual gap. Vallumbrosans and Carthusians might have been praised for their rigidity, living up to their own standards—but their lifestyle was exclusive, not made to be imitated by the numerous individuals in the cities and universities who desired to embark on a monastic life. From the twelfth century onwards, the *vita religiosa* therefore underwent considerable changes. New religious sensitivities necessitated new modes of living. Influenced by the Cistercian model, other orders appeared—orders transpersonally ruled and considered subjects of law, clearly distinguished from other orders. Besides rules and customs (*consuetudines*), statutes now became increasingly important. Being very flexible, they represented the particular law (*ius particulare*) of each order or congregation (Cygler 2012).

The mendicant orders—under this notion are subsumed four “big” (Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, Augustinian Friars) and some “smaller” orders (Friars of the Sack, Pied Friars etc.) (Andrews 2006)—have some features in common: they do not follow the precept of *stabilitas loci* any more. Monks can easily be transferred from one convent to another. These orders consider themselves poor—therefore they highly cherish the concept of mendacity (even if mendacity as a real means to generate income plays an insignificant role) (Prudlo, ed., 2011; Bériou, ed., 2009). At least in the beginning poverty not only meant poverty of the individual monk (known from the “old” orders of Benedictine background) but also poverty of the whole convent. At the convent’s top stood no abbot, but a prior—mendicant abbots did not exist. All mendicant orders defined themselves as “propagators” of the Gospel. In order to fulfil this task brethren had to leave the closure consciously. Spreading the gospel in public, especially in urban contexts, required new competencies with preaching at its core. In order to achieve this goal, mendicants developed a highly complex education system and consciously searched contact with universities (Sullivan 2012). But despite these common features every order succeeded in developing its own character and charism (Grundmann 1977; Andenna et al., ed., 2005).

I Dominicans

Born in 1170 in Spain, Dominic of Guzman was destined for a clerical career (Vicaire 1982; Tugwell 1995–2003). After entering the cathedral chapter of Osma

in 1196 as Augustinian canon he accompanied his bishop Diego on two diplomatic missions encountering the dramatic religious situation in the South of France where the heresy of Catharism triumphed openly over catholic hierarchy. The papal legates—mainly Cistercians—destined to appease the situation and to reconquer the area for Catholicism had revealed highly inefficient. Dominic was the person to transform failure into success, inefficiency into efficiency. Unprecedented situations necessitated new approaches. Dominic knew exactly what to do: he hit heretics with their own weapons. Therefore he showed not only modesty and humility leading a “real apostolic life” (*vita vere apostolica*), but also developed new missionary methods acting by word and deed (*verbo et exemplo*), especially by preaching, and new forms of pastoral care. In 1215 the bishop of Toulouse allowed the foundation of a new order: the “Fratres Predicatores” were born, the Preaching Brothers, who later on would be called “Dominicans” in remembrance of their founder (Hinnebusch 1973). From the very beginning two elements were of the utmost importance: poverty and study. Dominic was convinced that heresy could only be defeated by well-trained monks being capable of preaching. When at the end of 1215 Dominic looked for papal approval he encountered resistance. Pope and prelates who assisted the Fourth Lateran Council in Rome had already categorically forbidden the foundation of new orders with new rules (Maccarrone 1995). Dominic followed papal advice and opted for an “old” rule: he chose the one going back to the Church Father Augustine, a good choice indeed, because the rule was suitably vague. By this procedure papal approval became obsolete. Toulouse quickly lost its position as center of the order—Bologna and Paris took its role.

By this conscious transfer to the intellectual “hot-spots” of Europe, Dominicans showed their interest in education and study attracting lots of new members with university background (Mulchahey 1998; Elm 1999). In order to fulfil its preaching mission on an international scale, the order created a highly elaborate educational system relying on particular schools (*studia particularia*) in the convents, provincial schools in every province (*studia provincialia*) and finally general schools (*studia generalia*) where only the brightest students were admitted. S. Jacques in Paris was by far the most famous and influential of these *studia generalia*. In 1220, during the first general chapter, the central constitutions of the order (complementing the rule of St. Augustine) were issued and provinces installed (Galbraith 1925).

The provincial structure with a provincial prior put between the local prior and the master general revealed highly efficient. Dominic himself stepped back behind his creation and when he died in 1221 the order faced no difficulties handling the transition. With astonishing velocity more than 250 convents could be founded. In 1337 the order comprised ca. 12000 brethren and was held in high

esteem by the papacy. Until 1320 ca. 450 Dominicans were able to climb the highest positions within the ecclesiastical hierarchy acting as bishops and cardinals (Lützelshwab 2010). Even two popes came from within the order (Innocent V. (1276), Benedict XI (1303–04)). The reputation of the Order in later times suffered due to its implication in the inquisition. Indeed, when Pope Gregory IX. (1227–1241) instituted a papal inquisition in order to fight heresy in an appropriate and efficient way, the order bore the main work (*Praedicatores Inquisitores* 2004). The general masters of the order, however, never considered the inquisitorial task as essential for its charisma. What was essential, however, was the promotion of studies within the order. To that end every prior had broad dispensation powers. Studying brethren could be dispensed from attending mass our Hours and allowed to work even during the night. What was also new was the clear distinction between laws established by men in order to regulate monastic life and the responsibility of every single brother to follow (or in specific cases to break) these regulations. For Dominicans, rule and constitutions were only binding “under punishment” (*sub poena*), not “under guilt” (*sub culpa*). This also contributed to a higher degree of flexibility—regulated life was subordinate to the main tasks. The Dominican Order endowed Europe’s intellectual world with figures of enormous influence (Käppeli 1970–1975). By his writings, especially his *Summa theologica*, Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) was to dominate theological training for centuries (Torrell 2005). Thousands of sermons (still conserved albeit far from being totally explored) bear witness to the Dominicans’ preaching abilities (Muessig, ed., 1998; Kienzle, ed., 2000, 363–447). For example, Jacopo da Varazze’s four sermon collections comprising 723 sermons are scattered among more than 1100 manuscripts produced in the whole of Europe (Bertini Guidetti 1998). Within a few years, the order had developed from a federation of like minded canons into “a large, dynamic and highly complex international religious corporation of a novel type” (Vargas 2011, 63).

II Franciscans

Not as intellectualized as their Dominican counterparts, Franciscans nevertheless saw the great advantages solid education could entail (Senocak 2012). This had not been predictable and did certainly not correspond to the ideas which the Order’s founder, Francis of Assisi (1182–1226), developed when he began his highly personalized “franciscan adventure” (Vauchez 2012). From the very beginning his intention was to create a community of “brothers minor” (*fratres minores*) consisting of like-minded lay people, not of educated clerics (Moorman 1968; Lehmann 1997). The name became programme: Francis and his first companions

chose a life of voluntary poverty—a decision which put them on the side of the most deprived parts of medieval society. Francis, son of a wealthy merchant from Assisi in Umbria, broke completely with his former life and left his family in a highly symbolical act: on Assisi's central place he put off his worldly clothes throwing them at the feet of his father. Separation could not have been expressed more dramatically. It has to be underlined, however, that poverty for Francis was not an end in itself but an instrument for acquiring evangelical perfection (Mt. 19,21: If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell all that thou hast). The Franciscan cardinal Bertrand de la Tour (1265–1333), relying on Gregory the Great, put it in these words: It is less hard to renounce all you have than to renounce the desire of having (*Minus enim est ait Gregorius abnegare quod habes, sed valde magnum est abnegare quod es*) (Nold 2012, 193).

Francis, nowhere near as educated and sophisticated as Dominic, but in contrast to him the person on which the whole Order totally depended, did not foresee the problems he caused. He wanted his companions to move through the countryside drawing the population to a more evangelical life by word and deed. The problem was that at this time other groups like the Waldensians or the Cathars did the same thing—groups which were considered heretic or at least on the brink of excommunication. It is due to the foresight of Pope Innocent III (1160–1216) that the tiny group of people around Francis did not end up as heretic. Papal patronage was responsible for the Franciscan success story *in statu nascendi*. As early as in 1209 the pope had orally confirmed the Franciscan way of living. And his support persisted with regard to the restrictions put on new monastic foundations after the IV Lateran Council. In contrast to the Dominicans who were compelled to adopt an already existing rule, Franciscans were allowed to continue their proper form of life.

Two rules were the result of long lasting reflections by Francis and his companions. The first one, called “Regula non bullata” (1221) because not officially sealed by the papacy, reveals a strong influence of the order's founder. When the so-called “Regula bullata” (1223) was adopted two years later, things had changed considerably: Francis was ill and had already withdrawn from the order's government and therefore the papacy could argue its whole influence on the rule. The order received a legal structure, expanded and adjusted from time to time by new constitutions. At the order top of the stood the general minister, subordinated were the provincial ministers and the guardians (not abbots) of every single house. Francis who had died in 1226 in the smell of sanctity and who should be canonized only two years later had seen the danger stemming from frequent curial interferences. Dissatisfaction soon arose because of two crucial points: 1. the position of the order on poverty, 2. the increasing clericalization of the order (Landini 1968). Poverty was highly contested: while it had always been

clear that every single brother had to be poor, this evidence lacked with regard to the convent resp. the order as institution.

It was Peter John Olivi (1247–1296) who articulated this dissatisfaction intellectually by sketching a theory of the “*usus pauper*,” the “poor use” (which basically meant the ascetic use) of material goods (Burr 2003). The papacy understandably feared the radical potential in these ideas and invented a legal construct in order to keep up appearances. The papacy declared itself in possession of all convents conceding only their usufruct to the respective communities. This triumph of legalistic sagacity did not convince all brethren. In the fourteenth century the debate on it was reopened and finally led to the order’s division into two branches. Whereas the Conventuals followed the papal line, the Observants followed Francis’ initial idea of total poverty. Immediately after Francis’ death the order became submerged with clerics. This inevitably led to severe tensions—with the clerical element finally prevailing over the lay element—and it fostered the creation of an educational system within the order (Roest 2000).

Without this development the strong presence of Franciscans within universities—especially Paris and Oxford—would have been unconceivable, that is, as inconceivable as the inclusion of Franciscans into the Church hierarchy (Thomson 1975). Names like Bonaventura (1221–1274) or Roger Bacon (1214–1292/94) bear witness of the intellectual charisma of lots of franciscan masters (Fleming 1977). Franciscan preachers like Antonius of Padua (1195–1231) or Berthold von Regensburg (1210–1272) dominated the scene (Johnson 2012). Numerically at least, the Franciscan Order has always been the strongest of all mendicant orders: exact numbers are difficult to evaluate, but at the end of the Middle Ages, around 1500, the Holy Roman Empire alone disposed of 359 convents (196 conventual against 163 observant convents) (Jürgensmeier and Schwerdtfeger, ed., 2006–2007).

III Carmelites and Austin Friars

The Carmelites—originally hermits dwelling in the valleys of Mount Carmel in the Holy Land—received their rule from Albert, patriarch of Jerusalem, between 1206 and 1214 (Smet 1975; Alban, ed., 2008). Forced by the instable political situation with constant Saracen (Arab) raids, Carmelites began to migrate westwards, establishing themselves in Europe, especially in Sicily, Southern France and England (Copsey 2004). They were not affected by the decisions of the IV Lateran Council in 1215 which forbade the creation of new religious orders. Carmelites gradually accepted a mendicant lifestyle which enabled them to live and prosper within the cities of the West—a life style which would have been considered

highly inappropriate in their eremitical beginnings (Clark 1985). Well integrated in the cities, the Carmelites did not entirely turn their back to former eremitic ideals (Boyce 2008). Being involved in a ministry of preaching and teaching they felt to be distinctive—a distinctiveness rooted in the individual way of prayer, in their strong Marian spirituality, but especially in their foundational myth. Choosing (or better: “inventing”) the Old-Testament prophet Elias as founder of the order, Carmelites became by far the oldest order in Christendom (Jotischky 2002). Like other mendicant orders, Carmelites paved their way into the big universities, especially Paris, where brethren like John Baconthorpe (ca. 1290–1348) or Guy Terreni (d. 1342) exerted a certain influence on theologian studies (Brown 2012).

Unlike the other mendicant orders, the Augustinian Friars (also known as Hermits of Saint Augustine or Austin Friars) have no coherent foundational myth. When in 1256 Pope Alexander IV. (1254–1261) decreed the definite unification of several eremitic communities based in Tuscany, he gave a legal coherence to a new mendicant Order that—at least initially—lacked every coherence (Pini 2012). The only unifying bond was the Rule of S. Augustine (Zumkeller 1986). Like the Carmelites, the Augustinian Friars spread rapidly across Europe (Roth 1966), developed a very influential school of theological thought rooted in Augustinian ideals with Giles of Rome (Aegidius Romanus, 1243/47–1316) as its main representative (Zumkeller 1964; Sisson 2008), and had to fight against a breakdown of monastic observance during the Late Middle Ages. From the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Austin Friars won a certain notoriety as “Order of Martin Luther.”

It should have become clear, that in the Late Middle Ages, Dominicans and Franciscans largely dominated the mendicant scene. As a consequence, the smaller mendicant orders like the Friars of the Sack died a slow death. And Carmelites and Augustinian Friars could only survive by accepting severe limits on their operations. What happened was “a kind of corporate fratricide” (Vargas 2011, 69) reducing the enormous variety of mendicant life designs. The mendicant niche was successfully cleansed.

Mendicant predominance within the cities remained not uncontested. Secular clergy defeated what was conceived as competition on the spiritual market (Geltner 2012) and approved the exclusion of mendicant chairs for theology at the University of Paris. The result was a long-lasting quarrel, the so-called “mendicant controversy” (*Bettelordensstreit*) of the thirteenth century, in which both sides fought without restraint using defamatory propaganda (Yates 2008).

Men and women attracted by the monastic way of life had three options: as men they could join the “first order,” whereas women constituted the “second order.” The third order was reserved for lay persons—male and female—who remained in the world but tried to lead a life inspired by monastic ideals.

I The Role of Women in Western Monasticism

The spiritual needs of men and women do not differ. Therefore from the very beginning of monasticism we find women attracted by various forms of monastic life (Melville and Müller, ed., 2011). Female communities initially lived near existing male monasteries depending completely on the respective abbot. The variety of forms that the female *vita religiosa* could take necessitated regulations from the Church. The oldest extant rule for nuns was written by Caesarius of Arles (ca. 470–542) for his sister Caesaria (d. 524). In his “Rule of Virgins” (*Regula virginum*) the abbess not only embodies the rule’s spirit but is responsible for the preservation of strict enclosure without exceptions—a characteristic feature of most women’s monasteries and convents up to the late Middle Ages (Hochstetler 1987; Vogüé 1989; Klingshirn 1990). Whether—in the early Middle Ages at least—female forms of religious life may have influenced men’s communities is still open to debate (Diem 2011). Women had the choice between two basic concepts: if they opted for existence as canoness, they led a common life (*vita communis*), followed a structured daily routine with Hours, Divine Office, common meals and a common dormitory, but—and this is the main difference between canonesses and nuns—they were not bound by eternal vows. They could leave the monastery, an option quite important for women from the aristocracy who eventually had to be married for the sake of family interests. Unfortunately, it is not always obvious which type of rule a particular religious house followed—and terminology does not always help. In most cases all women were simply called *sanctimoniales* (servants of the saint), not differentiating between *nonna/monacha* (nun) or *canonissa* (canoness).

From Carolingian times onwards we find huge and very wealthy abbeys with some influential abbesses acting—at least in the Empire—as Princesses (*Reichsfürstinnen*). They followed a rule called *Institutio Sanctimonialium* conceived in 816/819 for all women who did not opt for S. Benedict’s Rule. These abbeys clearly functioned as pension institutions for noble women. But besides very rich and important houses like Quedlinburg and Gandersheim, where especially in the tenth century the memory of the Ottonian dynasty was cultivated, the majority of female convents in the following centuries faced not only economic instability but also spiritual uncertainty because their male counterparts were quite reluctant to assume the burden of spiritual care (Johnson 1991; Venarde 1997). It was not only Benedictines and Cistercians who hesitated to incorporate female monasteries (Thompson 1978; Felten 2000); mendicants too were reluctant (Degler-Spengler 1985). This comes as no surprise because their *raison d’être* necessitated a high degree of flexibility. This flexibility could not be guaranteed with female convents depending on the spiritual and sacramental care provided by male religious (Smet

2004). Some women, however, had the energy and obstinacy to overcome male objections. Clare of Assisi (1193–1253) is by far the most famous example (Alberzoni 2004). In contrast to their male counterparts, the Poor Clares (as the female branch of the Franciscans was soon called) observed (or rather, were forced to observe) a strict enclosure which proved propitious to contemplation but which prevented them from direct acts of charity and from spreading the Gospel. The golden age of female monasticism, however, came with the late Middle Ages, when mysticism was particularly cherished within the convent's walls—sensual experiences that paved the way for the knowledge of God culminating in a mystic union (*unio mystica*). It began with Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179) and was carried forward by women like Mechthild of Magdeburg (ca. 1207–1282) and Mechthild von Hackeborn (1241–1299) (Bürkle 1999). This female longing for the heavenly bridegroom (occasionally with sexual overtones) did not only take place in the solitude of the cloister, but also within other institutional structures.

Female piety did find other ways of expression: by far the most famous example is the Beguines who led a semi-monastic life without vows, consecrating themselves to prayer and good works (Wehrli-Johns 1998; Simons 2001). Beguines were not nuns but lay women living in a community called a beguinage. This new form of life which from the twelfth century onwards developed independently of already existing orders especially in Northern Germany and the Low Countries was always on the brink of condemnation and suppression. The reason is simple: the Church hierarchy found it difficult to wield effective control over these women. The late Middle Ages also saw the appearance of some very influential women—influential even on an international scale. Whereas Catherine of Siena, the twenty-fourth child of a simple dyer, used all her renown as Dominican tertiary to influence curial politics (Ferzoco et al., ed., 2012; Hamburger and Signori, ed., 2013), Birgitta (1303–1373), a member of Sweden's high nobility, in 1346 not only founded her own order—the still existing Brigittines—but also exerted considerable influence on papal decisions (*Santa Brigida profeta dei tempi nuovi* 1993; Jönsson 1997) and with her “Revelations” (*Revelationes*) left behind one of the main religious literary texts of the fourteenth century (Obrist 1984).

Finally, one extreme form of enclosure has to be mentioned: anchoritism (Hughes-Edwards 2012; Warren 1985). Separation from the outer world was achieved by walling in women (very few male anchorites are known) in little cells adjacent to parish churches. Seclusion however was not absolute: some forms of interaction with the community outside the anchorite's cell were still possible and expected.

J The Late Middle Ages: Monasticism in Crisis?

Compared to the relative homogeneity of the mendicant orders, medieval Benedictine monasticism kept its complex spiritual, organizational and regional heterogeneity. Until the end of the Middle Ages, there was still no “Benedictine Order”—a situation lasting up to the year 1893 when the “Confederation of Benedictine congregations” (or easier: the Order of Saint Benedict, *Ordo Sancti Benedicti* (O.S.B.)) came into being. At the same time the honorary office of “general-abbot” residing in Rome was introduced. In the late Middle Ages, however, every Benedictine monastery kept its independence with no adherence to superior institutional structures. In lots of late medieval Benedictine monasteries, it is true, memories of many precepts of the *Regula* seemed to have completely faded (albeit anti-monastic polemics speaking of a complete decline are false) (Clark 2009). When Benedict stated in chapter 39 of his rule: “Above all things, however, over-indulgence must be avoided and a monk must never be overtaken by indigestion; for there is nothing so opposed to the Christian character as over-indulgence” (RB, ca. 39, l. 7–8), this precept was all too often not observed. Just one example: the figures contained in the account rolls of Westminster Abbey speak for themselves—expenses for the abbot’s table became exorbitant (Harvey 1993). A late medieval monk could lead—and in fact did lead—a very comfortable life which was far from the rigour of early monasticism. Reform became inevitable and was on the agenda of the popes from 1334 onwards. The Cistercian Pope Benedict XII (1334–1342) was responsible for wide-ranging reforms affecting nearly every monastic order (Schimmelpfennig 1976; Ballweg 2001). Only Dominicans and Carthusians were able to avoid papal interference. The latter were especially proud of their fidelity to ancient monastic rigour—something which in the seventeenth century was condensed into the phrase, “*Cartusia nunquam reformata quia nunquam deformata*” (The Carthusian order was never reformed because it had never been deformed) (Leoncini 1988). Monastic reform was also a point of concern at the Council of Constance (1415–1417) (Mertens 1989). In the fifteenth century it was above all the oldest of all “orders,” the Benedictines, which initiated a monastic renewal (Hermand 2012). Starting from two monasteries—Melk and Bursfelde—strict discipline was reinstated, education, even scientific work, again found its place in the curriculum (Freckmann 2006). Reforms affected not only the way of life, but also spirituality. Especially in Bursfelde a new type of spirituality was introduced, the *devotio moderna* (Engen 2008; 2009). This “new devotion” was a mystical movement claiming a personal relationship for every believer with God. Personal dialogue with God was of the utmost importance. At its peak, the “congregation of Bursfelde” comprised more than 180 monasteries (Heutger 1975, Ziegler 2000–2001). This was the last influ-

ential effervescence of traditional monasticism before institutional monastic structures collapsed under the attack of the Protestant Reformation of 1517.

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Philipp Robinson Rössner

Money, Banking, Economy

A Money: Definitions, Concepts, Social Constructs

I Money and the Middle Ages

Money and banking are important social and economic institutions that facilitate economic transactions and exchange. Frequently, this involves the concept and syntax of a market and the notion that goods are exchanged and prices formed according to the (modern) notions of supply and demand. Some people offer goods; others demand them, and their ‘price,’ usually expressed in a specific currency, indicates where individual bargaining processes meet, or (in the language of economics) demand and supply curves intersect. These economic schedules include deliberations about individual preferences (demand, consumption) and cost schedules (supply; production). Alternative forms of allocation and exchange of goods and services, i.e., reciprocity (gift exchange) and redistribution (feudal or manorial economy; villainage system) were also important; but there is still much debate as to what extent “free” bargaining processes and price formation using markets according to our modern notion were significant at all in the “working mechanism” of the medieval economy and society (Boldizzoni 2011). Money, banking, and economic life are functionally linked. Money is the generally accepted means of exchange in modern societies. It denotes value and serves the purpose of storing wealth over time. Banks are, in the modern view, essential clearing institutions that transform individuals’ savings and deposits into liquid funds that can be used for consumption and investment. They usually pay their customers interest in exchange for their financial services and in order to compensate the owner of the money for the opportunity costs (that is, lost opportunities to make a profit) that he or she incurs by leaving his or her money in the bank. Banks also fulfill an important function of extending money’s outreach. They do so by enlarging the overall monetary stock (mainly by providing or generating credit); monetary stock is usually defined as the amount of money in circulation and its velocity of circulation (that is, the number of times each monetary unit—at that time usually a coin—changes hands during a given period, usually a year). Money’s velocity could be increased by the level of credit generated by banks or individuals in inter-personal loans.

In the Middle Ages money, banks and banking existed—as practices, institutions, as well as networks of individual actors—but were quite different from what

they are today. Banks did exist; but they were used mainly for providing capital in long-distance commerce, amongst a fairly limited range of actors, mainly merchants and their networks. They were also important for the transfer of larger sums across wider distances. This frequently involved the exchange of two different currencies, for which refined techniques, such as the bill of exchange, were invented (sometime in the twelfth century during the “commercial revolution”). They mark the early precursors of “modern” banking processes and “modern” financial market practices and institutions. Bills were also invented to facilitate cashless transfers of money amongst different actors over time (including an element of credit) and space (larger distances). Banks were an urban phenomenon and not usually used in the creation of productive capital in industry and manufacturing, or in the rural environment. During the European Middle Ages, money appeared exclusively in the shape of coins (which in this essay will also be called “hard cash”); in China, paper currency was also known. There is some debate amongst scholars as to what extent certain types of credit, such as the bill of exchange, were used during the Middle Ages and how they could be used to enlarge money supply (see below). Credit was always functionally tied to the supply of money in circulation. As no credit instruments existed that were fully tradable and fungible (that is, completely depersonalized and always convertible into ready cash, in the same way as the later bill of exchange or our modern bank draft/check are), credit increased money’s *velocity*—but not really the *amount* of it that was in circulation. The economy may have been more productive and efficient if there had been a well-designed banking system, with sophisticated financial instruments and techniques of credit that increased the number of times a pound was made to “go round.” But as there were no independent, modern central banks, the actual process of “creating”—i.e., minting of money—or the supply of coins was a prerogative of rulers, princes and kings. Rulers, more often than not, exploited their prerogative to mint money, very often to the detriment of the common folk. This situation created socio-economic imbalances and social conflict. Money, therefore, was not exclusively an economic thing (it never has been and never will be), but also a political, social, cultural, and even religious beast, as, for instance, Luther’s teachings on indulgences in 1517 would demonstrate (Rössner 2012a, ch. II).

It is quite arbitrary to choose the medieval period as the framework for a discussion of money. In the history of money, there was no such thing as the “Middle Ages.” The physical qualities of money, as well as its social, cultural, and economic purposes, functions, and configurations, had not changed significantly since coins were invented some time during the seventh century B.C.E. Furthermore, money’s basic shape and functions would not change significantly, until very late: The most fundamental change in the monetary paradigm did not occur

until after the abolition of metallistic systems of money in the modern age (mostly after ca. 1900 C.E.). In a metallistic system—the common monetary standard between about 700 B.C.E. and 1900 C.E.—the purchasing power of the instruments of exchange, which are usually coins, was derived from (or based on) the intrinsic value of the instruments themselves. In Germany, this monetary theory or concept called “metallism” was not abolished finally until 1948; however, in the century or so before that date, the monetary stock was increasingly based on non-metallistic instruments, either base-metal coins (copper, nickel) or completely coinless means of transaction such as bank notes or savings deposits. So as a periodization schedule or reference point of analysis, the “Middle Ages” has no (real) bearing in Europe’s monetary and financial record.

II Money: An Interactive Thing

The monetary reform of Charlemagne in 794 established a monetary system based on the *denarius* or penny (d) and the Libra-Solidus-system (Pounds-Shilling) as a means of accounting or “ghost money” (Verhulst 2002). That means, the penny remained, for a long time, the only actual type of coin that was minted; but the shilling (12 denarii/pennies) and pound (20 shillings or 240 denarii/pennies) were known and used as virtual concepts of accounting. The idea that a coin’s purchasing power was based on the amount and weight (fineness) of the precious metal that it contained, however, had been around since antiquity and was used in most parts of Europe until the twentieth century, though there was considerable geographical and chronological variation. Historians are notoriously famous for identifying periods or particular dates, events and points in time when “change” was supposed to have occurred. But change as a concept or organizational metaphor in history is a highly controversial issue. As has been seen above, the first decisive historical change in monetary systems was the change from a commodity standard to a fiduciary system during the later nineteenth century. At this time, most European states and governments gradually abolished the metallist standard and turned to a fiduciary system of money. But small change coins such as pennies, *denarii*, *mites*, *farthings*, and *kreuzers* already included fiduciary elements long before because—contrary to a commonly accepted monetary theory—they contained much less precious metal than their face value would indicate. And here money becomes interesting as a political, social, and even cultural beast, alongside its character as an economic tool (see below).

It is important to bear in mind that above all money is about human interaction. It is a connecting agent, bringing together people across wide distances of space, time and class. Such connections do not have to be symmetrical (that is, the two or

more parties who partake in the exchange do not have to be equal). In fact, more often than not, these connections reflected asymmetries within social relations, revealing basic fault lines that run through society at large. Whilst there was nothing peculiarly “ancient,” “medieval” or “early modern” about money in Europe any time prior to the 1900s, the story of money therefore provides a good overview of some of the more fundamental social, economic, and cultural dynamics in European society throughout the Middle Ages. The role of money as a means of communication and connectivity will be discussed in four sections: (B) money and its practical use in medieval Europe; (C) the economics and politics of minting; (D) banking and entrepreneurship as a social activity and a strategy designed to cope with monetary scarcity; (E) money and culture. A final section concludes.

B Coin Usage and the Use of Money in the Middle Ages

I What is Money?

Money serves several economic purposes: it is a means of exchange, a means of expressing value, and a means of *storing* value over time (saving; with the caveat that savings may be eaten up by inflation). In addition, it is a means of political, economic, and cultural communication. A coin with the image of a ruler communicates both a political and a cultural message, even if the image is only the ruler’s portrait. Frequently, people attributed special powers to money. They may associate it with magic, mishaps, or evil spells, as well as, more positively, to proliferation and fecundity (Rössner 2012a, chpt. I). During the Middle Ages, coins represented the bulk of the monetary stock, if we consider that only very limited possibilities existed of extending the monetary supply using bank money (e.g., short-term credit on current accounts). Coins were usually made of a precious metal mixed with a base metal (Spufford 1988; Grierson 1951; 1975). Base metal had to be added for two reasons. First, it was physically impossible for medieval metallurgists to produce pure silver or gold coins. Second, the varying ratio of precious to base metal within a particular coin determined that coin’s purchasing power in the market. Silver and gold were marketable commodities in their own rights. They were coveted not only by the governing authorities and states, which in terms of configurations and shape differed considerably from modern states that issued the money and the financial markets that traded in coins and precious metal, but also by silversmiths and goldsmiths. The physical composition of coins



Fig. 1: Good Money! Saxon silver florin ('Thaler'), ca. 1525/1526. (@ Deutsche Bundesbank). Front: Elector Johann (John) of Saxony carrying a short sword; back: his brother, Duke Georg (George) of Saxony.

had to be frequently adjusted, as silver supply and silver prices were volatile. Very intricate and at times complex techniques of metallurgy and minting were needed to fine-tune monetary policy according to the needs of society and the economy, as well as the constellations on the metal markets.

In the Middle Ages coins were minted using quite primitive techniques. Old and foreign coins, raw gold and silver, bullion (ingots), jewelry, and ornaments were melted down in order to make coins. The metal was first formed into bars, and then transformed into sausage-like pieces that were cut into thin, round slices. These slices were then imprinted on the back and front with images using a hammer and die. The process was entirely unmechanized (Sargent and Velde 2003). Striking coins and running a mint required hiring people who would perform hard physical labor, as well as prodigious amounts of fixed and working capital for factory buildings, smelting ovens, etc. Mint masters also had to have an intimate knowledge of the financial markets, and they had to have the financial means to run a royal or princely mint. Accordingly, they were recruited from a small group of successful international merchants and financiers.

In the early and high Middle Ages, low-value coins, usually pennies, were imprinted only on one side, because they were too thin and too small to bear an imprint on both sides. In the German lands, these coins went by the name of *Hohlpfennige* (literally, "hollow pennies") or Bracteates. Depending upon the fineness of the metal and the weight and shape of the coins, much more information could be "stored" in the material, especially when coins became larger. Muslim *denarii* or *Dirhams* in the eighth and ninth centuries are said to have sometimes contained more than 200 hundred letters or characters. Obviously, larger and full-bodied high-value coins sometimes conveyed significant amounts of verbal and numerical information.



Fig. 2: Evil Money! Austrian Penny, ca. 1459 (@ Deutsche Bundesbank).

II Concepts of Money and the Composition of the Monetary Stock in the Middle Ages

It is obviously impossible to determine the amount of money in circulation, or the relationship between coins (cash) and cashless means of payment (credit, but some scholars maintain that credit affected the velocity of money, not its overall amount) in the overall monetary stock at any given point in time and in any particular society during the Middle Ages. However, it is clear that coins represented the major part, up to 100 per cent, of the total money supply. Cashless payments, such as the bill of exchange or credit transactions (see below) were unimportant in the early Middle Ages but became increasingly important only amongst a very limited range of wealthy merchants toward the later Middle Ages. Thus even in the later Middle Ages, the monetary stock was primarily made up of gold, silver, copper, and alloyed coins. These metals were also used to make jewelry, silverware, and other luxury goods and for saving.

During the early Middle Ages, the only coin that existed was the above-mentioned *penny* or *denarius* (d) (henceforth just: “penny”). After the monetary reform of Charlemagne 794, there were twelve pennies in a shilling and 240 pennies in a pound. Neither the pound nor the shilling, however, actually existed physically; they were not coins, merely a standard or money of account: a means contemporaries used to reckon with (“ghost money”). The Middle Ages thus had a nearly modern concept of “virtual money.”

In medieval times, in urban commercial environments, there were at least three different concepts of money (Lane and Mueller 1985, vol. I, chpt. 1). One concept was *moneta effetiva*, the coins used in transactions. These coins could come from

many different geographical regions and eras (Rössner 2012a, chpt. III and IV). Another concept was *moneta numeraria*, or the specification of a certain currency for a certain transaction. The third and most general concept was the *monete di conto* or money of account: that is, the general accounting system or conventions to which a “nation,” or country, or community subscribed and on the basis of which contracts were sealed, property rights secured, and claims on economic resources framed. The common money of account was usually the Libra-Solidus system, in which 20 *solidi* were pegged to the pound (later on in the Germanic lands we find other moneys-of-account, such as the Rhenish Florin which exchanged at 21 groats and, accordingly (1 groat = 12 pennies) 252 pennies. The groat was similar in value to the shilling; it corresponded to the florin or gulden in the German lands toward the end of the Middle Ages, where initially 20, then, toward the later fifteenth century, 21 groats were counted on the florin or gold gulden.

As mentioned above, the money of account was not actual coinage. More often than not, it remained a virtual construct; for a long time the penny or *denarius* was the only coin that was minted. It was not until the “commercial revolution,” beginning in the later twelfth century, that larger coins representing multiples of the denarius were minted, and thus the higher steps in the sequence of the money of account were “filled” with actual coins. These went by the name of groat (German *Groschen* or the French gros tournois) or shilling (Latin *solidus*, abbreviated in the sources as s. or sol.). In France, the first *gros tournois*, worth 12 deniers and containing 4.22 grams of silver each, were produced beginning in 1266. In England, groats were minted beginning in 1279. In the German and Central European lands, *Meißner Groschen* (groats from Meissen in Saxony), along with Prague groats, became proverbial in the high Middle Ages after rich silver deposits were discovered in the region around the central European Ore Mountains (Erzgebirge in German) in Saxony and Bohemia (Spufford 1988, chpt. 5; Schwinkowski 1918; Castelin 1973). In 1252, gold coins in the value of one pound or Libra (worth 20 *solidi* or shillings) had begun to be minted in Florence and Genoa. They contained 3.53 grams (*Genovino*) and 3.54 grams (*Fiorentino*) of gold respectively and were named *florin* after the place they had been invented (Florence). The Venetian *Ducat*, containing 3.545 grams of gold, broadly corresponded to the standard and monetary segment represented by the florin or gulden; it remained in existence as a “European” currency standard by denomination until 2001 (Stahl 2012).

The purchasing power of a penny (d) could be quite high. In the seventh or eighth century, a penny could buy as much as one sheep. But even in the later period, pennies had high purchasing power, especially during times of deflation and economic depression when prices were low and unemployment high. Around 1350, the daily wage of a laborer in England could be as low as two pennies per

day (Sargent and Velde 2003, 48, table 4.1). Around 1500 in southern Germany, maidservants earned as little as five florins or 1,260 d per annum at the nominal exchange rate of 252 d to the florin (and 12 d to the shilling or groat, with the florin worth 21 groats after the 1490s, when the ratio was increased from 20 to 21 groats to the florin). Assuming a working year of 260 days, this is just under five d per day. In addition, workers usually received additional non-monetary compensation such as housing, clothing, and food allowances. This illustrates a slightly different position and role money had in society then compared to nowadays.

Throughout the Middle Ages, the shape, size, and form of the penny and its fractions (such as the *heller*, the German half-penny, and the *mite* or *farthing*, the English quarter-penny) varied from region to region and era to era. Around 1500, in the Holy Roman Empire, there were about 500 open mints and only a slightly lesser number of political authorities or “states” that had the right to mint coins. Coins frequently fulfilled the function of legal tender even outside the area in which they were minted. This meant that at any given time, an individual might be in possession of coins from different regions and eras, and in different denominations. There might easily be several hundred coin types in circulation at one time. As coins usually travelled wide distances and frequently crossed political borders, the composition of the monetary stock was varied and inhomogeneous. Coins were usually valued by weight, not tale (or nominal value), meaning that people checked a coin’s purchasing power marked by its silver or gold content (weight) before accepting it in a transaction. They thus usually refrained from accepting a fixed ratio (say, always 21 groats to the florin) *bona fide* (which would have meant circulation by *tale*). This purchasing power was derived from the amount of silver or gold the coins contained (Sargent and Velde 2003). Thus if people found, say a particular sort of groats to be underweight, i.e., deviating from the nominal or “lawful” standard in terms of the particular coin’s specifically stated silver content, they would usually charge more, i.e., ask for 21 or 22 groats for the florin (when the “official” ratio or money of account stood at 20 groats per florin as was the case in late fifteenth century Saxony) (Rössner 2012a). This was a means of safeguarding against depreciation of assets; however, it did create some social and economic problems here and there (see subsequent sections). Toward the end of the Middle Ages in the German lands, “native” coins (that is, those minted by the local political authorities) comprised at most around 20 to 30 percent of the total coin stock in circulation, according to the evidence provided by coin hoards (Rössner 2012a). That means that people encountered and used foreign coins very often. Moreover, old coins coexisted alongside new coins. In the Middle Ages, rulers frequently “recalled” coins by ordering that all existing money be brought into the princely mint, so that the metal could be melted down and reminted. The new coins usually contained less precious metal

than did their predecessors. The old coins were no longer recognized as legal tender. This was a standard technique in the set of options available for the politics of minting (see section C below). For a long time, this was a common means of raising revenue that did not require the consent of the estates or magnates of the realm (parliament).

III Monetization

In the Middle Ages, the per capita amount of money (that is, the total value of the monetary stock, divided by the number of people in the population) in circulation was small, at least when compared with the per capita amount of money in modern Western societies. As in agrarian societies of any age, per capita income was low; consequently, the degree of monetization was also low. The permeation of market-based exchange was not as marked in the Middle Ages as it was during the early modern or modern period. Moreover, people used money differently in the Middle Ages than they do today, depending on their incomes, the social classes to which they belonged, and the times and places in which they lived. In rural environments, monetary transactions usually clustered around harvest time, when dues and levies had to be paid to the feudal lord (see Rössner 2012a, chpt. II, for a survey). Peasant farmers did not require large amounts of cash throughout the year, but this does not mean that they did not use money at all: many of the transactions in rural environments instead involved the use of virtual or “book money.” People calculated debts and obligations without necessarily writing anything down. Sometimes manors kept written records of outstanding balances (Schofield 2006; 2012). Monetization—in other words, the share of transactions that are handled via the market and which involve the use of money—may have been higher in towns and cities than it was in the countryside, but peasants were not disinclined to use money. Many scholars have “über-culturalized” pre-modern (agrarian) society by characterizing transactions that did not obviously involve money as either barter or something that followed mechanisms and considerations different from modern market-based societies (Howell 2010). This often misses the point in medieval economic exchange, much of which was in fact market-based and monetary, employing a very clear and robust concept of money, even though comparatively little money was *physically* available. Money remains, after all, a virtual social construct; it does not always have to be there physically. It cannot be traced archaeologically or in purely material terms exclusively, i.e., via coin hoards and numismatic evidence (although numismatics does give us valuable insights into the social and economic history of money). What we need therefore, when looking at money in history is corrobora-

tive written evidence documenting and explaining transactions (bills, receipts, manorial records, account books etc.) that tell us both what people did with money and what money did to them.

C Making Money: The Economics and Politics of Minting in the Middle Ages

I The “Scourge of Debasement”

One phenomenon that haunted medieval Europe down to the nineteenth century was coin debasement or currency depreciation (Cipolla 1963; Sargent and Velde 2003). “Coin debasement” refers to the process by which coins lose their intrinsic value when the money authority makes the decision to mint them using a smaller precious-to-base-metal ratio. Whilst rates of debasement varied over time, the problem never disappeared fully. Only the Netherlands and England were comparatively financially stable after 1500 (in England’s case, after the Great Debasement of 1542–1553). It is certainly not entirely coincidental (but robust studies on this aspect are still missing) that these two nations were the richest and most developed countries in the world at that time. England experienced its first industrialization and economic modernization after 1800. Industrialization has a long pre-history dating back to the Middle Ages, and monetary stability may have been a decisive factor in driving that industrialization.

Coin debasement was sometimes acute, as it was in early-fourteenth-century France. At other times, debasement was either less marked (i.e., coins were recalled less often), or the long-term rate of depreciation was lower (i.e., coins were not debased so much each time they were reminted). Revaluations (that is, increases in the intrinsic value of silver and gold coins) were very infrequent, and they usually represented only a temporary halt to a steady downward trend (see Sargent and Velde 2003). Debasement was first and foremost a political phenomenon—usually, it was motivated by a ruler in need of money. But it was also connected with economics, social issues, internationalization, and an increase in global trade. Coin debasement is one of the fundamental conundrums of medieval monetary and social history; a convincing model of interpretation does not yet exist (for a critique of the acclaimed Sargent and Velde 2003, see Volckart 2008 or Munro 2012).

II The Economics of Debasement

Governments or rulers could in theory have used gold and silver reserves (where available) to mint a fixed number of coins that would then be put into circulation, thereby limiting the supply of money available to the public. This method, if it had been used, would have been similar to that used by modern central banks, which limit the amount of money in circulation. Such limits ensure the achievement of basic economic, social, and fiscal policy goals. In particular, they ensure price stability (inflation control) and influence business cycles. They may do the latter by employing a policy of “tight money” in order to prevent the business cycle from overheating, or they may print “cheap” money, extending monetary and credit supply within the economy thus lowering interest rates as a quick fix for a recession.

In the Middle Ages, the situation was fundamentally different. For this reason, we should not uncritically apply modern models to the medieval economy (as many studies have done, such as Sargent and Velde 2003). In the Middle Ages, the most common way of putting money into circulation was through “free minting.” In a free minting system (or “open mints”), anyone can bring as much silver as he wants to the mint at any time and receive coins in return at a prescribed rate that was called “mint equivalent.” Usually, the princely or royal mint was leased out to a private entrepreneur, the mint master, who operated the mint as a profit-making business. The costs of minting (*brassage*) and the cut taken by the local lord (*seigniorage*) were deducted from the coins’ intrinsic value. Consequently, the value of the silver or gold in coins was always less than the coins’ nominal value or purchasing power, especially after debasement. Coined silver and gold thus enjoyed a premium over un-coined, and thus un-standardized, silver or gold bars, ingots or plate.

In twelfth- and thirteenth-century Venice, silver coins could be worth up to 20 per cent less than “raw” or uncoined silver ingots and silver plate (Stahl 2012). The public could ascertain a coin’s material value or purchasing power more easily than they could ascertain the value of raw silver or gold in the shape of bullion, ingots, or bars, as the latter required considerable knowledge of metallurgy and chemistry. Coins therefore bore a “liquidity premium” that made transactions cheaper and more efficient, because they reduced transaction costs, at least in theory. Reality was more complex (see below, present section and Rössner 2012a, chpt. IV and Rössner 2012b for a fuller elaboration). A number of social and economic problems were caused by the propensity of medieval and early modern governments and mint masters to raise revenue (often to finance wars) by excessively reducing the precious metal content of their coins (see below).

III The Politics of Debasement

A well-managed, stable monetary supply and system of circulation helps to support general social and economic stability; many rulers were aware of this even in the Middle Ages, although this economic stability goal often conflicted with fiscal pressures sketched in the previous section (Rössner 2012a, chpt. III). By managing the monetary supply less well (e. g., lowering the intrinsic value of money beyond that which is warranted by price fluctuations on the silver or gold market), a government or ruler could secure a windfall profit from minting. In order to do this, the ruler would set a fixed price at which the mint would buy precious metal (silver and gold), whilst hiding from the public exactly how much silver (gold coins were not usually used for the purpose of debasement as a means of raising fiscal revenue) the new coins contained. Depending upon the mint price (i.e., the number of new coins minted from a fixed quantity of raw silver or a certain number of old coins), and depending upon how much silver or old coins were brought to the mint, the ruler could make a significant *seigniorage* (mint profit). The success of the debasement would depend upon how quickly the public detected the deceit—any coin debasement was a sort of deceit, after all—and, accordingly, how long they accepted the new coins as a valid means of exchange. As mentioned above, determining the exact fine silver or gold content of a coin required expert knowledge in basic chemistry and metallurgy, as well as specialized equipment (Sargent and Velde 2003, chpt. 4).

The precious metal content of a coin could be determined by experts *assaying* the coin: that is, by comparing its shape and color to the shape and color of needles made of silver of varying degrees of fineness (*carats*). Many of the methods of assaying coins available to the general public were quite primitive. Accordingly, only experts could determine the true purchasing power of debased coins; most people would have to accept newly minted coins at their face value until there was enough evidence to suggest that they were worth less. In France, more than 120 currency debasements took place between 1225 and 1490, or slightly more than one debasement every other year.

The largest rates of debasement occurred during the 1340s, 1350s, and early 1420s; in these decades, circulating silver coins lost up to 50 per cent of their silver content within one or a few years (Rolnick, Velde, and Weber 1996; Spufford 1988, chpts. 13; 15). These debasements took place during a phase of incessant warfare with England and were fiscally motivated: the king needed cash. During the fourteenth century, the French Crown suffered from a progressive decline of regular state or royal income from feudal rents and other payments and taxes, such as the *taille*, *gabelle*, and tolls, as well as irregular principal taxes such as the *grandes tailles* or the *aides*. In a time of general fiscal crisis (Sussman 1993),

an increase in *seigniorage* or royal profit from minting was often seen as the most viable means of increasing royal income.

A characteristic pattern emerged in which the public were lured to the mint by grotesquely increased mint prices (in other words, the mint offered a significantly larger number of new coins in exchange for silver, old coins, or any other type of bullion). Initially, these inflated exchange rates would induce people to dis-hoard their treasure and bring as much money and bullion to the mint as they could afford. Minting activity would reach frenzied heights for a brief time before quickly returning to its usual levels, once the public realized that they had been deceived, and that the new coins contained less precious metal than did the old ones. "With the exception of the mint price, none of the characteristics of the coins were disclosed" (Sussman 1993, 50). The French Dauphin and his mint masters colluded with merchants, who brought prodigious quantities of old coins to the mint and received even larger quantities of debased coins in return, which they then quickly dispersed amongst a public who were in no position to determine the coins' intrinsic value. The public would eventually find out and their expectations would change accordingly, but it might take months, if not years, for this to happen.

In the medieval economy, many prices and wages were fixed and could only be changed through tedious renegotiations. Consequently, those who received fixed incomes (such as rent, interest payments, or credit installments, all of which were usually paid in terms of a predetermined type of coin or currency) found it quite difficult to renegotiate existing contracts. These people were at a disadvantage because prices for consumables and other goods could rise out of proportion to the amount that the coins were debased. As prices rose, causing the relative value of silver to decline, and as a mint's monetary manipulations became widely known, people had less and less incentive to bring bullion to the mint. Meanwhile, the nobility, who received fixed incomes, as well as the laboring classes, whose wages were rigidly set, found ways to renegotiate existing contracts. At that point, the cycle of coin devaluation came to a halt (Sussman 1993).

In order to restore trust in, and the stability of, the economic system, the existing currency had to be revalued and an "old" or pre-debasement standard had to be restored. Such monetary reforms or revaluations occurred in France in 1330, 1343, 1360, and 1436 (Spufford 1988, 297, graph). In medieval France, as in many other parts of Europe, governments and mint masters deliberately exploited the information asymmetry that existed between the ignorant public and the knowledgeable mint masters and princely and royal officials.

IV The Social Costs and Consequences of Debasement

Monetary manipulations such as coin debasements, however, were not always or exclusively motivated by purely fiscal reasons. There were times and places when periods of acute coin debasement coincided with acute ebbs in the level of economic activity. During these times, prices were also low and the whole economy was stuck in a deflationary cycle. Royal merchant Jacques Coeur, who had whole galleon loads of goods that remained unsold in the Italian sea cities in the 1440s and 1450s, bore (and commented upon) the brunt of this kind of commercial depression (Mollat 1988). The debasements of the 1420s and of 1440–1460 were particularly marked in the Hanseatic-Baltic area, Bohemia, the German Empire, Flanders, France, and, to a lesser extent, in the Italian cities, Spain (Aragon), and England. These debasements coincided with monetary scarcity. At those times, bullion stocks in Europe were low. This suggests some sort of correlation between general economic fluctuations and money supply (Spufford 1988, 296–300). At such times of crisis, the same amount of silver could buy more goods, as the purchasing power of coins was determined by the amount of silver they contained.

During such times, monetary authorities were forced to devalue their currencies for at least two reasons: first, existing coins could become overvalued, i.e., contain more purchasing power than they should, because of an increase in the price of silver. Secondly, economic deflation may both be caused by, as well as reflect, an absence of money. Coin shortage was in any case an evidence of economic crisis. When economic activity contracted, people had less money in their pockets to spend on goods and investments. At those times, governments and mint masters became especially inclined to debase coins, especially small change coins, as will become apparent from the discussion in the following paragraph (cf., for example, the debased Austrian penny from the 1450s popularly called *Schinderling*: literally, “oppressors’ penny”; see Fig. 2).

Minting a high-value coin was almost as expensive as minting a low-value one: regardless of the type of coin, the labor and capital costs (tools, buildings, smelting expenses) were the same. Accordingly, it was proportionally cheaper to mint high-value coins than low-value ones. In fact, during the Middle Ages and early modern period, it sometimes cost more to mint small change coins than they were worth. The costs of minting small change pennies and hellers, etc. had to be cross-subsidized: that is, the costs had to be recouped with the profits from minting larger coins such as shillings, *batzen*, groats, or ducats, florins, and *thalers*. It was quite naturally tempting to finance the minting of small coins by simply debasing those coins to the point at which the mint master could make a profit on them. Or else, rulers would completely refrain from issuing small change

coins at all, for exactly these reasons which was a problem on many occasions in the monetary history of medieval and early modern Europe. This meant that either way the European small change coins contained proportionally less silver than did medium-sized coins (groats, *kreuzer*, shillings) or large, full-bodied coins (florin, gulden, ducat). In fact small change coins frequently embodied a more modern understanding or theory of money—with this striking divergence between intrinsic value and purchasing power; but this was neither intended nor approved of by the general public.

As seen above, persistent coin debasement worked only as long as the public remained unaware of the changes in the monetary standard. Whenever people started questioning the nominal purchasing power of a coin—for instance, the standard ratio of twelve pennies to the groat, which was a very common exchange rate in the late Middle Ages—they would begin to negotiate new coin exchange rates. They would try to renegotiate existing contracts whenever they found that too many “bad” or “evil” (i.e., underweight: see Fig. 2) small change coins were in circulation. Very often, especially in feudal societies, people fixed new exchange rates for coins that were below the legal exchange or rather “target exchange” rates for coins. Whenever feudal dues or levies were supposed to be paid with “good money” (high-value, full-bodied coins such as gulden, florins, or *thalers*) but the payment was made in small-change, debased coins such as pennies, the feudal lord would often ask for more small coins than had been previously negotiated. To give one example: in areas in Southern Germany in the 1470s, the florin or silver gulden was officially worth 24 white pennies or *albi*, but existing contracts and rent payments were frequently re-negotiated at rates of up to 27 white pennies or *albi* to the florin, whenever the actual coins handed over diverged from the “old” or “official” or “good” standard of the albus groat at 24 to the gulden.

Surviving written documents from the period, such as peasant complaints, usually refer to the fact that frequently there were too many different small-change coins around with too many provenances, minted under too many authorities and from too many time periods. The various types of coins had very different amounts of purchasing power, so that accepting a certain coin at face value might lead to a financial loss. This situation led to conflicts and complaints, especially in rural areas, and was one of the fundamental reasons for popular unrest (Rössner 2012a, chpts. III and IV). The overabundance of different kinds of coins remained a problem from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries because the Holy Roman Empire remained politically and institutionally fragmented and therefore each principality continued to mint its own coins until 1871 (Sprenger 2002). There were some attempts to centralize the empire during the first half of the sixteenth century, but these efforts came to naught, at least in terms of

monetary and economic policy (Rössner 2012a, 2014). The German lands therefore represent a good lesson about competition and institutional arbitrage, which are often referred to as beneficial for social and economic performance (e.g., Jones 2003; Landes 1998); there are as many arguments against the benefit of institutional fragmentation as there are in favor of it (Rössner 2014).

The history of money teaches us that we should not regard competition as something that is generally helpful or beneficial to society. Wherever there was too much competition (i.e., for silver as a resource or between independent mints and monetary authorities), the public suffered. Ultimately, territorial and political fragmentation led to a downward spiral in the monetary standard. Monetary competition harmed the economic development of Germany during the medieval and early modern periods. England and the Netherlands, nations that were more politically and economically integrated and whose currencies remained more or less stable over the long run, had a much more favorable pattern of social and economic development (Rössner 2014).

Coin debasement or devaluation (or its opposite, revaluation) influenced societal stability, social relations, economic interactions, and general social and economic welfare. If there was anything resembling medieval economic policy (in the sense of “government strategies intended to influence the individuals’ economic behavior”), it was effected by means of the minting of coins. Over time, there was a more-or-less continual loss in the intrinsic value of most European petty currencies. Between ca. 1400 and 1900, the south-central German penny lost more than 90 per cent of its silver content and therefore of its intrinsic value. Similar rates were documented for Flanders, Castile, and Austria, as well as many other currencies in Central Europe (Sargent and Velde 2003; Spufford 1998).

The price of silver as a commodity did not decrease proportional to the debasement of silver coins, so this phenomenon is not necessarily due to changing market conditions. There are seven principal reasons why currency debasement may occur: 1) an increase in demand for money (which may be due to such factors as an increase in population and/or economic activity); 2) an increase in government spending; 3) a disequilibrium in the balance of payments; 4) a mismanagement of princely or free/open mints; 5) a loss of coins and coin substance due to normal wear and tear; 6) fluctuations in the exchange rate; 7) profit motivations by certain social groups who had connections with the mints (Cipolla 1963). Each period of currency debasement therefore requires a careful and unbiased examination. Catch-all explanations and general models (as in Sargent and Velde 2003) are unlikely to be accurate. But it seems clear that one of the paramount reasons for the instability that was more or less inherent in the monetary system of medieval Europe was the unique character of silver as both

an economic and a social resource, coveted by princes and feudal noblemen as well as silversmiths and goldsmiths and wealthy people who could afford objects made of silver and gold. Money therefore had a dual identity: on the one hand, it was a marketable and very scarce commodity; on the other hand, it was a *numeraire* (a general-purpose means of payment and way of expressing value). This double nature of silver was a main source of many monetary disequilibria and socioeconomic imbalances.

D Credit, Banking and the Rise of Capital: Monetary Economics, Socially Framed

I Credit as a Strategy of Coping with Monetary Scarcity?

Monetary shortage can for the period be defined as a shortage of hard cash. One strategy for coping with a monetary shortage obviously was to increase the amount of credit available to consumers and producers. As an economic phenomenon, credit (which could take the form of consumer credit, micro-credit, loans, or bills of exchange) was increasingly common in the high Middle Ages, especially in the wake of the so-called “commercial revolution” of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Lopez 1976). Developed some time before 1200 C.E. in Italy, the bill of exchange—one of the flagship inventions of the “commercial revolution”—was a transaction that involved the exchange of two different currencies. It provided a means of transferring liquid funds between two people in two different places. It also served as an important source of (commercial) credit. Credit is a fundamental social and economic concept, and it has been around at least as long as money has. Some anthropologists and cultural historians maintain that credit predated money, and that the latter was invented as a way to deal with the former (Graeber 2011). The answer to the question of whether credit predated cash or vice-versa, depends upon the definitions of “money” and “credit” that one uses. It also necessarily involves some philosophical and metaphysical speculation, especially when scholars explore the connections between money, magic and the subconscious (Braun 2012). Such speculations are difficult to verify and thus have little place in empirical historical studies. Some scholars have even doubted that enough hard cash was around in the Middle Ages to settle transactions (see above). Practically speaking, the medieval economy was based on credit.

With the quickening in economic life that occurred after ca. 1200, credit became even more significant than it had been before. Pawnbrokers offered credit in exchange for valuable goods pledged as collateral (mostly for consumptive

purposes or micro-credit) but there were also more sophisticated forms of credit available, such as *giro* (bank transfers) and deposit banking; bills of exchange; and the purchase and sale of annuities and similar interest-bearing types of credit paper that were traded on the financial market and used as a standard means of state finance (most recently Stasavage 2011). In the Hanseatic towns during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, interest on annuities could rise up to ten per cent per annum, sometimes more. Such a high interest rate was possible because annuities were outside the jurisdiction of the Usury Laws (banning the taking of interest, at that time in the excess of five per cent; originally the Usury Laws had said that no interest was to be charged on loans at all) as well as the prevailing frame to economic behavior set by Scholastic economics, i.e., the “theory” of economic behavior and practice that was embedded within and derived from Scholastic theology (Baum 1985, 33). At that time all comments and treatises on economic matters usually originated from the hands of Churchmen, so all academic “economists” of the age were theologians (and vice versa!). Individual investors bought municipal annuities to provide themselves with pensions in old age; annuities would also be used to generate liquid capital for investment, house purchases, or consumptive reasons, or for financing larger business ventures and partnerships. The Hanseatic annuity market was particularly buoyant in the 1460s and 1470s, although the same period was characterized by a marked downturn in economic activity in other areas of Europe (Baum 1985). The area around London was one of the most heavily commercialized economic regions in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; it boasted one of the highest ratios of non-agrarian producers to total producers in Northern Europe. Here credit bloomed—across all spectrums of society.

Farming operations and other forms of economic activity were highly specialized. Credit networks were dense and comprised a broad spectrum of society, from large merchants all the way down to peasant farmers and craftsmen. The average amount of money borrowed and lent could be quite low in some places and at some times, which indicates how far credit had spread into the consumptive landscape (McIntosh 1988). But the situation was similar in many other regions at the time, especially in and around larger commercial cities such as Bruges, Antwerp, Cologne, Augsburg, and Nuremberg. Contrary to a view entertained by some earlier scholars, the Middle Ages were not economically static, nor was financial capitalism unknown. Quite to the contrary! Many key innovations that would come to dominate state financial and general financial market operations during the early modern period were introduced in the post-1200 period in medieval Italy. These innovations then travelled to Germany, Flanders, England and Scandinavia. The aforementioned bill of exchange is a good example of such an innovation (Denzel 2011, introduction).

Sending large amounts of cash over large distances could be dangerous, so cashless credit was an important innovation. Consequently, the bill of exchange eventually contained elements of credit. For example, a time dimension was added to the transaction, as the process of making a cashless transfer over large distances took considerable time. Discounting—purchasing a bill of exchange prior to its maturity at a reduced (discounted) rate—was, along with bill broking, one of the cornerstones of this financial market technique. People circumnavigated the Church's omnipresent usury laws with the cooperation of the Church itself: Italian merchant-bankers used bills of exchange to handle remittances of papal dues (*servitia*). Initially, bills of exchange were used by a small number of people who were usually personally acquainted with each other. However, during the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, cashless payments in the form of the bill of exchange and its predecessors (such as the *instrumentum ex causa cambii*) were increasingly widely used by Upper Italian merchants across southern, central, and northern Europe. As cashless payments became more institutionalized, they also became more depersonalized, generating new financial market techniques and innovative institutions.

In the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, the first stock exchanges were founded in Bruges (1309), Antwerp (1460; a building specifically designed for stock trading was built in 1531), London, and, later on, Amsterdam; the last specialized in trading bills of exchange (Braudel 2002, vol. 3). In the wake of the commercial revolution, there were other financial innovations that were directed at lowering transaction costs, including marine insurance and double-entry book keeping (invented sometime before 1300) (Yamey 1964; 1991). In addition, commerce became increasingly professionalized: clerks and merchants were trained in special grammar schools, as well as in-house / on-the-job trainee programs in knowledge management, financial accounting, languages, calculus, etc. provided by the individual merchants and firms themselves. In the fifteenth century, there was a deep and well-developed marine insurance market in Italy and Northern Europe, with rates ranging from three to seven per cent, depending upon the type of voyage, the commodity, and the time and season of travel (Spufford 2002). In Florence around 1300, there were more than 80 banks that offered standard products and services such as *giro* (transfer of funds between two accounts within the same bank) and basic forms of deposit banking that included elements of lending at interest. Oral and written instructions to make payment, also known as *draft*—analogous to the modern cheque (from the Arabic *sakk* for “legal instrument; draft”)—were common, as was the overdraft facility, invented in the bustling Italian commercial cities of the Middle Ages (Spufford 2002).

Many of the “modern” tools and institutions were already available in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Italy. However, as with money and coins (see

above), there were no fundamentally important real innovations in the financial sector between the thirteenth century (“commercial revolution”) and the nineteenth century, when new inventions, such as the telegraph, sped up information transfer. In other words, the financial world of the Middle Ages was very similar to the financial world of the early modern and early industrial periods, and the end of the period (around 1500 or 1550) was not particularly important as a watershed or caesura in the financial history of Europe.

II The Social Life of Banking, Entrepreneurship and Credit

There is another dimension to medieval banking and credit that deserves mentioning within the overall context of the social embeddedness of medieval economy and entrepreneurship. In the Middle Ages, there were no supervising authorities and no credit-rating agencies that could verify a person’s creditworthiness (literally, his “credibility,” German *Treu und Glauben*, “honesty and integrity”). Therefore, economic transactions were based on and facilitated by “weak” and “strong” social ties, i.e., ties of friendship (weaker), family, kith and kin (stronger, as these involved a blood relationship). Such social ties were characteristic of most forms and types of business enterprise in the Middle Ages. Medieval business and finance in fact evolved around them. In the later fourteenth century, Italian merchants had taken the lead in founding large enterprises, firm partnerships, and corporations. In the early Middle Ages, partnerships handled commerce and long-distance trade. In the simplest type of partnership firm, a sedentary merchant and a travelling agent shared the investment and profits of an enterprise (*commenda*). Later on, partnerships and firms could include many partners, much more invested capital (*corpo*), a range of business transactions (trade, banking, finance), and enterprises that might take place in distant lands or journeys that might cover large distances.

Capital funds of the larger firms of the age frequently reached several hundreds of thousands of florins. Such firms included the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Italian firms of Bardi, Perruzzi, and Datini and the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Augsburg Fugger firm; the latter was a family-run business with only a few carefully selected shareholders who did not belong to the inner Fugger family circle. By the mid-fourteenth century, a business model had emerged in Florence, characteristic of the giant firms and partnerships such as the Bardi, Perruzzi, and Medici. In this model, one senior or controlling partner was at the head of the firm; the firm had several partners and an even larger staff of agents and clerks. Such firms had the following characteristics: 1) they were legally distinct, i.e., separate partnerships; 2) separate

accounts were kept; 3) the financial portfolios of customers and/or the firm were diversified; 4) they were structured as holdings; 5) there were centralized decision-making processes: orders and instructions were regularly sent via letter to partners or agents located abroad; 6) double-entry book keeping was used; and 7) current accounts with each partner were essential (Padgett and Maclean 2006, 1476). In these ways, medieval firms remotely resembled modern large firms or holdings such as those owned by billionaire entrepreneurs such as Gates or Soros or large multinational holding companies such as the Royal Bank of Scotland.

Early on, medieval family businesses or firm partnerships were associated with one or a few particular voyages or narrowly specified transactions; after that—when the ship returned and the commodities had been sold on the market—the partnership was formally dissolved, accounts were closed, and profits or loss were accounted for. The same people might subsequently re-enter into a formal business relationship, but if they did so, they would have to form a new firm or company. This practice continued well into the later Middle Ages. The *Grosse Ravensburger Handelsgesellschaft*, one of the larger Upper German holding companies of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (flourished between 1386 and 1525), which conducted its business around the Lake Constance area, was re-formed every six years, on average. Shares in the company were transferable and could be sold on the financial market.

As with any other economic activity, banking, saving, and investment were—and still are—culturally framed and socially embedded (Granovetter 1985). They can only be interpreted and fully understood within a larger cultural and social context in which social issues, social networks, kinship ties, gender, religion, institutions (both economic and non-economic), tradition, and belief are crucial. Today, the workings of the free market where actors are “atomistic” in a sense that their decisions about consumption, investment and the range of trading partners are somewhat de-contextualized from the social and cultural deliberations (of kith, kin, allegiance etc.), as sketched above, are assumed to govern economic behavior and interpersonal economic exchange. But no economic system works independent of culture. A look at the giant medieval “super-companies” such as Bardi, Peruzzi, or the Fugger firm will drive home this point. These companies were essentially run as family businesses with one senior member of the family acting as “head” or chairman and younger sons, nephews, and cousins acting as junior partners, apprentices, and agents in the several dependencies of the firm (Häberlein 2012; Isenmann 2014).

Social ties and culture played an important role in shaping the company’s business policies and entrepreneurial strategies. When the Fugger merchants of sixteenth-century Germany began to re-allocate some of the enormous commer-

cial profits that they had accumulated during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (Häberlein 2012) from trade into agriculture (Mandrou 1997), buying up large landed estates in the south German lands, they did so for a complex set of reasons. They wished to join the ranks of the landed nobility and thereby increase their social prestige. They also wanted the kind of safe investments that agriculture seemed to provide, given that prices for grain and other foodstuffs were continually rising during the “price revolution” (1470–1620). The Fuggers’ decisions might seem as if they were based solely on economic or market rationality, but in fact they were also intended to increase the social standing of the family from petty bourgeois to landed aristocracy.

Social factors also influenced the fourteenth-century Upper Italian bankers of Siena and Florence as well bankers from such less well-known places as Ivrea in North Italy (Alfani and Gourdon 2012). Even the Datini, Medici, and other families that formed the first modern “super-companies” in the wake of the commercial revolution (Hunt 2002) utilized informal social relationships, including those with personal acquaintances, marriage witnesses, family members, and so on. It was common for the large Upper German trading companies, such as the Augsburg Welser, Höchstetter, or Fugger, to employ younger nephews, sons, and cousins as agents (called *factors*) in foreign dependencies (called *factories*). These junior employees worked for a few years and were often repeatedly relocated. Some of them eventually rose within the ranks to become full junior or senior partners of the firm.

Both “strong ties” (formed through marriage or kinship) and “weak ties” (those with godparents, marriage witnesses, neighbors, friends, and clients) provided a sort of safety net: family and acquaintances would presumably be less inclined to default on contracts and obligations than would a complete stranger. These social ties were critical in a world in which courts of law and government institutions did not regulate commercial contracts (Häberlein 2012; Greif 2006). In fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Germany, one’s *Treu und Glauben* could ensure success in business.

Those seemingly non-economic ties provided the transparency that would in later centuries be assured by formal institutions such as law courts, Law Merchant—the “unwritten law” or code of conduct amongst merchants—monitoring and credit rating agencies, and so on. Social institutions, social networks, and informal sanctions enforced contracts, safeguarded property rights, and rectified information asymmetries. There were also more formalized open-access institutions such as law courts (which also existed, of course). Both private order exclusive institutions and legal formal enforcement (or public) institutions had regulatory roles governing commercial exchange, albeit the former were often more important (Greif 2006; Goldberg 2012). More often than not merchants

would favor non-formalized (or “private order”) enforcement mechanisms over formal institutions such as courts of law, which were thought to be efficient enough (or more efficient than official means) to do the trick. In this way sociology, culture, and economics intermingled. It is not always easy to assess the business strategies of medieval entrepreneurs.

It would certainly be wrong to apply modern benchmarks or Schumpeterian typologies of entrepreneurial behavior to medieval and early modern entrepreneurship (Safley 2009). Businesses were successful, regardless of the fact that commercial institutions were undeveloped from a “modern” (or, more accurately, modern Western) point of view and despite the fact that the state was not particularly strong (Greif 2006). Medieval states and governments were to a significant extent based on principles of self-government. In the absence of a more formalized framework of laws, edicts, and sanctions, non-kin-based corporations (such as craft guilds) often formed spontaneously and rewarded cooperation. Medieval business seems to have been well adjusted to a socio-political framework in which authority and governance were geographically fragmented (Germany and Italy were especially fragmented political entities, the former comprised of more than 500 more-or-less independent political units) and power was shared between various social and political groups (estates of parliament, corporations, city states, etc.).

Whilst corporations in the post-1300 commercial and financial world of upper Italy and, later, on the Atlantic seaboard, seem to resemble modern financial institutions and to engage in capitalistic forms of behavior and decision-making processes, these corporations were in fact influenced by cultural and social, and not merely economic and financial, factors.

E Markets, Morals, Manners and Discourses on Just Economics: The Question of Embeddedness

I Interest and Just Prices: The Usury Debates

The same principle of “embeddedness”: of economics within wider contexts of society and culture, comes across clearly in the contemporary debates and discourses on economics. The usury debates and the discourse on “just” prices, wages, and entrepreneur profits changed considerably over the course of the Middle Ages. In the fifth and sixth century, there was a general ban on usury: that is, on the lending of money at interest. However, theological discourse and scholastic economics had, by the later Middle Ages, become more flexible, and

the usury laws adjusted eventually, allowing an interest rate of five or six per cent per annum on a certain range of credit and loan transactions (most recently Geisst 2013). This evolution was not straightforward, however. In the thirteenth century, usury laws had been tightened once again, and the practice of taking interest was considered to be a sin against fellow Christians and the community of God. However, the Church itself, and particularly the Papal Court, circumvented the usury laws especially by using financial products such as bills of exchange (discussed above) for remits of large sums, taxes, and dues (*servitia* and tithes). In the High and Later Middle Ages, the taking of interest was legalized in certain cases: late or deferred payment (*poena detentia*); *damnum emergens*, or compensation paid to a lender who lost his/her money in a business venture; or *lucrum cessans*, which was compensation paid to a lender who had, by lending money, forfeited other chances of investment that might have given a higher rate of return. Scholastic legal scholars wrote an endless number of tracts using a theological framework informed by Aristotelian and Platonic ideas combined with biblical words. These tracts reflect the ever-changing and quite dynamic relationship between religious discourse and private entrepreneurship. The boundaries of biblical legality were adjusted to changes in the material and economic environment (North 2005).

This malleability should caution us against making the assumption that religion always hinders economic expansion and growth. People found ways around Scripture by either re-interpreting biblical texts in their own favor, or else by finding alternative business strategies that conformed to the strictures prescribed by the Old and New Testaments. The history of the bill of exchange and the rise of the European system of cashless payments are a prime example, reflecting the relationships between faith, culture and economics (and the adjustments that were made in interpreting scripture according to changed economic requirements. Scholastic authors were famed for “bending the rules” and “Sophistry,” as Martin Luther never ceased to mention). These discourses were framed within the Christian soteriological framework and social and economic doctrines derived from theology.

The Bible dictated the rules of human interaction in many spheres, including the economic sphere (market, prices, wages, interest). Thus a distinct set of economic axioms—what we might even call an economic theory (Roover 1955)—had evolved by the late Middle Ages, under the aegis of Scholastic theory. Scholasticism was shaped by economic forces, just as the reverse was also true (Langholm 1992). Scholastic economics was concerned with distributional justice, mean and moderation of conflicting or opposed interests, and the individual’s position in the world of the Creator. It did not, however, assume that economic *equality* was necessary or a good thing per se. Quite to the contrary,

feudal society was marked by an extreme degree of inequality between social classes, and Scholasticism approved of feudalism (at least Scholastic authors never argued against it). Scholastic economics merely held that incomes and financial opportunities should be distributed *proportionally* to every one's rank and position within contemporary society. The scholastic theorists entertained a general notion of "balance," equilibrium, moderation, mean, and limit (Wood 2002). It was necessary to give charity to the poor because there was a functional relationship between rich (*dives*) and poor (*pauper*) within a larger model of salvation (where charity was a commandment and good deeds, including the gift of alms, were rewarded by God's grace). Poverty was accepted as something that was eternal and part of God's plan. Certainly it was not thought to be socially problematic as such. But from the fourteenth century onwards, however, poverty was increasingly seen as problematic; especially begging. Attitudes toward beggars hardened; rather than being an intrinsic piece of a godly schedule of salvation (by the charity commandment: you must give to the poor), beggars were now increasingly conceived as a (financial) burden to society. As a consequence of the "commercial revolution" (Lopez 1976), the marketplace had begun to affect society and its discourses about economic exchange (Wood 2002).

II Factoring the Market into the Game: Renaissance Economics and the Question of a Money Economy

Scholastic economics did not only address usury; it also conceived of the market as an agent clearing demand and supply and framing interpersonal exchange. Some medieval scholars' viewpoints were quite "modern," insofar as they conceived of the economy as a sort of mechanism. Scholastic economic theory thus had a rudimentary resemblance to modern economic theory and model-building (Roover 1955; Sedlacek 2011). Scholars such as San Bernadino di Siena (1380–1444) developed a very clear and highly abstract model of basic economic principles, such as how value should be determined. Siena made the point that value could be derived from a) the utility of something (*virtuositas*), b) its scarcity (*raritas*), and c) the amount of pleasure it provided (*complacibilitas*). This idea contained an inherent understanding of the relationships between supply and demand, as well as the notion of a market price, which in modern economic theory is defined as the intersection of imaginary supply and demand curves. There is no radical difference between Bernardino di Siena's concept of a market and the simple models of market behavior that are found in twenty-first-century undergraduate textbooks on micro- and macroeconomics.

The Scholastics of the mid-sixteenth century and of the widely acclaimed School of Salamanca developed more refined models of how a “just price” could be determined; these models resemble modern models for price formation in competitive markets. The theologians from Salamanca also had a clear understanding of the quantity theory of money, the creed of modern monetarism. The quantity theory of money assumes a positive correlation between money supply and price level, and thus between money supply and economic activity (Roover 1955; Boldizzoni 2008, chpts. 1 and 2). As a policy it could be found as late as post-1979 Britain and Thatcher’s credo that control over the money supply was the most appropriate and efficient way of government to interact with and steer the economy. However, (largely) unlike the modern social sciences (and much of modern policy) scholastic social science and economics were embedded within a larger moral context of individual salvation and divine favor derived from and based on the Christian faith. Modern economics and social science ask, “What principles govern the way that markets work?” They are largely decontextualized and disembedded, i.e., time-space indifferent. On the other hand, medieval economics asked, “How *should* markets work?” Scholastic economics was not in any way less refined than contemporary economics; it was simply different (only it did not yet contain mathematical models and equations as modern economics frequently does).

Money is often related to the concept of a market economy. Historians, anthropologists and economists have long debated the extent to which markets were significant in pre-industrial Europe or, more generally, in peasant societies worldwide, in any era. What we may call the chronological approach to the problem of markets asks, “*When* did markets become an important or decisive clearing agent for supply and demand?” But this would imply a timeline, or the idea that markets “evolved.” Underlying the effort to determine when markets became important in European society is a teleological assumption that history necessarily moves on from non-capitalistic or paternalistic economic systems such as feudalism into capitalistic or market-based systems over time. The cross-sectional approach would be framed by the question, “To what extent were markets important at a given time in history within the given society?” This approach frequently leads historians to deny that the market was a general allocative principle within medieval European society, and to suggest that only a very limited range of transactions and economic activities was exposed to the logic of market exchange. This is obviously not entirely true. In many ways, the economy in the year 1200 was characterized by (“free”) markets, as we know them today, even though some segments of medieval production, consumption, and investment were more governed by regulation and redistribution in the Middle Ages than they are today. But the market was there; and always had been. Older

structuralist models on the other hand have proposed that monetary relationships were a general principle of the medieval agrarian economy (Abel 1978; 1980).

These models implied that medieval economy, finance, and trade conformed to a modern morphology and syntax, usually neoclassical price theory, which is used in micro- and macroeconomics. Some have suggested that there was a “modern” market economy even in Roman times that worked according to the principles and mechanisms of neoclassical economics (Temin 2012); many classical scholars disagree, however (e.g., Reden 2010). Such a view would certainly be extreme. Another recent approach to studying medieval economics, which we may call a “poststructuralist” approach, has generally questioned the existence of market economies in medieval Europe, arguing instead that all transactions were socially embedded and mostly governed by feudalism, a system of redistributive relationship in which most labor services and goods were exchanged outside the market (e.g., Kula 1976; Boldizzoni 2011). This would be the other extreme.

However, as interdisciplinary studies in archaeology, anthropology, and economics have recently shown, the concept of a market economy is older than was previously thought. Although many scholars believe the roots of modern capitalism to be in medieval Europe, market economies were also found in non-European societies that had no contact with Europe whatsoever, such as those of pre-Columbian America (Feinman and Garraty 2010). Markets and market exchange do not seem to be innate aspects of human behavior, but they do seem to have developed independently in many parts of the world. And they are much older than often thought. This does not mean that social and cultural aspects were not important; in fact it would be quite meaningless to view markets and market-based exchange as exclusively economic factors. Again, this has never been the case, and it never will be. Economic activity, entrepreneurship, business, market exchange, etc. are today in many ways quite as socially and culturally embedded as they were centuries and millennia ago.

The Middle Ages therefore were as affected by money, markets, and market prices as were most later periods. In many ways, monetization in the time of the Roman Empire (before 410 C.E.) may have been higher than in much of Western Europe between ca. 400–1200. In addition, in many ways, markets and money in Europe around 1700 or 1800 were more akin to markets and money in 1200 than they were to markets and monetary exchange within the industrialized world after 1850. We find references to market exchange using money in the earliest known religious writings, including the Old Testament and the *Gilgamesh* epos (Sedlacek 2011). The only thing that has changed over time most likely is the range of commodities for which impersonal means of exchange (such as coins, coin substitutes such as bills of exchange, or bank notes) have been permitted. It would also be wrong to assume that there was an unbroken, linear development

in this, or the transition from feudalism to capitalism. This clearly shows in Martin Luther's Reformation of 1517 toward the close of the Middle Ages. Indulgences were a critical issue in the Reformation and in Martin Luther's teachings. Prior to 1500, vouchers that were supposed to reduce the holder's time in purgatory were widely bought and sold. Protestants argued that the practice of reducing time spent in purgatory by spending money on indulgences was perverse and directly opposed to the idea that God would grant His grace to those who were deserving (e.g., Rössner 2012a, chpt. II). The Protestant Reformation removed faith as a commodity from the market, so to speak; at the same time, a whole range of other commodities that had previously *not* been marketable became subject to the principles of market-based monetary exchange in the centuries after 1500 C.E. (Gregory 2012). So what usually changes over time is the range of things that are considered "marketable"; but by no means do we find linear or teleological patterns in this.

F Conclusion

The preceding discussion has made it clear that there is no particularly "medieval" story of money and markets. Money and markets were not distinctly or radically different in the Middle Ages (600–1500 C.E.) than they were in other eras prior to the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, most scholars agree that, in the wake of the "commercial revolution" of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, money, banking, and monetary relationships became significantly more important in European society than they had been before. At this time, trade and commerce, population, and urbanization all simultaneously increased. During the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, many of the key financial inventions such as the company or partnership firm, *giro*, deposit banking, bills of exchange, and marine insurance, were developed, mostly in Italy. Larger coin types such as the shilling, groat and florin were "invented" as the demand for money rose. This process of development was halted temporarily by the Black Death (1348–1352), which spread across Europe and killed up to 33 per cent of the population, although there was considerable regional variation in the death rate. This widespread population decrease meant that the remaining laborers could demand higher wages, which in turn increased the standard of living of urban workers and the working poor between 1350 and 1470 (North and Thomas 1973). The loss in population and concomitant rise in real wages during the fourteenth century led to what is known as the "medieval integration crisis," in which certain sectors of the economy, particularly the larger merchants, experienced a loss in profits.

Most of the basic financial innovations of the twelfth and thirteenth century remained the cornerstones of the monetary and financial world up until the end of the nineteenth century. Money's basic conceptual framework (the *denarius* or penny as the basic small-value coin; the Libra-Solidus system of accounting) had been formed much earlier. The use and purpose of coined money did not change significantly between the first documented instance of coins (ca. 700 B.C.E.) and the time when the metallistic standard was abolished in favor of a fiduciary standard gradually after 1900. In a fiduciary standard, all means of circulation (coins, bank notes, bills, credit cards, and so on) circulated at a face value, i.e., an exchange value that was significantly greater than their material or intrinsic value. On today's metal exchange, a British one-pound sterling coin costs less than 10 pence to produce. But it circulates at a face value of 100 pence! The modern monetary model is a radically different from the medieval and early modern model because the worth of coins is no longer based on their precious metal content. But during the period usually denoted as the Middle Ages there was not much change in the general understanding of money, only in some aspects of its configuration.

In many medieval contexts, markets and money fulfilled important functions. The degree of monetization and the importance of money in economic transactions increased with the increase in population and, particularly, with the increase in urban population. Money and economic transactions were culturally framed and socially embedded. We assume, probably incorrectly, that the modern world is different than the medieval one, that it is dominated by depersonalized markets and economic rationality and therefore works independently of wider contexts of society, culture, and religion. A study of money is one way to examine the social, economic, and cultural relations during the Middle Ages.

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Mary Kate Hurley
Monsters

Monsters do a great deal of cultural work, but they do not do it nicely. (Mittman 2012, 1)

A Introduction

Monsters constitute one of the most flexible and wide-ranging categories of analysis for medieval authors. To a certain extent, they perform the same functions in the Middle Ages that they do in any period: they are “disturbing hybrids whose externally incoherent bodies resist attempts to include them in any systematic structuration” (J.J. Cohen 1996, 6). By their fantastic and sometimes grotesque difference from humans, monsters serve as a boundary to what can and cannot be considered human and demonstrate the rules and practices that create humanity. At the same time, monsters bring attention to the often sordid truths about themselves that humans wish to forget, especially the presence of difference within or between communities and the threat that such differences pose to unitary ideas of culture (Friedman 2000; J.J. Cohen 1996; Mittman 2012). Their outwardly horrifying appearance illustrates the consequences of behaving differently. Their habitations at the far reaches of the world, shrouded in shadow and mystery, imply the exile such difference imposes.

The last thirty years of scholarship have seen a kind of renaissance of the medieval monster. As a result, resources are readily available to illustrate the theological and scholastic underpinnings of monstrosity in the period (Friedman 1981; J.J. Cohen 1999; Steel 2012). The approaches such works take are as various and multiform as the creatures they address. A number of scholars situates the monsters of the period within theological or philosophical understandings of difference, often focusing on the negotiation of the Self and the Other that such texts participate in (Campbell 1991; Classen 1993; Williams 1996). Art historical studies of monsters engage with the intersection of artistic representation and monstrous creation with philosophical arguments, treating diverse representations of monsters from maps to psalter marginalia (Friedman 2000; Mittman 2006). Literary historians look to the ways monsters construct narrative in works ranging from devotional saints’ lives to stories of travel, and cultural critics lay bare the importance of monsters to the fundamental questions of what makes human communities possible (J.J. Cohen 1996; Orchard 2003; Bildhauer and Mills, ed. 2003; Cohen 2006; Steel 2011). Drawing on a subsection of this work,

this essay will address three major medieval texts that pertain to the idea of the monster in medieval culture. Through these readings, it will offer insight into some of the conceptual stakes of monstrosity in the medieval period—in particular, the theological and the ontological methods by which human communities are formed—and the critical work that frames modern reception of these texts.

This essay will introduce the novice to the most important functions of medieval monsters, rather than give a comprehensive overview of the subject. Its treatment of the matter will proceed in three unequal parts. First, it will examine two representative medieval scholarly treatments of monstrosity, Saint Augustine of Hippo's fifth-century *City of God* and Isidore of Seville's seventh-century *Etymologies*. Augustine's *City of God* was central to the religious discourse of the Middle Ages, and addresses the implications of the perceived existence of monsters in both the biblical past and the far reaches of the Eastern world. Isidore of Seville adds what in another era might be considered a "scientific perspective" to the Augustinian theological view, addressing the possible real-world foundations for stories of monsters in mythology. Lastly, the essay will shift to a literary perspective and consider how monsters are represented in the Anglo-Saxon epic *Beowulf*. That portion of the discussion will examine how Grendel—the monster that the eponymous hero first fights on his arrival in Denmark—functions within typical literary and religious conceits of the Anglo-Saxon period. These three examples, partial though they might be, highlight the major tenets of the broader extant scholarship concerning medieval monsters and will provide a starting point for students looking to explore the role that monsters play in the period.

B Saint Augustine's *City of God* and Its Monsters

In his magisterial fifth-century *City of God*, Saint Augustine sketches the history of the world in Christian terms, inflecting the biblical past and his historical present with the overtones of salvation history. Within these considerations, he gives ample space to the understanding of monsters in creation. His explication of these creatures is based, in some part, on the medieval inheritance of Pliny's *Natural History*—hence some scholars term these creatures "the Plinian Races" (Friedman 2000, 5). Exercising his customary approach to non-Christian knowledge, Augustine appropriates such knowledge as a means to a Christian end. He argues that monsters are meant to demonstrate not only the will of God but God's power to carry it out. As is habitually cited in critical studies of monsters in the Middle Ages, he traces the root of the word "monster" to *monstrare*, because monsters "show something by a sign" (Augustine 1972, 57). Monsters could warn about or demonstrate God's power over all bodies, human and inhuman alike. That power

over bodies authorized Christian belief in bodily resurrection through a kind of syllogism—if God can create monstrous bodies, then he can also reanimate the dead bodies of Christians. Moreover, Augustine writes that “just as it was possible for God to make such natural kinds as He wished, so it is possible for him to change those natural kinds into whatever he wishes” (Augustine 1972, 57). The status of monstrous bodies as signs, then, is central to their function theologically. As Lisa Verner argues, “[w]hatever a monster may in fact be, its function for Saint Augustine is quite clear: it demonstrates the beauty of the superabundance of God’s creation. Beyond this, he seems to imply, one need not inquire” (Verner 2005, 2). Monsters are “integral elements of providential history which reveal God’s greatness and expose human ignorance” (Classen 2012, 17–18). Yet for all of the monster’s potential as mere demonstration, its peculiar interest to Augustine is instructive as to the possibilities monstrous inquiry poses for minds medieval and modern alike.

Augustine’s understanding of monsters typically stems from a focus on their importance within salvation history rather than any particular interest in their material existence. As a result, his account of monstrous being is quite allegorical (Williams 1996). He argues that, for humans, “these marvels, these *monstra*, *ostenta*, *portenta*, *prodigia*, should demonstrate, show, portend, predict that God will do what he has declared he will do with the bodies of men, and that no difficulty will detain him, no law of nature circumscribe him” (Augustine 1972, 57–59). In this foray into monstrous ontology, Augustine understands monsters as signs of God’s power that suggest no inherent being. Rather, they demonstrate God’s ability to shape earthly matter at both the outset of Creation and in the end times. Such an understanding is characteristic of how monsters were widely understood in the period: the existence of bodies that *seem* “contrary to nature” merely reinforce the power that God has over earthly things (Friedman 2000, 109; J.J. Cohen 1996). As a “sign of God’s power over nature and his use of it for didactic ends” (Friedman 2000, 109), then, monsters serve as an impulse to the contemplation of the divine.

Augustine’s interpretation of the monstrous races as divine sign—a way in which nature figures, prefigures, and refigures God’s power over matter—fits into his larger schematic for understanding the world in the *City of God*. Augustine’s categorical divide between the “city of men,” founded by biblical personage Cain after murdering his brother Abel, and the “City of God,” a spiritual rather than physical designation, provided the raw material from which medieval writers would create monstrous lineages that stemmed from antediluvian origins (Friedman 2000). Augustine outlines the opposition between his earthly city (founded by Cain) and the heavenly city (belonging to Abel, who founded no city on earth):

Now the earthly city will not be everlasting, for when it is condemned to final punishment, it will no longer be a city. It has its good here on earth and rejoices to partake of it with the sort of joy that can be derived from things of this sort. And since this good is not of the sort to cause no difficulties for those who love it, the earthly city is generally divided against itself. There are litigations; there are wars and battles; there is pursuit of victories that either cut lives short or at any rate are short-lived. For whatever part of it has risen up in war against the other part, it seeks to be victorious over other nations though it is itself the slave of vices; and if, when it is victorious, it becomes exceedingly proud and haughty, its victory also cuts lives short. (Augustine 1966, 423–25)

The city of men, according to Augustine, exists in “slavery” to vice. This bondage leads to the endless suffering of men while on earth: by mislocating its heritage and final salvation, their “city” cannot really escape its founding in fratricide. Medieval authors and artists—including, as we will see, the *Beowulf*-poet—often took this inheritance of violence and death one step further than Augustine himself did by making the relationship between Cain and monsters explicit. As John Block Friedman points out, “[i]n a number of illustrations for *The City of God* we see Cain building this ‘city of men’ while the monstrous races are depicted in the background” (Friedman 2000, 31). This problematic relationship between the city of men and the monstrous races becomes further complicated by later medieval authors who associate monstrous beings and giants with either Noah’s cursed son Ham or the “sons of God” who impregnated the daughters of men (Friedman 2000, 59–107).

The existence of these creatures in biblical exegesis raises a fundamental question regarding the monstrous races: whether they “were, in fact, human” (Friedman 2000, 91). Augustine’s answer to this question is somewhat vexed. In Book XVI of the *City of God*, Augustine seems to have a particularly empathetic reading of monsters, granting them the possibility of humanity, or at least a relationship to it. As Karl Steel points out, in a question as difficult to answer as that of whether or not monsters existed, “Augustine proposes incredulity as a proper response” (Steel 2012, 266). Augustine’s measured approach is characteristic of his theological framework:

Another moot question is whether we are to believe that certain monstrous races of men described in pagan history were descended from the sons of Noah, or rather from that one man from whom they themselves sprang. [...] What am I to say of the Cynocephali, whose dogs’ heads and actual barking are evidence that they are rather beasts than men? To be sure, we do not have to believe in all the types of men that are reported to exist. Yet whoever is born anywhere as a human being, that is, as a rational mortal creature, however strange he may appear to our senses in bodily form or color or motion or utterance, or in any faculty, part or quality of his nature whatsoever, let no true believer have any doubt that such an individual is descended from the one man who was first created. Yet there is a clear

distinction between what has by nature persisted in the majority, and what is marvelous by its very rarity. (Augustine 1965, 41–45)

As Friedman notes, Augustine “does not commit himself to the humanity of the races quite so fully as later writers give him credit for doing” (Friedman 2000, 92), but his various thoughts on the subject create a fertile ground for later authors who ponder the matter (Steel 2012).

In the midst of this discussion, Augustine lists a variety of creatures, some of which are still familiar to us from modern versions of Greek and other mythologies: the Cyclops, Antipodes, Hermaphrodites, Pigmies, Sciopods, Blemmyes, Cynocephali, and others. The point of Augustine’s account of these creatures is to determine the fundamental difference between these creatures and men by examining the difficulty they present for human interpretation: if they are born from humans, then they must be humans themselves. Yet, as Karl Steel notes, Augustine is finally uncertain of what claim to fact he can really make in regards to these races, admitting that “[e]ither the written accounts of certain races are completely unfounded or, if such races do exist, they are not human; or if they are human, they are descended from Adam” (Augustine 1966, 49). Augustine “reiterates his heuristic for distinguishing between humans and non-humans, namely, that *anyone* born from a human is a rational mortal, regardless of unusual shape, color, movement, sound [...]” but Steel notes that “[a]n unspoken but necessary correlative to this statement is that some creatures, human in shape, in fact may not be descended from Adam” (Steel 2012, 266). This assertion points, as Steel suggests, to the fundamental uncertainty of monsters (and of creatures in general): the sign is not always perfectly legible, as Augustine’s ambivalent response to the reality of monsters intimates, and their uncertainty makes the definition of both humans and monsters less certain. Augustine’s understanding of these Plinian races, then, is one way in which we can reconstruct what Bettina Bildhauer and Robert Mills have termed the “culturally and symbolically useful” range of uses for monsters in the Middle Ages (Bildhauer and Mills, ed., 2003, 2). Monsters were not simply entertainment or mystery, although they could certainly perform both of these functions. Rather, their ontological status posed a serious issue with which Christian thinkers of the Middle Ages struggled.

The existence of monstrous races in the Old Testament, like giants, also called the natural world and the Hebrew Bible’s account of it into question. In examining the stories of men found in the Old Testament, Augustine notes that certain skeptics “might dispute with us the many centuries that, as we read in our authorities, the man of that age lived, and might argue that this is incredible. In the same way some people refuse to believe that men’s bodies were of much larger size then than they are now” (Augustine 1966, 457). Augustine, however,

counters such claims with the fact that the gigantic size and exceptionally long lives of men in former ages is hardly the sole province of the Bible. He even offers a putatively first-hand account of his encounter with fossil evidence, so to speak, of such men's existence:

On the shore of Utica I myself, not alone but with several others, saw a human molar so enormous that, if it were divided up into pieces to the dimensions of our teeth, it would, so it seemed to us, have made a hundred of them. But that molar, I should suppose, belonged to some giant. For not only were bodies in general much larger then than our own, but the giants towered far above rest, even as in subsequent times, including our own, there have almost always been bodies which, though few in number, far surpassed the size of others. (Augustine 1966, 459)

Augustine's description of this monstrous tooth suggests that giants are observable in his present day through the traces they left in and on the earth. Moreover, his consideration of the tooth points to the ways in which temporal difference can make understanding theological points difficult or impossible. In Augustine's view, his contemporaries misunderstand biblical references to ancient humans because they have no scale for comparison between their own measure of time and the time before the flood.

This temporal difference is related to the status giants had in medieval cultures as a point of origin and a marker of difference (J.J.Cohen 1999). As Jeffrey Jerome Cohen has observed, giants are often said to inhabit lands that are susceptible to or desired for conquest (J.J.Cohen 1999). Moreover, "representing an anterior culture as monstrous justifies its displacement or extermination by rendering the act heroic" (J.J.Cohen 1996, 7–8). The depiction of such anterior cultures as giants legitimizes the violence involved in displacing them by suggesting their status as relics of a time that has passed and emphasizing their monstrosity and lack of humanity. In large part, medieval authors based their use of giants on examples from classical and biblical sources. Thus, in a foundational myth of Britain—one that narrates the conquest of the island by Britain's Trojan founder, Brutus, in the aftermath of the Trojan War—Geoffrey of Monmouth "imagined that similar giants [to biblical examples] must once have menaced the island, and so Brutus eradicates an enemy very like the biblical Nephilim exterminated under the command of Joshua" (J.J.Cohen 1999, 32). This story of giants occurs at the outset of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*:

At this time the island of Britain was called Albion. It was uninhabited except for a few giants. It was, however, most attractive, because of the delightful situation of its various regions, its forests and the great number of its rivers, which teemed with fish; and it filled Brutus and his comrades with a great desire to live there. When they had explored the different districts, they drove the giants whom they had discovered into the caves in the mountains. (Geoffrey of Monmouth 1979, 72)

We see here all of the main attributes of a narrative in which anterior cultures are positioned as giants, including their status as “part of [a] fantastic overabundance” of a “secular promised island” (J.J. Cohen 1999, 33). Britain is “uninhabited except for a few giants” that Brutus and his men easily drive into the margins of the island in order to take up residency in the “delightful situation of its various regions.” Later, when Brutus and his men are “celebrating a day dedicated to the gods in the port where he had landed,” they find themselves attacked by these repulsed outsiders. The new inhabitants of the island “gathered together from round and about and overcame the giants and slew them all,” except Gogmagog, who they kept for entertainment and, eventually, death (Geoffrey of Monmouth 1979, 72). The giants are removed from the island so that the new inhabitants can rightfully inherit the land, mimicking the biblical colonization of Canaan (J.J. Cohen 1999, 33–37).

Returning to Augustine on the beach at Utica, then, we can begin to see the implications of approaching these creatures theologically. These are men who once existed in the same places that men exist in Augustine’s time, and his comparison of their molars with the molars of contemporary men suggests similarity, if literally sizeable difference. In theological terms, such creatures become more than simply signs. They become the anterior culture that Augustine’s contemporaries have replaced.

C Isidore of Seville, the *Etymologies*

Isidore of Seville’s *Etymologies* is an encyclopedic philosophical work of the seventh century that had nearly as profound an impact on medieval culture as the *City of God*. The work attempts to systematically define everything that exists in the world—including, of course, monsters—under the “organizing principle [that] words themselves [reflect] the divine organization of the Creator” (Verner 2005, 28). Examining *De Portentis*, or Portents, Isidore avers that “Varro defines portents as beings that seem to have been born contrary to nature—but they are not contrary to nature, because they are created by divine will, since the nature of everything is the will of the creator [...] A portent is therefore not created contrary to nature but contrary to what is known in nature” (Isidore of Seville 2010, 243). This definition lays out the quandary that such creatures pose to an encyclopedic Christian account of the world. In Isidore’s understanding, to exist contrary to nature is to exist contrary to the divine will.

Isidore’s interpretation here largely follows on Augustine’s account: both thinkers engage with questions of divine will and nature and each refer to Varro’s insights on the subject. Isidore’s argument, however, takes a slightly different

standpoint on monstrous ontology. Augustine's logic situates the so-called monstrous races vis-à-vis the construction of Christian history. Monsters must be related to Adam if they are men and therefore must possess souls. In contrast, Isidore bypasses the literal existence of such creatures in order to focus on their relationship to the created status of nature itself: if monsters or portents exist, then they must be natural—and therefore they must exist because of God. This is the logical inference of his assumption that “the nature of everything is the will of the creator” (Isidore of Seville 2010, 243): God's will can be read in nature.

Isidore divides monstrous creatures into several sub-sets of meaning, including: portents, “derived from ‘foreshadowing’ (*portendere*), that is, from ‘showing beforehand’ (*praeostedere*)”; signs, which “seem to show (*ostendere*) a future event”; prodigies, which “are so called, because they ‘speak hereafter’ (*porro dicere*)”; omens, which “derive their name from admonition (*monitus*), because in giving a sign they indicate (*demonstrare*) something, or else because they instantly show (*monstrare*) what may appear” (Isidore of Seville 2010, 244). It is this final definition, he avers, that “is its proper meaning, although it has frequently been corrupted by the improper use of writers” (Isidore of Seville 2010, 244). Interestingly, a later work of Isidore, the *Differentiae*, “notes [the] points of difference” between monsters and portents in a slightly more precise fashion. According to Asa Mittman and Susan Kim, who quote the work: “a portent is that which is displayed out of different forms, a monster, that which is born outside of nature, either exceedingly large or exceedingly small” (Mittman and Kim 2013, 76). Isidore's articulation of this point is somewhat complex: the variant meanings of monsters and portents in the *Etymologies* and the *Differentiae* do not cover the problem of their ontological status, nor do they explain the functions that such creatures serve. However, as Verner points out, “just because Isidore does not interpret every monster does not mean that the reader should not do so himself” (Verner 2005, 31). We can therefore deduce that whatever their ontological status, monsters serve as an important theological point of reference, indicating the importance of Augustine's thought to Isidore's own.

As with Augustine, Isidore is quite interested in the types of monsters that exist in places far from his native land. In Isidore's case, he lists these monsters extensively, categorizing them based on their origins and how humans understand them. He lists dwarves, pigmies, cynodonts, Blemmyes, panotii, and other creatures in a manner reminiscent of Augustine. Moreover, he makes reference to the

monstrous faces of nations in the far East: some with no noses, having completely flat faces and a shapeless countenance, some with a lower lip so protruding that when they are sleeping it protects the whole face from the heat of the sun; some with mouths grown shut, taking in nourishment only through a small opening by means of hollow straws. (Isidore of Seville 2010, 245)

As Isidore illustrates here, “the most useful model for a taxonomy of the monster is the human body” (Williams 1996, 108). Book Eleven of the *Etymologies*, we must remember, treats both men and monsters within its organization, and so monstrous bodily difference draws attention to the constitution of the human body—meant to be “an original and continuing symbol of order itself,” according to Williams (1996, 108)—by the possibility of its dissolution and disorganization.

Moreover, this passage demonstrates a general schematic that Friedman identifies as a fundamental tenet of the way medieval cultures used monsters to establish their worldviews. Friedman argues that monsters usually stemmed from categories of cultural difference he describes as “indicators of foreignness” that were “highly charged with emotional significance” (Friedman 2000, 26). These differences rarely consisted of fantastic attributes. Rather, he argues that “[e]veryday cultural differences in such things as diet, speech, clothes, weapons, customs, and social organizations were what truly set alien peoples apart from their observers in the classical world, and the power of these cultural traits to mark a race as monstrous persisted into the Middle Ages and beyond” (Friedman 2000, 26). In Isidore’s list, bodily difference indeed characterized many monsters: they have “no noses,” “completely flat faces,” a “shapeless countenance,” “a lower lip [that protrudes],” etc. However, we can also see a simple cultural difference: the use of straws to take nourishment, a difference of diet and customs regarding food that Isidore uses to draw attention to a natural distinction of facial physiognomy that he deems to be monstrous.

Isidore also uses monsters to explain natural phenomena not adequately understood in other ways. His consideration of this aspect of monstrous ontology ties his meditations on the topic to a view of the world associated less with theology and more with what he terms “natural science.” For example, he writes that the ancient Hydra, usually believed to be a multi-headed serpent, was in fact “a place that gushed out water, devastating a nearby city; if one opening in it were closed, many more would burst out” (Isidore of Seville 2010, 246). He goes on to apply the same logic to the Chimaera, which he describes “as a tri-form beast: the face of a lion, the rear of a dragon, and a she-goat in the middle” (Isidore of Seville 2010, 246). By drawing on the *Physiologus* bestiary (Verner 2005), he details that “certain natural scientists” writing in that book’s tradition “say that the Chimaera is not an animal but a mountain in Cilicia that nourishes lions and she-goats in some places, emits fire in some places, and is full of serpents in some places” (Isidore of Seville 2010, 246). This naturalistic approach is further used to explain the Centaurs, a familiar figure from mythology. Isidore notes that “some say that [the Centaurs] were horsemen of Thessaly, but because, as they rushed into battle, the horses and men seemed to have one body, they

maintained the fiction of the centaurs” (Isidore of Seville 2010, 246). Isidore’s thinking here is characteristic of the multivalent ontological status of monsters within medieval thought. As Lisa Verner suggests, “[t]ruth in the case of fictional monsters is metaphorical and literary, but nonetheless important and real, as one might expect in a treatise on the meanings behind words” (Verner 2005, 34). Monsters are simultaneously an imaginative construction—Isidore seems to clearly believe that the Hydra, Chimaera, and Centaur are not *real* creatures—and a real, if somewhat more mundane, force with mythological and interpretative value. Monsters, that is, are real in so far as they influence culture: they “do not exist but are concocted to interpret the causes of things” (Isidore of Seville 2010, 245) whether those causes are natural, cultural, or theological.

Taken together, Isidore’s and Augustine’s inclusion of monsters in their cosmologies illustrates many of the reasons why monsters held the interest of medieval thinkers: they allow for a very specific theological thought experiment (J.J. Cohen 1996; Steel 2012). Their conclusion was that the limits of God’s power cannot be limited to a human understanding of normalcy; rather, that power is as infinite as the variety of forms that the creatures in question take. Importantly, however, the rhetorical use of monsters as nearly inconceivable expressions of God’s power implicitly reinforced the specific cultural norms of the societies that considered them to be monstrous. By their difference, as Cohen so cogently observes, the monsters outlined by Augustine and Isidore demarcate the acceptable behavior of the people who observe them, right down to the theological interpretations that govern all understanding of such difference.

D The Monsters and the Critics of *Beowulf*

The theological arguments of Augustine and Isidore outline the ontological stakes of the existence of monsters within the framework of a Christian worldview. Turning now to the literary realm, we can begin to tease out the implications of such theological theorization of the monstrous in broader cultural terms. I will focus my discussion on the Old English poem *Beowulf* and the role that the monster Grendel and his kind play in its narratives.

Since J.R.R. Tolkien’s 1936 lecture on the “Monsters and the Critics” has become the single most influential essay on the Old English poem *Beowulf*, it is perhaps unsurprising that the role monsters play in the poem has been quite deeply interrogated by modern critics. Importantly, Tolkien’s essay was a response to various scholars who had mined the poem for its historical import and information, but had in the process neglected its status as a piece of poetry. In particular, Tolkien argued against the influential assessment of Anglo-Saxonist

W.P. Ker, who maintained that the dignity of *Beowulf* itself was deeply undercut by its monsters. Ker asserted that the poem had a “radical defect” that put monsters front and center in the first narrative “English” poem. He assessed that defect as a “disproportion that puts the irrelevances [of heroic narrative and battles with monsters] in the center and the serious things [like historical allusions] on the outer edges” (Ker 1904, 253). Ker ultimately judges *Beowulf* to be an “unmistakably heroic and weighty” poem, but one that is weighty in spite of its monsters, not because of them (Ker, 1904, 253). Tolkien, by contrast, stakes his argument on the precisely opposite premise, that “the monsters are not an inexplicable blunder of taste; they are essential, fundamentally allied to the underlying ideas of the poem which give it its lofty tone and seriousness” (Tolkien 1958, 19). For Tolkien, the monsters make the art of the poem possible. Nearly seventy-five years of criticism take him more or less at his word.

The basic structure of *Beowulf* can be understood as three related segments in a larger narrative about an epic hero. Each of these segments focuses on a specific encounter between the eponymous hero and a monster. A brief summary of the text will help situate the discussion of it that follows. At the outset of the poem, King Hrothgar of the Danes builds a great hall called Heorot that is attacked by a man-eating monster known as Grendel soon after its completion. Grendel terrorizes Heorot for twelve years before a hero from another land—Beowulf of the Geats—hears of Hrothgar’s plight and resolves to travel to Denmark to assist him. Upon arrival, Beowulf defeats Grendel in unarmed combat, ripping the creature’s arm from its socket but allowing the monster to escape Heorot and die. The celebration following Beowulf’s victory is, however, cut short by another killing: the attacker in this case is revealed as Grendel’s mother, seeking revenge for her murdered child. Beowulf pursues the female monster to her underwater abode, where he narrowly escapes defeat through his almost providential finding of a magical sword that can kill the creature.

The third monstrous encounter appears when the poem skips fifty years, shifting its focus to events during Beowulf’s reign as King of the Geats following his lord Hygelac’s death. A thief steals a cup from a dragon’s hoard and the dragon responds with rage, burning the countryside in a reign of terror. Beowulf fights the dragon in order to preserve his people, but is killed in the process. The poem ends with a meditation on the fate of the Geats after the death of their lord, focusing on what will befall them: conquest and death.

Grendel and his mother are both understood, in the poem and its scholarly criticism, to be monsters that are both physically and ontologically close to humans. In creating this understanding of Grendel and his mother, the text relies on many of the ideas about monsters observed in the writings of Augustine and Isidore. More specifically, Grendel and his mother are explicitly referred to as kin

of Cain—part of the monstrous lineage that Augustine argues results from the murder of Abel:

Grendel was the name of this grim demon
haunting the marches, marauding round the heath
and the desolate fens; he had dwelt for a time
in misery among the banished monsters,
Cain's clan, whom the Creator had outlawed
and condemned as outcasts. For the killing of Abel
the Eternal Lord had exacted a price:
Cain got no good from committing that murder
because the Almighty made him anathema,
and out of the curse of his exile there sprang
ogres and elves and evil phantoms
and the giants too who strove with God
time and again until He gave them their reward. (Heaney 2001, 8)

In these lines, the poem posits an entire lineage of evil by drawing on the biblical traditions that would trace the monstrous races to a mark of Cain—a mark that made Cain himself, and his offspring, wandering monsters (Friedman 2000, 94–95). As Friedman points out, the role that the Grendelkin play in *Beowulf* is not limited to a veneer of biblical authenticity overlaid on a more local tradition: “[the Grendelkin] are by no means merely local water trolls whose depredations at the court of Hrothgar come from hunger or evil temper and who have been given an aura of antiquity and universality by their association with Cain” (Friedman 2000, 105–06). Rather, as the genealogy above suggests, the relationship to the first humans is clearly meant to resonate with the poem’s audience. It “ensures their membership in Adam’s family, though distantly, and means that they belong to the same species as their victims” (Friedman 2000, 106). Grendel and his mother exist in a troubled but nearly familial relationship to the humans upon whom they prey: they come from what modern humans might understand as the same species, made terrible by the curse of God and the eternal exile imposed thereby (Osborn 1978).

The monstrosity of Grendel is firmly linked to his lineage, but also to his actions: he becomes the force that destroys Hrothgar’s creation. In her study of *Representations of the Natural World in Old English Literature*, Jennifer Neville argues that Hrothgar’s building of the hall at Heorot is meant to parallel the creation of the world by God: “the positive, constructive act involves the establishment of an enclosure within which light, order, value, and safety prevail, and without which darkness, chaos, and danger rage” (Neville 1999, 57). Neville’s argument that Heorot stands in for an idea of creation resonates with the role that the outsider (*mearcstapa*), Grendel plays with regard to it: he attacks the hall from the outside, bringing disorder to an ordered world with his rage. This rage is

juxtaposed with a song sung by a *scop* within the hall that details the creation of the world by God—a creation that, notably, does not include the Grendelkin. This juxtaposition—narratively and ideologically—suggests the polarity of dark and light, good and evil that so often exists in monstrous narratives: “opposing forces define the constructions designed to withstand them” (Neville 1999, 57).

As previously mentioned, the definition of acceptable structures—social and otherwise—by what stands outside is something of a commonplace in studies of medieval monstrosity. Friedman’s five categories—“everyday cultural differences in such things as diet, speech, clothes, weapons, customs, and social organization” (Friedman 2000, 26) are also in operation in this example. For Grendel, a thorough analysis reveals the primacy of weapons, diet, customs and social organization in identifying him as a monster. First and foremost, Grendel is related to other monsters—the “ogres and elves and evil phantoms / and the giants too who strove with God” (Heaney 2001, 8)—who are themselves descendants of Cain. Moreover, Grendel and his mother exist outside of society as the poem imagines it—his relationship to Cain is an alternative social organization that rivals Hrothgar’s hall, and is indicated by the poem’s label for the creatures as exiles. Grendel also consumes human flesh and drinks human blood in his attacks on the Danes. In destroying these humans, he does not use a sword or armor—a difference in choice of weapon that marks him as uncivilized.

Grendel’s monstrous genealogy, as Andy Orchard argues, is very deeply rooted in Anglo-Saxon understandings of biblical history and the descendants of Cain. He notes that Bede “introduces the notion that the exiled Cain could find no rest,” a central image of exile and lack of community that characterizes the progenitor of monsters (Orchard 2003, 61). Moreover, Orchard argues that Cain’s participation in Abel’s murder could be understood as a “defiling of the earth with blood” that caused “the roots of spreading malignancy” (Orchard 2003, 65). Orchard documents that Old English versions of the myth even refer to the earth “who opened her mouth and received” the blood of Abel, encouraging a link between the taboo of drinking blood and the problematic relation of Cain and monsters. Cain kills his brother, wanders the earth, and even participates metonymically in the consumption of human flesh (Orchard 2003).

When examined in this light, Grendel’s experience resonates strongly with Cain’s status as exile: Grendel is described repeatedly as an exile, a *mearcstapa* who exists outside of, but in close proximity to, human abodes. Grendel appears in the poem as “a monstrous exile, a man-shaped creature exciting a degree of pity (*wonsaeli wer*), whose dwelling place is described by a bewildering number of terms (*mearc*, *moras*, *fen*, *fæsten*, and *fifelcynnes eard*) which have as their common feature their remoteness from human habitation” (Orchard 2003, 59). The multiplicity of such terms leads Orchard to suggest that that the poem

describes “a certain restlessness implied by the number of abodes mentioned, as by the detail that he dwelt in one ‘for a time’ (hwile)” (Orchard 2003, 59). Moreover, the places where Grendel is said to dwell are all outside of the hall and the human community that is established there. What is so remarkable about Grendel is that he violates the conditions of human life and community so pervasively. Not only does he dwell in multiple, disparate places that are unattached to any singular hall, but he also attacks the physical centerpiece of Anglo-Saxon society, breaking down the community that makes the Danes’ lives possible (Neville 1999; Orchard 2003).

Grendel also engages in one of the most basic taboos of most human societies: he eats human flesh. As Orchard attests, this dietary preference separates humans and the Kin of Cain irrevocably. The poem describes Grendel:

He saw many men in the mansion, sleeping,
 a ranked company of kinsmen and warriors
 quartered together. And his glee was demonic,
 picturing the mayhem: before morning
 he would rip life from limb and devour them,
 feed on their flesh; but his fate that night
 was due to change, his days of ravening
 had come to an end.

Mighty and canny,
 Hygelac’s kinsman was keenly watching
 for the first move the monster would make.
 Nor did the creature keep him waiting,
 but struck suddenly and started in;
 he grabbed and mauled a man on his bench,
 bit into his bone-lappings, bolted down his blood
 and gorged on him in lumps, leaving the body
 utterly lifeless, eaten up
 hand and foot. (Heaney 2001, 49–51)

Grendel “maul[s]” a man on the bench, but does not stop there. He gorges himself on the Danes biting “bone-lappings” and “bolt[ing] down blood.” Heaney’s translation in this section mimics the alliteration of the original poem, which relates the material in a kind of perverse fascination, lingering over the literally bloody subject. In feasting in this fashion, Grendel demonstrates not only his power but his difference—in parallel, as Orchard suggests, with the death of Abel at the hands of his brother (Orchard 2003, 65).

The poet also draws attention to the ways in which Grendel’s existence troubles the ontological status of humans. As Karl Steel points out, “[s]ubjugation resolves the various, shifting boundaries between humans and non-humans into a single line separating humans from all other living things. Among these acts of

boundary-making subjugation are not only eating, taming, and killing, but also the power to categorize” (Steel 2008, 7–8). The necessity of reifying the difference between human and animal—a difference Steel argues must be endlessly reenacted to maintain its power (Steel 2008; Steel 2011)—makes eating a fraught activity, and makes the actions of Grendel all the more ontologically interesting. By eating Danes and betraying no compunctions about their fitness for consumption, Grendel undermines a fundamental facet of human existence. Grendel makes humans into food, and in doing so indicates a way in which the category of “human” is unstable—it depends on other relationships to be maintained. Such an action threatens the foundation of human identity as superior to animals (Steel 2008; Steel 2011). To maintain ontological order, Grendel must be understood as monstrous.

In addition to these very clear demarcations of difference, Grendel also partakes of a less intuitive difference that marks him as a monster. Grendel’s method of attacking and killing Danes does not require any kind of weaponry. As both Karl Steel and John Block Friedman point out, one of the major signifiers of the distance between monsters and humans is their method of fighting and the tools they utilize to do so (Friedman 2000; Steel 2011). In analyzing the monsters who frequently feature in high medieval traditions, Friedman observes that these creatures often carry clubs: “The ubiquitous club, a weapon made from a branch wrenched from a tree and so made without forethought or art, reveals yet another prejudice of the medieval world concerning alien peoples. Men who carry clubs are ignorant of chivalric weapons and the military customs of civilized Westerners” (Friedman 2000, 32–33). Monsters, that is, are often clearly marked by the kinds of weapons they do not have.

Grendel offers an intriguing case of this particular demarcation of the monster. While he does not carry a club, the poem clearly demonstrates that during his attacks that he does not, in fact, carry any weapon at all. Upon meeting Hrothgar for the very first time, Beowulf notes that he has “heard moreover that the monster scorns / in his reckless way to use weapons” (Heaney 2001, 31). As it turns out, no weapon at all can harm Grendel, so Beowulf’s choice to avoid using weapons is a fortuitous one:

there was something they could not have known at the time,
that no blade on earth, no blacksmith’s art
could ever damage their demon opponent.
He had conjured the harm from the cutting edge
of every weapon. (Heaney 2001, 53–55)

Grendel not only does not use weapons, but also makes weapons utterly useless. His refusal of weaponry is also its negation: Grendel deprives humans of one way

in which they consolidate identity. If no blade can harm Grendel, then no blade in human hands raised against him can mean anything. A fundamental feature of heroic society is lost: the ability to fight as a warrior.

We see in Grendel a variety of tropes of the Middle Ages that have to do with monstrosity. His status as the Kin of Cain forms one end of this monstrous continuum—on the other are the multiple ways in which his ontological status deviates from social norms that constitute the heroic world of *Beowulf*. Grendel therefore illustrates the intersections of theological thought with more worldly matters. As Kin of Cain, the Grendelkin as a whole are different, exiled, abhorred by God. However, in Grendel's specificity—his refusal of and imperviousness to weapons, his behavioral patterns of both eating human flesh and drinking human blood, and his lack of a stable abode that would allow for something more recognizable to humans as “culture”—Grendel also participates in the cultural construction of norm and deviation. He serves as a kind of warning of the exile inevitably imposed by difference.

E Conclusion

In examining texts from varying backgrounds, this essay has cataloged some of the multiple functions of monsters in the Middle Ages and the critical approaches that illuminate the uses to which medieval writers put such creatures. Centrally, it has sought to demonstrate that the attempts to understand monsters in the period and beyond it are as diverse as the creatures they treat. Whether the perspective is theological, naturalistic, philosophical, or literary, monsters force medieval authors—and the modern scholars who study them—to think across boundaries of discipline, time, and historical difference. No singular approach to monsters can encompass the diversity of threats they pose for human culture. The only certainty, as Cohen so cogently writes, is that they exist—“for if they did not, how could we?” (J.J. Cohen 1996, 20).

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Karl Kügle

Conceptualizing and Experiencing Music in the Middle Ages (ca. 500–1500)

A Introduction

The concept of music as commonly understood today did not exist in the Middle Ages. The online edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (last accessed on April 14, 2014) defines “music” as “(t)he art or science of combining vocal or instrumental sounds to produce beauty of form, harmony, melody, rhythm, expressive content, etc.” Accordingly, people nowadays tend to see music as an independent art form composed of “tönend bewegte Formen” (“forms moving in sound”), to use the famous wording developed by the Viennese critic Eduard Hanslick in the 1850s (Hanslick 1854). People in the twenty-first-century also tend to conceive of music primarily as a fixed object (although this is by no means the case, for music in fact is primarily an action and/or an experience!). Third, music in the popular imagination is typically assumed to be created and then encoded in writing by a composer, thereafter physically embodied in a (printed) score, and subsequently (re-)produced as sound by means of voices and/or instruments, or—in disembodied form—through technological means (recordings). Although in actual practice most music produced today, including all popular and applied music genres, makes only limited use of notation—and the same was true for much nineteenth- and twentieth-century music outside the restricted precinct of Western art (“classical”) music—the paradigmatic association of “music” with “writing” remains extremely powerful.

Even more powerful is an engrained pattern of thought that posits the use of instruments as the default setting, or even a requirement, when conjuring up “music” in our imaginations—indeed, one might say that average modern audiences tend to experience purely vocal music as sonically impoverished, and therefore to find it boring and somehow lacking in aesthetic appeal. Instrumental genres (orchestral symphony, chamber music) continue to occupy the apex of our aesthetic hierarchy, certainly in the “classical” realm, and hardly any musical genre can count on widespread success today if instruments are not somehow part of the sonic environment. Furthermore, words (“poetry” and “literature”) and music (“composition”), not to mention movement (as in a gesture, a dance, or a procession), are seen as distinct from music; to us, they are separate and autonomous media of artistic expression that can be combined for mutual benefit, for example in opera, song, film, or video, but need not. Each of them can exist

perfectly well on its own. Finally, unlike the situation that prevailed until a few generations ago when sounding music only existed through the material presence of human beings who physically produced it, musical events today are almost universally mediated technologically, most often in the form of recordings, leading to an almost entirely disembodied experience of music-making, and acoustic musical listening which instead of a shared physical activity becomes a kind of sonic wall paper that is experienced passively.

All this would have seemed not merely astonishing and quite possibly bizarre, but indeed thoroughly misguided from an aesthetic point of view to a person living between 500 and 1500; not to say dangerous, even perverse in a moral sense—at least that is what we can tell from those voices (usually male clerics) that have come down to us, both in the form of their written opinions and teachings, and in the form of the notations from which we can—albeit with considerable restrictions—reconstruct the sounds of the Middle Ages. Music (or the medieval equivalent of what we would recognize as such) would first and foremost have been intimately linked with the human body; it was a thoroughly somatic activity (Holsinger 2001). As the medieval terminology suggests which uses *cantus* or *carmen* and *dictamen* virtually interchangeably to denote musico-poetic activities or artifacts, the strict division between text and melody that we are familiar with today did not apply in medieval aesthetics; the two (not to mention any forms of movement such as gesturing that might have accompanied such activities), aided and abetted by the art of rhetoric, melded into a single activity, just as what we would call a “text” was primarily seen and experienced as a visual trace or a set of directions to (re-)produce “speech” and/or “song” (Zumthor 1987; Ziolkowski 2007).

Even as late a witness as Eustache Deschamps (1345–1404), commonly understood as a key authority cementing the autonomization of text (poetry) from music (song), in fact operated within an epistemological paradigm where the sounds of words (“*musique naturelle*”) and the sounds of song set to such words (“*musique artificielle*”) are conceptualized as differing aggregate stages of a single phenomenon, “*musique*” or “*musica*,” as Deschamps’s terminology patently demonstrates (Jeserich 2013). Similarly, to construe music as an object, and accordingly to put the musical score at the aesthetic center, probably would also have seemed rather eccentric to a medieval person. This in no way contradicts the enormous cultural prestige enjoyed by writing and by books—both were highly sophisticated technologies that provided for the existence of storehouses of knowledge and luxury items at once, accessible only to the thin layer of the educated and well-to-do in the Middle Ages.

The synaesthetic phenomenon of seeing-hearing (for lack of a better word), strange as it seems to us, can perhaps be rendered more plausible in light of the

recently recovered medieval views of matter as an active force, rather than as a dead object (Bynum 2011); a medieval viewer of a text and/or of a notation would presumably have readily, indeed automatically, associated this sight with actual sounds (of speech or of singing) and expected both to have worked on his or her body and soul, whereas we see both text and images primarily as visual carriers of semantic information. Such a stance would have been facilitated by the ubiquity of rhetoric as a key cultural practice throughout the Middle Ages (Carruthers 2010) as well as contemporaneous optical theory (Akbari 2004, 21–44) and, by extension, the medieval theory of listening.

Moreover, music notation would only have been used (and needed) in highly specific situations, not as a default; words often suffice to jolt the musical memory as long as the relevant music is previously known to the reader—just like the words of, say, the Beatles’ “Yesterday” alone will be enough to evoke the sounds of that song to many who have heard and enjoyed it before.

The importance of memory to medieval culture has recently been stressed by cultural historians and musicologists alike (Carruthers 2008; Busse Berger 2005). And like the other activities we nowadays subsume under the “arts,” music, too, was deeply and functionally embedded in social ritual; it was either a part of science (*musica*) or a skill (*cantus, sonus*), but not an art in the modern sense. For that concept, just like that of “music,” had yet to be invented in centuries to come.

Despite these profound differences in the epistemology of sound and sound events, it is possible to sort through the medieval categorizations of things related to music (as we understand the term) if we let medieval people be our guides. It will not come as a surprise to anyone familiar with the thinking of the European Middle Ages that the relevant categories are arranged in a distinct hierarchy, and that the boundary between what we can perceive with our senses (a vital characteristic of our notion of “music”) and matters of spiritual transcendence is porous indeed: An ethics of listening, and an ethics of music-making, therefore is a matter of course for medieval people. I shall begin by discussing some basic medieval assumptions about *musica*—assumptions which evolved out of the philosophy of late antiquity, mediated through the writings and the persistent reception of Augustine, Boethius, and Isidore of Seville throughout the medieval period and, indeed, well into early modern times. This will lead us to the training of singers within the Church, and of other musicians outside. In a third step, I shall sketch out some significant shifts in musical and notational practices that occurred during the approximately one thousand years that we now call the Middle Ages. Finally, I discuss key genres and repertoires, both vocal and instrumental, as they have come down to us in the form of notations (manuscripts) and other sources (texts and images).

B All-Encompassing “Harmony”: The Concept of *musica*

Let us assume for a moment that we could go back to some point in time between 500 and 1500 C.E., and encounter one of the people to whom we owe the materials preserved in the manuscripts in which musical notation, or comments and descriptions of making or listening to music are preserved—in other words, traces of medieval “musicking,” to use a convenient neologism coined by musicologist Christopher Small, albeit in a contemporary context (Small 1998). Being able to read and write, our imaginary interlocutor would be a highly-trained specialist, and most likely a cleric (at this point we should again remind ourselves that we know very little, and certainly much less by comparison, about musical practices outside the Church, as the written record is almost invariably biased toward the needs and practices of ecclesiastics in the broadest sense). He or she would probably be engaged in a rigorous daily musical practice, i.e., the singing of the so-called Office (or canonical) Hours, in addition to performing and singing at many other occasions within and at the periphery of the liturgy, most notably the Mass but also para-liturgical devotions, not to forget practical activities that we would label “work.” Such a person would have been trained since childhood in the singing of chant and, by extension, in at least a modicum of what we now call music theory; they would have learned and internalized the medieval pitch system, but also how to make the most of the practical tools used to teach, memorize, and perform melodies, most notably the so-called Guidonian hand and the monochord. They may well be a *cantor* or a *cantrix* or their depute (*succentor*), i.e., the official responsible for the timely and correct singing of the liturgy, and as such would serve in one of the highest-ranking and most important functions of their community, typically a monastery or the chapter of an endowed collegiate church or a cathedral.

If we asked this person the question “what is music?” we would most assuredly not get an answer that matches our (or the OED’s) definition of music. Our informant would probably also give us different answers depending on how we translated the modern word “music.” Obviously, one would in the first instance be inclined to ask about “*musica*,” the Latin word that so prominently corresponds to our modern vernaculars’ “music” and from which it is derived.

But the Latin *musica* and its (late-medieval) vernacular cognates such as *musique* (Old French), *musica* (Italian), *musyke* (Middle English) and *muzike* (Middle Dutch) would have denoted first and foremost a branch of the quadrivium, i.e., the “science” part of the seven *artes liberales*. As such, *musica* aimed at understanding and articulating the harmony of the cosmos that underlies God’s

creation. Probably the most famous definition of *musica* with which most medieval people would have been familiar (and certainly all those who received a clerical education in a cathedral or a monastic school, or its equivalent) derives from Boethius (ca. 480–ca. 525), who divided *musica* into *musica mundana*, *musica humana* and *musica instrumentalis* (*De institutione musica*, bk. 1, ch. 2). *Musica mundana* is the “harmony of the world” which humans can experience in a limited way and indirectly only, for example by marveling at the ordering and proportions of the celestial bodies that can be observed in the night sky. A second subcategory of *musica* is *musica humana*, the order of and within our bodies and souls (Boethius sees the two as a unit). Like *musica mundana*, we constantly experience this *musica humana* indirectly, in the form of various bodily and psychological states, but it is not a sonic phenomenon. Boethius’s third category is *musica instrumentalis*—not, as one might at first think, instrumental music, but the laws of consonance and dissonance (which, following Boethius, are made experiential through the division of strings—hence the importance of the monochord). So *musica instrumentalis*—the third and hierarchically lowest subdivision—in fact deals with the ordering of physical sounds that we can perceive with our senses, i.e., the building-blocks of all that we would call music.

Actual music—such as a performance—is made up of the raw materials Boethius describes, but Boethius displays hardly any interest in such details which for him are ephemera except as a physical instantiation of the eternal laws of mathematics (numbers and their proportions to each other) and the resulting cosmic, ethical, and physical (i.e., sounding) laws of harmony. We therefore could classify what Boethius teaches us in modern terms as a mixture of acoustics, music theory, music psychology, medicine and music therapy, music philosophy, and theology. This conceptual assemblage has a marginal place at best in the average modern person’s understanding of “music” and also in the disciplinary structure of modern universities. To the medieval person, on the other hand, it would have been an absolutely central concept underlying any cosmic or human activity, including the making of music in the modern sense (what we would call composition and performance) and the effects of music on our bodies and souls (what we would call music aesthetics and music psychology, or simply pleasure and displeasure, and what we experience every time we listen or hear). The place of *musica* in the medieval epistemology, accordingly, is among the quadrivial sister disciplines of arithmetics, geometry, and astronomy; all four are in turn linked to each other by their emphasis on numbers. This is the lofty realm of the *musicus*, a world to be clearly distinguished from that of the practical musician (*De institutione musica*, bk. 1, ch. 33).

If anything we would call “music” is encompassed within *musica instrumentalis*, that is, within the realm of audible sounds, further differentiations would

have been familiar to our imaginary medieval friends. For example (and this is not hard to understand once we have absorbed Boethius), they would have perceived an enormous difference between organized, “rational” sounds, and irrational or disorganized sounds. Only rational sounds can be part of *musica* (*instrumentalis*), and their rational quality implies by definition that they can be described and defined through the Pythagorean system (and hence through numbers, which makes it easy to link *musica* with the movement of the stars, and with counting and measuring). The Pythagorean system, explained at great length by Boethius (and a staple of almost all medieval music treatises), translates relationships between pitches into relationships between whole numbers, i.e., proportions; for example, a proportion of 3:2 corresponds to what we call a perfect fifth. The irregular sounds of nature such as the waves of the ocean or the rustling of leaves, often described as a kind of “music” and experienced as beautiful by modern listeners, therefore are by definition not *musica*, for they are irrational. Another important distinction within *musica instrumentalis* even less familiar to us was drawn between the sounds of living things and inanimate matter. As Isidore of Seville (ca. 559–636) explains, the utterances of living things are called *vox* (“voice”). The sounds of inanimate objects, on the other hand, and that included random noises, but also musical instruments, is of a different category called *sonus* or *sonitus* (“sound”; see, e.g., Isidore, *Etymologiae*, bk. 3 ch. 20). This terminology survives in modern French and Italian, where “to play” an instrument is “sonner” or “suonare,” and also in musical terminology, where a “sonata” implicitly denotes an instrumental piece. If we superimpose the distinction between *vox* (animate) and *sonus* (inanimate) on the categories of rational (*musica*) and irrational sound introduced earlier, four categories emerge: irrational and inanimate (random sounds of nature or of man-made objects), irrational and animate (sounds of animals, but also disordered sounds produced by humans such as coughing), rational and inanimate (music performed or “sounded” by humans on natural or man-made objects, including musical instruments) and rational and animate (rationally organized sounds produced by the human body). The latter denotes specifically the human voice, i.e., rational speech and rationally organized singing. This explains the fundamental indivisibility of “text” and “music” in medieval aesthetics (the two are located not in an opposition but within a continuum). As mentioned before, these categories also imply a value judgment, and it is easy to see why rational and animate sounds are the most highly prized: they are closest to the nature of the divine which is embodied in the human capacity to reason (*ratio*), and ennobled by the life force or soul (*anima*) that the Creator gave to humankind. Moreover, song-speech is the only kind of sounds that can carry meaning through their association with language (the notion familiar to modern listeners

that instrumental music, too, can carry meaning would have been incomprehensible to medieval listeners and is, indeed, historically contingent on much later conventions associating certain instruments or instrumental gestures with a semantic dimension; after all, information transmitted through signals such as trumpet calls or alarm bells for us, too, acquires meaning only through the language they replace).



Fig. 1: An example of a “Concert of Angels” from St. Martin’s Church (Dome Cathedral), Cloister, Utrecht. Photo @ Albrecht Classen. This iconographical topos is frequently misunderstood as direct evidence for ways of performing medieval music when in fact the main thrust lies in evoking in the viewer the link between the harmony of the cosmos (*musica mundana*), the body (*musica humana*) and rationally organized sounds that human bodies actually can perceive (*musica instrumentalis*). In this case, a visual representation of singing, as evidenced by the gaping mouths of the three angels at the top, and the sounds of an instrument (below) are used to make this exemplification. While such images may at times also provide useful information for the reconstruction of medieval instruments or performing practices, considerable caution—as with all medieval visualizations—is advised against interpreting the evidence literally unless there is strong corroborating evidence to do so.

Thus, vocal music is the area to look at among musical genres if we want to get to know the sounds that to medieval culture were of the highest aesthetic and ethical

value, being as close as possible to the divine, and into which medieval culture invested the greatest amount of cultural capital set aside for *musica instrumentalis*. This automatically directs us to the music of the liturgy (plainchant) in the first instance, which re-voices the Word of God as transmitted to us in Holy Scripture every time it is celebrated. In the second instance, we must turn to song and poetry, which for much of the Middle Ages (if they were written down at all) were of a para-liturgical nature (and where in the corpus of “secular” poetry and music produced in the later Middle Ages theological principles are often present subliminally). Performing (declaming and/or singing), memorizing, making, and collecting texts and music therefore was not just primarily an act of social bonding, identity formation, or entertainment (although it undoubtedly fulfilled those functions, too); quite the contrary, it was in the first instance a deeply moral and pious exercise which had to be curated and received with the greatest sense of ethical responsibility, and therefore supervised with corresponding rigor by the ecclesiastical authorities.

C Singing the Liturgy, Writing Sounds: Neumatic Notation

If the Egyptian anchorites were the first systematically to use the singing of psalms for meditative practice and St. Augustine (354–430) the first to write extensively about the importance of psalmody in the liturgy, the Rule of Saint Benedict enshrined psalmody and, along with it, singing in the daily devotional practice of the clergy. Enunciating the texts of the liturgy (including but not limited to the psalms) in various vocal styles and registers ranging from heightened speech to complex melismatic patterns in fact can be traced to Hellenistic models that had been disseminated throughout the territories of the former Roman Empire and beyond. The geographic distances combined with the political upheavals of the almost five hundred years from the adoption of Christendom as the state religion by Constantine to the re-constitution of the (West) Roman Empire under Frankish rulers around 800, however, led to great divergences among local Christian liturgies. This development (and in particular the divergence between the rites of Rome and those of Frankish centers) was noted with great concern in Carolingian times. Reform of the liturgy and of liturgical singing consequently became a central project of the “Carolingian Renaissance.” Through merging contemporaneous Roman models as practiced in the time of Charlemagne with Frankish customs, a new type of liturgical singing was created—the origins of what is now known as plainchant or “Gregorian” chant (Page 2010).

Preserving this reformed Carolingian practice without further involuntary changes was perceived as being of the utmost importance.

As a result, new mnemotechnic devices were developed specifically for retaining and controlling the correct transmission of the myriad melodies, possibly taking advantage of the accent marks used by Greek (Byzantine) scholars (Atkinson 1995). These new signs were given the name “neumes” (the word is derived from the Greek word *pneûma* [πνεῦμα] = breath, immediately revealing its intimate link with the body, and with singing as well as speaking; in Latin usage it denoted “gesture” or “movement of the hand,” and when transferred to musical practice could also mean “musical element” or “melodic gesture,” i.e., a short melisma). Simultaneously with this Carolingian *correctio* the first wave of medieval theoretical manuals came into being; they were typically of a practical nature, designed to help teach novices the correct ways of singing and to inculcate the newly formulated system of ordering musical space, in the process also re-encoding the ancient lore of *musica*. The Carolingian treatises introduced, among other things, the ancestors of our modern seven letter names for the musical pitches (*a* through *g*), offered a classification of scale types into eight modes (the forebears of modern tonalities), and provided instructions accompanied by examples of how to perform chant (of which the neumes only notated the melodic contour) in polyphony (*organum*). They are shaped by and designed for the exigencies of monastic communities, and are therefore centered on the singing of the liturgy. Although the first organs—wondrous machines more than musical instruments the way we understand them today—were introduced into church spaces at about the same time, the intellectual concepts of music theory and the practices of teaching music were entirely constructed around the human voice and the need to discipline it through correct intonation and memorization of the numerous chants that had to be performed throughout the liturgical year. The neumes as first developed in (post-)Carolingian northwestern Europe encoded merely the general relationships between single and/or small groups of pitches, indicating no more than relative direction (rising or falling from one pitch to the next). They therefore did not measure the precise distance between pitches within the musical space as defined by the tonal system, nor is there any but the most rudimentary information on rhythm.

Driven by the prosody of the liturgical texts, neumes even in their present-day form as used in the reconstructed plainchant notation introduced during the nineteenth century and officially sanctioned by the Roman Catholic Church do not give any precise rhythmic indications. Hence, only the contours of a melody could be (and probably were deemed necessary to be) written down at first; the Carolingian system, as it emerges in the earliest surviving sources around 900, therefore fundamentally relied on the intensive use of human memory through

previously acquired knowledge of the melodies. Given the complexity of the liturgical chants and the immense scope of the repertoire that had to be retained, such “adiastematic” (= staveless) neumes apparently provided only inadequate support, at least for some, in the longer term. Visual enhancement was introduced in the early eleventh century, for example through the exact heightening of neumes by Aquitanian scribes (Grier 2013) and, decisively, through the addition of clefs and stave lines in Italy (Guido of Arezzo, *Prologus in Antiphonarium*). At first one, then three, eventually four lines measured the exact size of the intervals indicated by the neumes, giving origin to the staff lines and cleffing still used in modern notation. Such “diastematic” neumes still do not give more than rudimentary rhythmic indications, but the pitch content of diastematically notated melodies can be grasped with relative ease, facilitating memorization and making reference to authoritative copies kept by the cantor or cantrix possible. Even today, they allow us to read chant melodies with precision from the moment of their introduction onward. As other notations measuring rhythm were developed from the thirteenth century onward, chant books kept being notated in neumatic notation.

A range of neumatic styles (notational dialects) evolved early on around Carolingian centers, reaching a high level of sophistication in the earliest surviving sources already (Treitler 1992). They have been grouped by scholars into families along paleographical and geographical lines. Many of these local styles persisted well into the late Middle Ages; innovations in chant notation generally were slow and if implemented moved through highly specific networks along corporate or institutional filiations (e.g., within monastic reform movements such as the Dominicans) rather than by geographical proximity. They therefore did not necessarily percolate to physically adjacent institutions if these espoused different institutional lineages.

The most significant evolutionary change in terms of future developments is the emergence of so-called square notation (*nota quadrata*) in northern France, Normandy and England from the eleventh century onward. Perfected in Paris and the Ile-de-France in the thirteenth century, this very clearly legible neumatic notation was favored by the new mendicant orders who were keen to ensure uniformity of chant practices throughout their houses regardless of geographical distance and local traditions. The new square notation rapidly supplanted older forms of chant notation in western and southern Europe, Britain and Scandinavia during the later Middle Ages. Meanwhile, in the Rhineland, central, and eastern Europe, late medieval chant manuscripts tend to use so-called “Gothic” or Hufnagel neumes which emerged at about the same time as square notation but are derived from the older notational styles of eastern and southern Germany, Switzerland, Austria, and Poland.

The medieval tone system as it had taken shape around 1300 and as it was described in almost identical form already in Guido's *Micrologus* (ca. 1025) was made up of twenty degrees or *claves* (Γ A B C D E F G a b c d e f g aa bb cc dd ee) arranged consecutively in ascending order. It includes two types of intervals of different size that occur between individual degrees: whole tones (9:8) and semitones. The semitone, according to Pythagoras, can take two different forms, a diatonic (256:243) and a chromatic one (2187:2048); either sounds sharper to the ear than modern equal-tempered semitones. While whole tones are the default setting between individual steps, a semitone invariably occurs between E/e and F/f. A semitone can also be placed between a/aa and b/bb, or—depending on the scale type (“mode”)—between b/bb and c/cc. The articulation of the degrees b and bb therefore is not fixed; the exact position of the pitch shifts in relationship to a/aa and c/cc. To clarify this built-in ambiguity, hexachords were superimposed on the gamut. Derived from a hymn in praise of St. John the Baptist perhaps composed specifically as a mnemonic tool for the purpose, the six syllables ut, re, mi, fa, sol and la were arranged in a fixed order (whole tone—whole tone—semitone—whole tone—whole tone). When combined with the gamut at pitches C/c (“natural”), Γ /G/g (“hard”), and F/f (“soft” hexachords) they form an interlocking system of seven hexachords that precisely maps the occurrence of a semitone at the combination of the syllables mi-fa onto the twenty *claves* from Γ to ee. This invention (“solmization”), like the stave lines, was first described by Guido of Arezzo in the early eleventh century (*Epistola ad Michahelem*); the system is confirmed in the writings of Johannes (Cotto or Affligemensis) in his *De musica cum tonario* (ca. 1100). In conjunction with the gamut, it formed the backbone of music education, and consequently, of the conceptualization of musical space, for centuries to come. We still use a slightly modified system today, and in the Romance languages the solmization syllables are used instead of the letter names to indicate pitches (e.g., la = pitch *a*). Yet another ingenuous teaching tool attributed to Guido (although it probably evolved organically out of older practices of cheironomy) and first discussed by the aforementioned Johannes (Cotto or Affligemensis) maps the medieval tone system onto a series of positions on the hand marked by the knuckles of the five fingers, the so-called Guidonian hand. This allowed singers and singing teachers to experience a melody through physical gestures, too, thereby supporting memorization (Berger 2002).

Concerning the teaching of musical skills outside ecclesiastic settings, very little information is available. It may be reasonable to presume that any systematic education in music theory would have been dependent on the teachings described above to a significant extent. Unwritten musical or music-related practices, both of (folk or epic) singing and of performing on instruments, as well as any gesturing and dancing associated with them, would have been taught

entirely by imitating and memorizing (rote learning). It is possible, indeed likely that these practices may have stepped well outside the boundaries set by the highly specific teachings applied to novices that needed to learn to sing chant. The frequently disapproving commentaries made by ecclesiastic authorities on the musicking that took place outside the sacred precincts, removed from the control of the Church, suggest a highly complex soundscape that is now largely lost to us.

The practice of performing chant polyphonically (*organum*) is discussed intermittently throughout the Middle Ages, starting with the late and post-Carolingian writing such as *Musica enchiriadis* (ca. 900). Such techniques of performing chant were reserved for feast days within the liturgical calendar, highlighting their special importance, but were not normally written down; the treatises typically confine themselves to explaining the principles, and at times giving examples of how a melody should or could be performed in this particularly festive and elaborate way. Details were ostensibly worked out in rehearsal and then extemporized on the spot as a practice, much in the way musicians today might improvise a second or third voice to a well-known tune in a suitable style; for us, too, there would not be much point in or need for taking the trouble required to notate such extemporizations although one can imagine that a primer might be useful, especially for teaching purposes. As a result, only very occasionally, particularly elaborate or noteworthy *exempla* were put down in writing; significant corpora include the two-part organa of Winchester cathedral, retained as early as the first half of the eleventh century in the so-called Winchester Troper (Rankin 2007), or the group of manuscript sources transmitting *organa* from twelfth-century Aquitania (Fuller 1969 and 1979). Related practices of varying style and complexity are documented throughout the later Middle Ages, for example in Italy (“cantus planus binatim”) and in England (“faburden”), and we may assume that they were pervasive, and were in existence well before the earliest written references.

D Writing Time: Mensural Notation

In late twelfth and early thirteenth-century Paris, the confluence of ecclesiastic institutions including the newly founded university together with the patronage exerted by powerful churchmen and aristocrats within the confines of the city engendered an unusually fertile intellectual climate that also saw the development of new techniques of notation capable of encoding rhythm. This was accomplished at first by clever manipulation of neumes comprising small groups of individual pitches (so-called “modal notation”); beginning around the middle

of the thirteenth century, the respective note shapes themselves were graphically altered, engendering a new set of notational symbols that visually encoded both rhythm and pitch in their specific *figurae* or shapes (“Franconian notation,” ca. 1280). If only two standard note values were being distinguished in the modal notation of the “Notre Dame School,” a long (“longa”) and a short one (“brevis”), the possibility to subdivide the *brevis* (or *breve*) into smaller units (“semibreves”) was codified in Franconian notation, and avidly practiced and explored in the so-called “ars antiqua” style of the later thirteenth and early fourteenth century. In fact, the amount of possible subdivisions of the *breve* and their justification became the subject of considerable debate around and shortly after 1300, extending from Paris and northern France (Petrus de Cruce, fl. 1290–1300) to Italy (Marchettus of Padua, fl. 1305–1320) and northwestern Europe (Robertus de Handlo in England, fl. around 1325). By the second decade of the fourteenth century, Parisian circles around Johannes de Muris (fl. 1310–1340) and Philippe de Vitry (1291–1361) introduced a fourth note value, the *minim* (“minima”), understood as a subdivision of the *semibreve*, alongside the option of subdividing note values not just in three, but also in two equal parts (so-called “French” or “ars nova” notation), while Italian notators in the wake of Marchettus developed a system based on a set of varying but intrinsically fixed subdivisions of the *breve* into as much as twelve *semibreves* (so-called “Italian” or “Trecento” notation). In England, further local variants were in use throughout the fourteenth century (“English” notation). By the late fourteenth century, the French system (“ars nova notation”) was making ever greater inroads throughout Europe, gradually replacing or merging with local variants of notating *musica mensurabilis*. Around 1400, notational styles introducing a flurry of further subdivisions on a level below the *minim* (for example “semiminims”) temporarily flourished (“ars subtilior”) alongside simpler “ars nova” styles. The notational system used for mensurally notated polyphony stabilized around 1425–1430, largely abandoning the rhythmic complexities of the “ars subtilior” style in favor of a new focus on contrapuntal artistry. Around the same time, the visual appearance of notation shifted from black to void note-heads as the scribal default setting. The notational system of the mid-fifteenth century remained essentially unchanged until the end of the sixteenth century.

The complexities of the mensural system of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century probably made it inaccessible to anyone but an insider group of highly specialized singer-composers, giving rise to simplified or hybrid (“pragmatic”) notation styles from ca. 1400 onward that combine elements drawn from mensural notation with elements drawn from notating chant. These are often found in association with sources linked to urban (lay) reform movements such as the *devotio moderna* in the Low Countries and northern Germany. Such groups

cherished music as a social or devotional practice but explicitly distanced themselves from the conspicuously sophisticated and resource-intensive cultural practices associated with elite establishments which they often explicitly rejected on social and religious grounds.

Another notational system used in northwestern Europe during the early fifteenth century is the so-called “stroke notation,” in fact a simplified version of “standard” mensural notation (De Loos 2010). These phenomena show that the innovations thought up in clerical and university milieus in thirteenth-century Paris and designed to measure and order, i.e., to compose, (musical) time had trickled down to wider groups of the population by the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries at the latest, making “mensural” music a staple of music life not just among clerical elites and at the courts of the aristocracy, but also among townsfolk in general, and among less well-to-do ecclesiastical and lay communities in particular.

Specific notations for instruments (“tablatures”) adapted from the systems developed for chant and mensurally conceived polyphony begin to appear in the fourteenth century and reached wider dissemination by the fifteenth century. An isolated early witness of keyboard tablature hails from fourteenth-century England (the so-called “Robertsbridge” fragment, British Library Add. 28550). In the fifteenth century, a number of sources from the German-speaking area have come down to us, including large-scale collections (“Buxheim Organ Book,” Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. ms. 3725). In Italy, a monumental and sophisticated source now kept at Faenza (Memelsdorff 2013) transmits diminutions of vocal models notated in a style quite different from that found in the English and German sources. Like so often, these isolated surviving sources seem to represent the tip of an iceberg – in this case of highly ornate instrumental performance practices grounded in vocally conceived polyphonic pieces and plainchant melodies. Such practices in all likelihood were a pervasive but largely unrecorded phenomenon of the soundscape of late-medieval Europe.

E Music for Voices

What kind of music was notated with these various systems? The bulk of the music written down and copied in the Middle Ages was plainchant, i.e., the monophonically notated melodies associated with performing the liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church. Next to that, we find a variety of monophonically notated genres designed to embellish and elaborate the liturgy: tropes (textual or melodic additions to pre-existing chants), sequences (newly composed texts and melodies of considerable length used in the Mass) and hymns (strophic compositions

associated with the Office). A veritable explosion of creativity can be noted in this domain from late Carolingian times through the high Middle Ages (ca. 850–1150), although it should not be overlooked that the production or adaptation of new sequences and hymns, including new texts for pre-existing melodies and new musical settings of pre-existing texts, continued throughout the later Middle Ages (ca. 1150–1500), as did the production of new Offices. We owe the first names of poet-composers to this first great wave of monophonic composition, such as Tuotilo (ca. 900) at St. Gall, or Adémar of Chabannes (ca. 989–1034) at Limoges who also was a scribe and notator; his are the first musical autographs to survive (e.g., Paris, BnF, lat. 909; Grier 2006). A century and a half later the musico-poetic oeuvre of Hildegard von Bingen (1098–1179) stands out. In the decades around 1200, Philip the Chancellor (ca. 1160/70–ca. 1236) in Paris generated texts for a number of musical settings, both monophonic and polyphonic (whether he created any of their melodies remains unclear), and as late as the fifteenth century, singer-composers such as Guillaume Du Fay (1397–1474) still occasionally wrote new chants (Haggh 1988). Generally speaking, it is safe to say that the liturgical and para-liturgical Latin-texted repertoire forms the backbone and the bulk of the written record of music produced in, and surviving from, the Middle Ages. Its quantity is vast compared to the repertoires discussed in the following paragraphs, and its thematic range extends from the elaboration of the liturgy via its exegesis through poetry and song to pointed criticism of the times in the later Middle Ages.

It is impossible to disentangle the cult of the Holy Virgin from the emergence of written vernaculars in the later Middle Ages which also enabled the formation and subsequent collecting of a distinct aristocratic and sometimes civic, “secular” corpus of song and poetry cast in those vernaculars. Most often describing or addressing an unreachable or idealized female who shares many attributes with the Virgin (*fin’amors*), the topics of such songs also extend to pastoral (erotic) themes or conviviality (drinking songs), nor do they shirk the occasional political commentary. The cultural practice of *trobare* (literally “finding”), or its equivalent in the other vernaculars, i.e., the artful forging of new texts and/or melodies according to the rules of *musica*, was a practice of nobles in the first instance. Their ranks included such high-placed individuals as Guillaume IX, Duke of Aquitaine (1071–1126), grandfather of the famous Eleanor of Aquitaine, Queen of France and later England (1122/24–1204), Thibaut IV, Count of Champagne and Brie and later King of Navarre (1201–1253), or Henry VI of Hohenstaufen (1165–1197), Holy Roman Emperor from 1191 till his death. But the culture of late-medieval song also had room for talented individuals of lesser, even non-noble birth, such as Conon de Béthune (ca. 1160–1219 or 1220), the son of a *seigneur* of Béthune in Artois who belonged to the lower ranks of the

nobility, or Bernart de Ventadorn (ca. 1130–1140 to ca. 1190–1200), a commoner who served at the court of Eleanor of Aquitaine. It also flourished among the uppermost strata of civic society in the prosperous cities of the later Middle Ages such as Arras, Paris, or Bruges; Adam de la Halle (born 1245–1250, died in the 1280s or early 1300s), a native of Arras active in Paris and later at the Angevin court in Naples, and his partner in several *jeux-partis*, Jehan Bretel (ca. 1210–1272), are cases in point.

The practice of *trobar* goes back at least to the mid-twelfth century, to judge by isolated references to dateable events, and arguably beyond (Haines 2010), but the large repertoire manuscripts that transmit the bulk of the surviving corpus were produced (or have survived) from the thirteenth century onward only. The topics treated range from the sublimely spiritual over texts in praise of a lady (some of them generic, others connected with historically identifiable individuals) to political commentary (quite often related to the Crusades) and also include erotic subject matter as well as sometimes biting forms of self-irony. The *Cantigas de Santa Maria* for example, collected in several manuscripts produced in the orbit of Alfonso X of Castile around 1280, assemble an extensive repertoire of vernacular song dedicated to the Virgin. At about the same time (ca. 1260–1340), repertoire manuscripts of “classic” *trobador* and *trouvère* songs and texts cast in the southern French *langue d’oc* (Occitan/Provençal) and northern French *langue d’oïl* (= Old French) as well as the Germanic vernaculars (“Minnesang”) were assembled, typically in retrospective collections that might be looking back a century in time or more (see the contribution to this *Handbook* by A. Classen on “Love, Sex, and Marriage”). For the Occitan/Provençal repertory, the principal sources known today originated in Languedoc (Paris, BnF fr. 22543) and Lombardy (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana S.P.4), but the transmission and copying of Occitan song also extended to northern France, Spain (Catalonia), and other parts of Italy. In the case of the *trouvère* (*langue d’oïl*) repertoire, the manuscript transmission is centered on northern France (Picardy and Artois; for example, the “Chansonniere du Roi” BnF fr. 844), while the German Minnesang melodies survive in relatively late sources starting with the “Jenaer Liederhandschrift” (Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, El. f. 101; Central Germany, ca. 1330) and continuing into the fifteenth century (e.g., Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 2856, “Mondsee-Wiener Liederhandschrift”) in manuscripts provenant from the Rhineland, southern Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. Monophonically notated collections continued to be copied through the end of the Middle Ages; examples include the so-called “Gruuthuse manuscript” preserving a lively repertoire of songs and poetry in Middle Dutch from Bruges, ca. 1400 (The Hague, Royal Library, 79 K 10), or the “Bayeux manuscript” of French monophonic songs collected ca. 1500 (Paris, BnF fr. 9346).

Parisian sources of the mid-thirteenth century such as the famous codex “F” (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, plut. 29,1; Haggh and Huglo 2004) offer the first evidence of transferring the new technology of mensurally notating polyphony from the realm of the liturgy to song. This transfer predictably first took place in the clerical and university milieu, giving rise, on one hand, to polyphonic settings of an older Latin-texted type of song, the *conductus* (with possible links to Aquitania), and, on the other hand, the *motet*, one of the most long-lived and complex genres of the western music tradition. This repertoire is transmitted anonymously, a characteristic that distinguishes the genres tied to the clerical milieu or the liturgy (*conductus*, *organum*, *motet*) from the *trobador/trouvère/Minnesänger* tradition, where names and even “biographies” (*vidas*) are readily provided, although by modern scholarly standards it is difficult indeed to tease out fact from fiction in these narratives. The precise identities of the persons behind two much-quoted names famously associated with the so-called “Notre-Dame polyphony” of late twelfth and early thirteenth century Paris—the older Leoninus “*optimus organista*” and the somewhat younger Perotinus “*optimus discantor*”—remain shady, too; the two names have come down to us through a single source only (the so-called Anonymous IV) dated around 1300. In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, it remains notoriously difficult to link names such as Petrus de Cruce (Pierre de la Croix, fl. around 1290–1300) or Philippe de Vitry (1291–1361) with specific pieces.

The thirteenth-century *motet* quickly jumped the linguistic divide, combining rhythmicized snippets of chant (in Latin) with either spiritual and admonitory (Latin) or amorous, sometimes outright racy upper-voice texts in the vernacular (Old French), and piling at least two, but often as many as three or even four texts on top of one another. If the genesis of the new mensurally notated repertoire seems at first to have been centered on Paris and northern France, the musical technologies associated with it quickly spread to the rest of Europe, giving rise initially to significant transfers of Notre-Dame style settings across Europe (for example to Scotland or Castile) and soon to the creation of new repertoires and styles of mensural polyphony derived from French models but in a distinctive regional style. This was particularly the case in England (Latin-texted *motets*, again transmitted mostly anonymously) and Italy (above all vernacular-texted song, including copious ascriptions) in the course of the fourteenth century. In northern France, courtly song was transformed between the late thirteenth to the late fourteenth century from a monophonically notated into a polyphonic genre; if polyphonic elaborations survive in limited quantity in the works of Adam de la Halle (ca. 1270–1280), they dominate the musical oeuvre of poet-musician Guillaume de Machaut (ca. 1300–1377) and are cultivated extensively during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century alongside the *motet* throughout northwes-

tern Europe. The same goes for the Italian peninsula, where an autochthonous tradition of polyphonic song (so-called “Trecento” polyphony) evolved in northern Italy (Padua, Verona) and Tuscany (Florence) but toward the end of the fourteenth century merged with the pronounced taste for French-texted and French-styled chansons cultivated first at certain courts with political ties to France, notably Milan, and later sweeping the peninsula at large. Large retrospective de-luxe sources such as the famous “Squarcialupi codex” (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, ms. Mediceo Palatino 87, copied in Florence for an unknown patron in the early fifteenth century) not only deliver a large, quasi-encyclopedic, and ascribed repertoire (in the case of Squarcialupi even including miniatures of each poet-musician with identifiable characteristics that stand up to archival scrutiny) but also attest to a distinct awareness of the different styles co-existing on the peninsula at the time – in the case of Squarcialupi by deliberately focusing exclusively on Italian and specifically Tuscan musicians, with all that entailed for local (Tuscan) identity formation, elsewhere by collecting music in French, or in both, styles. Some of the most famous names in late-medieval music history such as Francesco Landini (ca. 1325–1397) or, in the north, Guillaume de Machaut (ca. 1300–1377) have come down to us specifically through the channel of these very late “troubadour-style” manuscripts, whereas sources of polyphony of a more utilitarian nature compiled throughout Europe in the years around and after 1400 tend to be much more parsimonious with such ascriptive detail until well into the fifteenth century, following earlier practice.

The fourteenth century also witnessed the emergence of polyphonic settings of the Mass Ordinary, a noteworthy development because in previous centuries compositional activity for the liturgy had been strictly centered on the Mass Proper and the Office. The reasons for this shift must probably be sought in the rise of lay piety and the consequent increase in secular patrons that characterized the fourteenth and the fifteenth century. At first, only isolated sections of the Ordinary were elaborated in mensural polyphony, in particular the Gloria and the Credo, as visible in codices Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare 115 (Kügler 1997) and Apt, Cathédrale Sainte-Anne, Bibliothèque du chapitre 16bis (Tomasello 1983). An isolated full set survives by Machaut. By the early fifteenth century, copyists—and probably performers, too—began to create sets of settings they found pleasing together, such as Gloria-Credo pairs or (less frequently) the opening Mass “cycle” of manuscript Bologna, Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica Q15, which unites five Ordinary movements by several composers into a *pasticcio* Mass, as recent research has shown (Bent 2008). An anonymous composition of English origin, the so-called “Caput Mass” (named after a chant melisma on the word “caput” from which it draws its musical and symbolic structure; Robertson 2006), by the 1440s paradigmatically introduced the use of a pre-existing melody

(“cantus firmus”), a technique borrowed from the motet that could serve as a unifying device linking the five Ordinary movements into an ordered whole. This would have been the case at least for singers and other connoisseurs, for the five polyphonic settings would not have been heard sequentially as they are in modern performances. Rather, they were integrated into the full course of the Mass liturgy and therefore interspersed with the various (monophonically or polyphonically executed) plainchants appropriate for a given celebration. Nor is the borrowed melody necessarily set in a way as to be readily audible. The new technique swept the courts of Europe, giving rise to a rich harvest of cantus firmus-based Mass settings by singer-composers such as Guillaume Du Fay (1397–1474), Johannes Ockeghem (1410–1497), Jacob Obrecht (1457/58–1505), and Josquin Desprez (ca. 1450–1521), to name but the most famous representatives.

Singers of mensural polyphony at the time typically were trained in the cathedral and collegiate churches of northern France and the (southern) Low Countries, and recruited by the princes of the world and the Church to be whisked away to courtly and ecclesiastic centers in Italy, France, Iberia, Germany, and Austria. By the end of the fifteenth century, the Brabançon singer, composer and theorist Johannes Tinctoris (ca. 1430/35–1511, active at the court of Naples), in his *Terminorum musicae diffinitorium* (compiled before 1475, printed version Treviso 1495), classified the Mass as the most demanding of genres of mensurally composed polyphony (“cantus magnus”) whereas motet (“cantus mediocris”) and song (“cantus parvus”) were seen as less challenging owing to their smaller scope (Kirkman 2001). However, the two latter genres continued to thrive alongside the Mass, leading to prototypical styles such as the extravagantly complex “ars subtilior” of the period around 1400–1420, or the restrained beauty of the so-called “Burgundian” chanson of the early fifteenth century.

F Music for Instruments

The medieval epistemology of music, rooted in Boethius and other early Christian writers, accounts for the aesthetic bias against instruments and the players of instruments, especially the so-called minstrels, jongleurs (*joglars*), or Spielleute who were by definition not members of the clergy or noble-born. However, minstrels could be organized in guilds in late-medieval towns, thereby acquiring at times considerable civic standing, and—certainly by the later Middle Ages—they had their own infrastructure, in particular their annual meetings during Lent called *puy*. While often highly prized, such performers were not necessarily privy to the formal training in *musica* laid out above and, by extension, to the technology of notating music mensurally, which was confined to members of

the clergy by virtue of the lengthy training it required. Nevertheless, as pointed out above, by the later Middle Ages at least the basics of that clerical knowledge concerning mensural notation—just like alphabetic literacy—had entered the stockpile of common knowledge, especially among urban populations.

Even so, we know comparatively very little of instrumental music in the Middle Ages; and what we do know, is often filtered through the eyes and ears of clerics, if it is not part and parcel of visual or textual narratives or of archival documents (for example, payments for services rendered). Such iconographical, narrative, and archival sources allow us to gain at least an indirect glimpse of the musical world of the Middle Ages outside the Church. We know, for example, that during the later Middle Ages nobles and townsfolk alike prized skilled players, and that the German-speaking lands in particular produced highly sought-after instrumentalists (Polk 1992). By the fifteenth century, we also find the first substantial witnesses that notate instrumental music practices, at first in Italy (Faenza, Biblioteca comunale 117) and later in southern Germany and Austria (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. 3725 = “Buxheimer Orgelbuch”), as mentioned earlier. Around 1300, the French writer Johannes de Grocheio—probably a cleric associated with the university - gives us a tantalizing glimpse of the *musica civilis* (the music consumed and deemed suitable by him for lay people) in Paris, including some sentences (but no more!) about instrumental music (Page 1993). In sum, sophisticated music-making on instruments was no doubt an integral part of courtly and civic life, and also found its way into monastic and clerical spaces despite its morally somewhat questionable qualities, but most of its sounds are lost to us. All the notated instrumental music that we have from the Middle Ages remains dependent on models derived from vocal music, be it chant, monophonic song, or the new mensural polyphony of the fourteenth and fifteenth century. The next logical step—composing notated parts for instruments in combination with voices, or composing music specifically for instruments, occurred only around 1600 and hence falls beyond the scope of this essay.

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Moritz Wedell

Numbers

Translated by Erik Born

A Introduction

Abstraction, mathematical rationality, and scientific progress are commonly the main criteria for modern scholarship's interest in numbers. Against this background, the task of historicizing research is to bring the emergence of scientific thought in line with a more encompassing history of numerical knowledge. If the history of numbers is reduced to that of mathematical rationality, it ignores a large part of the tradition. Reducing the history of numbers to that of their religious usage, on the other hand, is just as blind. Mathematical rationality and religious symbolism are only two aspects of the medieval use of numbers that emerge from their complex history, and they are only dominant in particular contexts.

My overview a history of numerical knowledge from the perspective of forms of use that were developed for dealing with numbers. Even though this article will refer to many particular and diverse contexts of counting, measuring, calculating, and theorizing, it cannot discuss all the fields that were relevant to the history of numerical knowledge comprehensively. In particular, this article will focus on the history of numerical knowledge in the Christian west. I proceed from the most widespread practices, and then, step-by-step, sketch out the special developments that characterized the medieval history of numerical knowledge. I begin with the act of counting and the notation of numbers (B); move from the role of numerals in medieval writing practices (C) to the practices of measuring (D) and calculating (E.; and close with comments on medieval theory building (F), on speculative interpretations of numbers (G), and with a short conclusion (H).

In doing so, the article focuses on the phenomenality of number—i.e., number as a *spoken* counting word (B); as a *graphic figure* carved in wood or written on parchment (B); as a *formal pattern* that organizes books and memory (C); as a *verbal expression* for the documentation of quantities (D); as a *manual or symbolic instrument* of calculation (E); as a *formally structured multitude* determined by arithmetic properties (F), which as *symbolic carriers* organize interpretation processes as well as the production of texts and works of art (G). Thus, the approach allows for an exploration of how these varying phenomena of number *incorporate*

different kinds of semantic saturation that derive from the various fields of its use. As a result, this focus also contributes to dissolving traditional disciplinary gaps, especially the opposition between the history of science, which traditionally deals with the history of numerical knowledge, and historical branches of the humanities, which handle semantic and narrative phenomena.

Methodologically, it is essential to note that these diverse forms of expressing and notating numbers existed side-by-side in the Middle Ages. Such distribution and variation can be explained according to criteria of function and mediality, according to geographic divisions, and according to practitioners' educational and social milieus. From a comprehensive point of view, however, numbers in the Middle Ages tended primarily to serve the purposes of counting or indicating the results of counting (B). In particular, they served as signs for documenting numerical values in the form of number symbols. Other levels of meaning could also be ascribed to numbers, including the production of hierarchies (examples in C III–IV) and the creation of analogies with biblical numbers or cosmic proportions (G II). Numbers were used verbally and thus could be described from the perspective of grammar (F VI); and at the same time, they merged into the innumerable units of medieval measurement (D II 1). From this more comprehensive vantage point, mathematics represents a smaller portion of the use of numbers. For this reason, the history of numerals, number words, and number symbols, also has to be considered apart from that of calculation. Although numerals were used in a variety of contexts for purposes of notation, they were themselves instruments of calculation in only one main context, namely, the adaptation of the Indian method of reckoning from the Arabic sphere and its development within the scholarly and commercial framework of the western Middle Ages (E V–VI). Otherwise, numerals served as notation for numbers, while calculation was carried out with auxiliary devices, such as the abacus (E II, III), the technique of finger counting (E III) or various types of tables (C V).

The Latin and vernacular number words were the most widespread means of handling numbers in the Middle Ages (B I). On the side of notation, the tally stick was the universal medium for the use of numbers (B II). From the perspective of media history, tallies stand at the cusp of literacy and are used across spaces and milieus. In the written tradition, Roman numerals are the oldest way of writing numbers and remained dominant until the sixteenth century (B III). Alongside this numeral system, many other groups or systems of signs appeared for specific applications (B IV). At first, the Hindu-Arabic numerals also had the status of such a specialized system, with their impact becoming clear only in the later Middle Ages. The history of their reception is not linear, and they reached wide acceptance only after many fits and starts (B V). Another prominent subset of numerical signs involves the numbers used in the technique of finger counting, a

practice with a special status in computation on account of its unique mediality (E.III).

B Counting with Words and Notating Numbers as Symbols

In the semi-oral culture of the Middle Ages, the ubiquitous medium for using numbers was language (B I), and in the domain of notation, across various milieus, it was the tally stick (B II). Both media were determined by the conditions of face-to-face communication. To some extent, language and tally sticks could also provide for the spatial and temporal storage of numbers. Depending on the milieu, they were influenced by knowledge of the tradition of literacy. Certain types of tally sticks almost had the status of official written documents. Nevertheless, they differ from types of notation for numeral systems that were decidedly written (B III V).

While Roman numerals were the most widespread numeral system (B III), Hindu-Arabic numerals were connected with the most long term innovation, gradually spreading over a large area and taking effect discontinuously through a historical combination of social, educational, economic, and scientific factors (B V). Alongside these systems for notating numbers, the largest part of those that existed for special uses never took hold and fell out of use (B IV).

The history of the notation of numbers is closely connected to a series of further developments: the appearance of procedures for organizing texts and the manuscript page (C II); the development of bookkeeping especially in connection with making commodities measurable and adjusting writing for both practice to administrative needs (C III); the tabular arrangement of relations among numbers in calculation tables and for the representation of knowledge in number theory (C IV–V; F); and lastly, developments in speculative arithmetic (G I).

I Number Words

The acts of naming quantities and of counting verbally were the most basic ways of using and understanding numbers in the Middle Ages. This is not as trivial as it may appear at first glance. On the one hand, number words served to name quantities. On the other hand, as a series, they formed the sequence of *cardinal numbers* (one, two, three). These, in turn, corresponded to a series of further types of numerals: *ordinal numbers* (first, second, third), which express sequence order,

or rank; *distributive numbers* (two-by-two, three-by-three, four-by-four; two at a time, three at a time, four at a time), which organize the size of groups; *iterative numbers* (twice, three times, four times), which indicate repetition; *multipliers* (double, triple, quadruple), which indicate multiples of something; *collective numbers* (a dozen), which are units for particular quantities; *fractions* (a half, a third, a fourth); and *natural language quantifiers* (much, little). In the medieval Latin discourse, all of these numerals are incorporated into the typology of the *species numerorum* (F.VI).

While the inventory of medieval number words is well documented in dictionaries of medieval languages, there are still no comprehensive studies of their grammatical qualities, and scholarship remains largely limited to grammatical reference works (for a contemporary approach based on modern languages see Wiese 2003). As a result, historical studies lack important insights about the medieval understanding of numbers and of groups of things, particularly in the vernaculars.

Grammatically, the words for numbers in medieval languages were incoherent, even more so than in modern languages. Today, we usually classify medieval number words, like modern ones, as adjectives. However, in many cases, these words function grammatically as substantives, adverbs, and indefinite pronouns. These classifications are contested even within individual languages, as the typological studies of Indo-Germanic by Greenberg (1978) and Gvozdanovic (1999) have shown (on the origin of Indo-Germanic counting words see Nehring 1929). In the case of the premodern German language, arguments about these diverse classifications are based partly on the etymology of number words (Schmid 1987), and partly on the differences among regional numeric systems that the numerals corresponded to (Schuppener 1996; 2002).

The grammatical function of number words was the main contributing factor in the assimilation of their formal properties (Wiese 1996). Historically, their use in recurring syntactic contexts led to the assimilation of what were originally heterogeneous expressions. This process applies not only to the formal but also the conceptual properties of number words. It is particularly conducive to the formation of recursive procedures that govern the production of compound number words (e.g., thir-teen, four-teen, fif-teen, twenty-one, twenty-two, etc.). Menninger (1969, 71–86) presents empirical examples of such procedures. Wiese (1997) develops a theoretical model for generating number words (succinctly, Wiese 2001; Wedell 2011, 59–62 on Middle High German). Although the number words form a category on their own and apart from this trend of homogenization, the medieval counting words do at the same time belong in the heterogeneous field of names for units of measurement, which is discussed in section D II 1.

Finally, it is striking that the medieval counterparts of the modern words for *counting* in Germanic and Romance languages, also refer semantically not only to quantification, but also to acts of ranking, of distribution, etc. While there is a certain variety among these languages, the semantic scope of words (ae. *tael*, it. *conto*, germ. *zal*, etc.) and affixes largely corresponds to the functions of the various types of number words (for a case study on Middle High German *zal/zeln*, see Wedell 2011).

II Material Counting Notations (Tally Sticks)

The elementary form of notation for counting is accumulating notches on a tally stick. Interestingly, this form of notation is almost a material realization of what is arguably the ontological core of counting—an iterative linguistic gesture of saying “this.” As Leibniz (1646–1716) put it in his *Confessio philosophi, cum numeramus [...] dicimus hoc (numerare enim est repetitum hoc)*: “when we count, that is, when we say *this* (for to *count* is to repeat *this*)” (Leibniz 2005, 102). Etymologically, the expressions for counting in both Romance and Germanic languages can be traced back to the notches on tally sticks (cf. Bugge 1870, 423, 434–35; Rosenhagen 1920; Brøndal 1948, 164–65). The semantic range of words for counting in the Middle Ages (*tell*, *count*, *zählen*, *compter*, B.I) may have developed from this practice, given the horizons of a (semi)oral culture (Wedell 2004; 2011).

The advantages of using tally sticks are obvious: they can be easily transported and they last longer than paper; they can be used simply for recording amounts, or for documenting sums of money or amounts of particular wares; and literacy is not necessarily a prerequisite for their use. In the simplest case, tally sticks were used privately as counting sticks. In trade, they often served as documents of credits and debts. To guarantee the validity of the documentation, they were frequently broken right across the notches, and each of the partners in the contract received one half of the stick. When the debt was being settled up, both of these halves had to fit together, as a means of monitoring the process. No other contemporary technique of documentation guaranteed such a high degree of protection against forgery as did tally sticks. The medieval English financial administration used official tally sticks that could be given out as receipts for taxes that had been paid.

Research on the medieval use of tally sticks is difficult because the logic of these objects dictates that they were destroyed after use. Given what objects have been preserved, however, we can proceed from the premise that they were used as the basic medium for handling numbers a million times over (Clanchy 2013, 126).

One of the largest collections of tally sticks that have survived is in the University Museum in Bergen, Norway. It is a collection of objects that come from the movements of traders at the Hanseatic port of Bryggen (Bergen). Significant objects in this collection have been researched, classified, and contextualized by Axel Grandell (for an extensive overview including other material from all of Europe, see Grandell 1982; for studies of specific objects, Grandell 1984; 1985; 1986; 1988; for a formal typology of the Bergen tallies, Wedell 2011, 206–12). Roman Kovalev connected these findings to birch-bark inscriptions and tally sticks from the Russian Baltic Sea area—another large collection is preserved in the State History Museum in Novgorod, Russia. As a result, he was able to draw new conclusions about the economic practices of the Hanseatic region, especially about the development of a credit economy (2000; 2002; 2003a; 2003b; 2003c; 2009; a formal and functional typology of the Novgorod tallies is given in Kovalev 2007).

A third large inventory of objects is the English financial administration's tally sticks, today preserved in several institutions: Public Record Office, Bank of England, British Museum, Greater London. These tally sticks, which combine a very elaborate code of notches with inscriptions made in ink, were described by Sir Hilary Jenkinson (1911; 1913; on their position in economic history, see Baxter 1994). Support for an interpretation of the use of this sign system to make tally sticks function as receipts for taxes, can be found in Ricardus of Ely's (also known as Ricardus Thesaurarius, Richard FitzNigel, or Richard FitzNeal; ca. 1130–1198) contemporary *Dialogus de scaccario* (I, V). Information about the ceremony in which the notching was made, was collected by Jones (2008; 2009), and contextualized and historically reconstructed by Kypta (Kypta 2014). Here, official tally sticks should be differentiated from tally sticks that were exhibited privately, the latter being based on the official pieces in their forms but freer and more situation-dependent in their details (Jenkinson 1924).

Research has developed in a new direction in light of the paradigm of orality and literacy, with tally sticks frequently being interpreted as part of the history of writing. Crucial for any interpretation of the tradition is the transition from sequential counting to more complex forms of signs that are closer to writing in a strict sense. As a result of this new direction in research, several scholars have revisited the archaeological records (Vernus-Mouton 1991; Kuchenbuch 1999; 2002; Kovalev 2000; 2002a; 2002b; 2003a; 2003b; 2003c; 2007; 2009; Wedell 2011, 183–304). This approach applies to the material tradition and especially to pictorial material, on the basis of which we can reconstruct the use of tally sticks (Kuchenbuch 2002; Kovalev 2002b; 2003b; Wedell 2011, 259–67). An inquiry by the Annales School assembled further material, though it only partly stretched back to the Middle Ages (Berthet 1949; Febvre 1951; cf. Hémardinquer 1963; 1972). A few older monographs that were hardly developed further but remain in no way

obsolete, were dedicated to the economic and legal history of tally sticks (Kostanecki 1900; Reichel 1748; Fuchs 1668).

III Roman Numerals

In premodern manuscript culture, Roman numerals were the dominant numeral system. The history of their origins, and that of their development and use in the Middle Ages, has not yet been fully explained (on their origins, see Smith 1925, vol. II, 54–64; Ullmann 1932, 189–92; and especially, Keyser 1988). What we know about Roman numerals has also not yet been systematically reviewed. Cappelli provides an overview of medieval modes of writing (1990, 413–21). Lemay (1988) describes two unique medieval Spanish developments, which he finds primarily in the context of astronomy and astrology: first, the elimination of the principle of subtraction ('4' as 'IV') in favor of sequential numbering ('4' as 'IIII'); second, the replacement of individual signs by letters ('q' as in 'quator' for 'IV', etc.). Occasionally, Roman numerals were represented in a decimal positional notation system, e.g., "1250" as "I.II.L" (King 2001, 284) or by adding additional signs (Lemay 1988, 471–72). Paucton gathers together the Roman numerals that were based on special metrological characters (Paucton 1780, 95–100; 400–09; but only partly reaching back to the Middle Ages). Murray discusses reasons for the persistence of the conventional mode of writing, as Roman numerals retained their uncontested position of dominance up to the fifteenth century (Murray 1978, 162–87; on the competition between Roman numerals and the Hindu-Arabic way of writing numbers, cf. Lemay 1988, 472–74).

IV Notations with Particular Functions

There were several kinds of proto-written notations that indicated quantity when taking measurements. What was being labeled were packaging units and information about weight, lengths, labels on clocks and calendars (an overview in King 2001, 321–54), as well as the territorial markings of Roman land-surveyors, known as "agrimensores" (Lejay 1898). Alongside this use of proto-written signs on objects, medieval manuscript culture, especially after the twelfth century, developed sets of signs that appear similar in terms of their forms but nevertheless performed different conceptual and practical functions.

In monasteries and cathedral schools, signs were created for organizing and indexing manuscripts, for labeling scientific instruments, and sometimes for personal purposes, as in Robert Grosseteste's (ca. 1175–1253) reading notations

(Hunt 1953). A large portion of these signs consisted of reading aids, particularly for the task of information retrieval. Most of them were developed in the Cistercian milieu and spread from there across various regions (Rouse 1976). In this respect, the Cistercian monastic ciphers published by King (2001) are particularly noteworthy. This mode of writing requires exactly the same space for each cipher, so that it was particularly well suited for drawing up registers and for use on scientific instruments (C II).

Alongside this unique mode of writing, alphanumeric notations were also in use, such as the one from the Venerable Bede (657–735), placed at the beginning of his book on calculating time, *De temporum ratione* (esp. chpt. I.1), together with finger numbers (E III). The medieval tradition of alphanumeric notation (C I) goes back to the Gothic numerals used in Bishop Wulfila's (ca. 311–383 C.E.) surroundings and even further to ancient Greek forms of notation (Menninger 1969, 259–74). Our sources for this way of writing, beyond grammatical treatises (e.g., Priscian *De figuris numerorum*; see also C I), can be found in encyclopedic and astronomical literature, as well as in alphabet collections (Leclercq 1903; King 2001, 291–94). Burnett reviews alphanumeric notations in twelfth-century Italy (Burnett 2000); Bischoff mentions numerous uses of numerals in place of letters in his collection of non-diplomatic cryptographs (Bischoff 1954).

V Hindu-Arabic Numerals

At first, Hindu-Arabic numerals were only one special way of writing numbers among many, confined to a very focused field of scholarly applications. They can be traced back to the fifth-century mode of writing Indian numerals, insofar as they are based on an inventory of nine numerals that are written down in a decimal positional notation system. Their form changed greatly due to the heterogeneous transmission of Arabic texts (Lemay 1982, 384–87; King 2001, 311). Crucial for their history in Europe was their adaptation and reworking by Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Ḥwārizmī (ca. 780–ca. 850). They first appeared in the encyclopedic literature of the tenth century (B V 1). In this period of adaptation, Hindu-Arabic numerals obtained the shape from which modern western numeral forms descend. Ultimately, the transmission of Hindu-Arabic numerals, which led to their eventually dominant position in Europe, did not proceed in a linear fashion but through a complex and discontinuous process (B V 1–3).

For a concise overview on their introduction in Europe see King (2001, 307–17; esp. 311 on the problematic term “Hindu-Arabic”). A comprehensive overview of their history can be found in Smith and Karpinski (1911; richly illustrated), which Lemay updates with clarifications about the history of Ghubar numerals

and the role of Hindu-Arabic numerals in the fourteenth century (Lemay 1982, 382–98). The history of Hindu-Arabic numerals is concisely reviewed by Tropfke (1980, 61–70 with bibliography) and presented for specific authors by Cajori for the late Middle Ages and the Early Modern period (Cajori 1928, 100–99). Overviews of the complete spectrum of written medieval numerals and their history can be found in Friedlein (1869, 13–78), and Smith (1925, vol. 2, 54–88). Hill (1915) collected about 1000 different sets of Arabic numerals used in the west, mainly from manuscripts of the British Museum. Ifrah (1994) assembles a broad range of illustrations but lacks historical contextualization (n.b., the translations into other European languages are sometimes drastically shortened). From the perspective of cultural history, Menninger discusses the migration and spread of Hindu-Arabic numerals in Europe (Menninger 1969, 400–45).

1 Ghubar Numerals

The earliest evidence of the European reception of Indian numerals in their western-arabic form can be found in the transmission of Isidore of Seville's (or Isidorus Hispalensis, ca. 560–636) *Etymologies* (*Etymologiarum sive originum libri xx*). In two tenth-century manuscripts, they are notated as a sequence from 1–9 as a supplement to the names of Roman numerals (III.3; Smith and Karpinski 1911, 138; copy in van der Waerden and Folkerts 1976, 54–55). These Indian numerals were also called Ghubar numerals, a name that refers to the dust board (*gubar*) with which arithmetic calculations were carried out following al-Ḥwārizmī (ca. 780–ca. 850) (on the name *gubar*, see Folkerts 2001; on the technique, see Berggren 1986, 31–35). In their European adaptation, Ghubar numerals were used to mark the value of calculating stones used with the Gerbertian abacus (E IV), a device that is documented across Europe from the tenth through the twelfth centuries (for pictorial material and their place in history, see Folkerts 1996; 2001). This step in their reception was accompanied by a change in their form—namely, rotating the numerals, from which the modern way of writing them is derived (Beaujouan 1948; Folkerts 2001; Lemay 1977). The connection between the abacus and Hindu-Arabic numerals probably goes back to Gerbert of Aurillac's (ca. 945–1003) *Regulae de numerorum abaci rationibus* (E IV).

2 Numerals in Algorithm Treatises

A second context for the reception of Arabic numerals was the translation of Arabic texts into Latin starting in the twelfth century in Toledo, the main center of intellectual exchange with the Arabic cultural sphere at the time (on the general setting of adaptation and exchange see in this volume the contribution of Mark. T. Abate “Convivencia,” section G). Al-Ḥwārizmī’s (ca. 780–ca. 850) fundamental work *Dixit Algorismi* was a part of this process (edition, translation, and commentary of the Latin adaptation of the lost Arabic original in Folkerts, ed., 1997). These translations were the first to import Hindu-Arabic numerals into Europe for performing calculations with a positional notational system—initially, only with a dust board (Berggren 1986, 31–35). In their earliest form, these numerals are sometimes referred to as “Toledan” numerals. The corresponding treatises, however, did not contribute to a larger spread of Hindu-Arabic numerals (manuscript catalogue and illustrations in Burnett 2002a; 2005b), which only first came about in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with Alexander of Villedieu’s (also Alexander de Villa Dei; d. ca. 1250) *Carmen de algorismo* and Johannes de Sacrobosco’s (first half of the thirteenth c.) *Algorismus vulgaris*. Both of these texts, along with Boethius’s (Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius, ca. 480–525 C.E.) *De arithmetica*, were among the most widely circulated texts in the Middle Ages (Folkerts, ed., 1997, 10–12), and they contributed to establishing the Indian method of calculation as a part of the university curriculum (E V).

3 Numerals in Commercial Arithmetics

A third context for the reception of Hindu-Arabic numerals can be found in Leonardo Pisano’s (also known as Leonardo of Pisa, or Fibonacci; ca. 1170–after 1240) *Liber Abaci*: the first part of the treatise teaches the contemporary status of number theory and of calculating with Hindu-Arabic numerals; but the second part provides examples that are directed at the needs of trading. This latter was probably the reason that Fibonacci’s *Liber Abaci* was the first to make this new technique of calculating spread intensively in a lay milieu (E VI). But there was also a large formal heterogeneity: the British Museum’s manuscript holdings alone document over 1000 different sets of numerals for European Hind-Arabic numerals (Hill 1915). This heterogeneity is probably the main reason for authorities’ skepticism about Indian figures (King 2001, 313–16; Lüneburg 2008, 106–09). (Hughes [1996] also discusses religious reservations about what was probably the most important Arabic work on algebra, Omar Khayyam’s [1048–ca. 1131] *al-Jabr w’al Muqābalaḥ* [Khayyam 1931], which was not even translated into

Latin.) Only with the spread of printed arithmetic books in the fifteenth century does a certain, though still regional, coherence come about for ways of writing the Hindu-Arabic numerals (Cajori 1928, 125–99), which only became dominant over the course of the sixteenth century. In 1514, Jacob Köbel (1462–1533) was still teaching calculating on lines (*auf den linien*, i.e., on the abacus) in his arithmetic book *Ain New geordnet Rechen biechlin*, because he considered the Hindu-Arabic numerals to be too difficult for the common laity to learn (fol. A 4^b).

C Writing Numbers on the Manuscript Page

At first, the use of numbers in writing was not formally homogeneous. There has only been limited research on the relationship between numbers and letters (C I), and on the particular functions of the graphic presence of numerals. These phenomena are closely related to the contexts of using numbers in memory practices (C II); in bookkeeping and in scientific texts (C III–V); as well as in teaching (C VI); and numbers must be understood within these contexts. These uses of numbers also encounter the problem of notation, which arises when creating abstractions in measuring (D), calculating (E) and using diagrammatic representations (F VII).

I Number Symbols and Letters

In Martianus Capella's *Marriage of Philology and Mercury* (fl. 410–429 C.E.), the figure of *philologia* appears with the aim of reconciling the art of letters and that of numbers, while also offering a procedure for converting numbers and letters into each other (II,101–09). As in this literary representation, the way of writing numerals was actually not only a subject of mathematical treatises but also of grammar, insofar as the task of this subject was to show and explain *litterae* (Stockhammer 2012, with illustrations). For example, in his short treatise *De figuris numerorum*, Priscianus Caesariensis (fl. around 500 C.E.) discusses the *figurae numerorum* (Priscianus Caesariensis, ed. Herz, 406–07; Priscianus Caesariensis, ed. Passalacqua, 4–6) in terms of their visual shape, and also outlines a derivation for numerals. In doing so, he refers the Roman alphanumeric character set further to the acrophonic Attic system, also known as “Herodianic signs” after Herodianus, the second-century Byzantine grammarian who first described them. These signs took their form from the initial letter of each numeral adjective. Different from the decimal system of Hindu-Arabic numerals, but similar to the Roman numeral system they support a grouping by fives (Cajori 1928, 22; Mennin-

ger 1969, 268–70). Isidore of Sevilla (also Isidorus Hispalensis; ca. 560/70–636 C.E.) also discusses the way of writing the *figurae numerorum* in the *Etymologies* (*Etymologiarum sive originum libri xx*, Liii) within the framework of grammar and here in the context of describing *litterae*. In doing so, he distinguishes between the Greek alphanumeric character set and the Latin character set, to which he in turn ascribes heterogeneous origins. Isidore's interest is not only in *litterae*, but in *notae* in a more general sense: under *notae*, he understands not only numerals, but also diacritic marks and military signals. Rabanus Maurus (ca. 776–856) discusses the *figurae numerorum* again in an independent treatise, *De inventione linguarum* (coll. 1579–80), namely, in the context of different alphabets. He orients himself to the Greek alphanumeric system, but expands the series of numbers to include additional signs. Lastly, Virgilius Maro Grammaticus (fl. mid seventh c.) (*Grammatica*, ca. XII, line 36–42) presents a playful variant on the Roman numerals. In all of these treatises, dating from the first millennium, Hindu-Arabic numerals are only a marginal issue. We find the earliest evidence for Hindu-Arabic numerals only in one appendix to the corresponding excerpt from Isidore in two tenth-century Spanish manuscripts (B V 1).

Roman numerals were usually not set off from the continuous text in which they were embedded, or if so, only minimally (Swetz 2002, 402–03, with illustrations). By contrast, Hindu-Arabic numerals used in algorithms were frequently written in small boxes resting horizontally on the line (Burnett 2010, with illustrations). There is some evidence of this for Roman numerals as well, when they were discussed in arithmetic treatises with reference to their qualities (Müller 2012a; 2012b; both with illustrations). Though more comprehensive research is still lacking, these studies indicate that the *figurae numerorum* did not necessarily take on a particular significance in the organization of the page. However, they did become visually significant when they were explicitly displayed as symbols referring to formal operations (see also C III).

II Retrieval Schemes: From Mental Technique to Page Layout

In the intellectual culture of the monasteries and cathedral schools, the use of numbers became central to the organization of manuscripts. With the development of new reading practices, new techniques of information retrieval were elaborated. As soon as monastic *ruminatio*, the continuous reading and re-reading of texts, no longer stood in the foreground, and non-linear reading practices became common, different procedures were developed to make texts accessible, including numbering, indexing, and hierarchical organization. Bookmaking increasingly involved the division of codices into books, chapters, and paragraphs.

Numbered tables of contents and alphabetically or thematically organized indices were added, which could lead readers to the page or section where they would find specific information. Such practices developed, above all, in the Cistercian milieu (Hunt 1953; Lehmann 1936; Rouse 1976; Rouse and Rouse 1983; 1990; Parkes 1992; King 2001). Over the course of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, these procedures were transferred to administrative practices (Brown et al., ed., 2013; Seidel 2008; the papers collected in Fried, ed., 1997, discuss also earlier trends).

One particularly important numerical instrument for indexing is the “Eusebian apparatus.” Many manuscripts of the *New Testament* are prefixed by what are commonly known as “canon tables.” These indicated which narratives were contained in multiple gospels and where they could be found. In addition, all the sections within each gospel were numbered consecutively. Despite a certain variance from manuscript to manuscript, there were roughly 355 sections in Matthew, 241 in Mark, 342 in Luke, and 232 in John. Using tables, the Eusebian apparatus displayed the passages that were recounted in all four gospels, followed by those that appeared in three gospels, etc. While the sections of the gospels were first numbered by Ammonius of Alexandria (fl. third c. C.E.), the numeration of these “Ammonian Sections” was then merged into synoptic tables by Eusebius of Caesarea (ca. 260/65–339/40 C.E.) (principally Nordenfalk 1938; concise introduction in Parker 2008, 315f.). Furthermore, the Eusebian canons have been also been studied for their rich pictorial decoration, usually from the perspective of art history and with reference to individual manuscripts (e.g., Klemm 1972; Mutherich 1987; Nordenfalk 1982; Wright 1979).

Only in 1560 was the first Bible with consistent numbers for books, chapters, and verses printed in Geneva (*Geneva Bible* 1560). Before then, there was a long history of reworking, improving, and standardizing the Bible’s organizational scheme, including the Eusebian apparatus and the chapter divisions of Stephen Langton (ca. 1150–1228), a process that primarily served to allow the (already memorized) texts of the Christian scriptures and of the Church Fathers to be recalled from memory. Although chapter numbers were inserted routinely since the beginning of the thirteenth century, the numbers of verses generally do not appear before the mid-sixteenth century (Carruthers 2008, 126). Carruthers argues that, in lieu of written segmentation, mental techniques prevailed. Locating a specific biblical verse was possible through the application of mnemotechnical schemes, which were based on the classical tradition of locational memory but developed further to sustain information retrieval. For example, Hugh of St. Victor (or Hugo de St. Victor; ca. 1096–1141) describes a kind of numerical grid that could be laid over any text that had been memorized (Hugh de St. Victor 1943, 489). This practice was extraordinarily widespread, either being combined

with other established schemes of organization, such as the alphabet or solmization (i.e., the series of names for the tone syllables in music), or used as an alternative to them. These organizational schemes were eventually established to such an extent that they were transferred from biblical texts to other genres. What was initially a mnemotechnical scheme of organization eventually became productive, as a rhetorical scheme, and subsequently, a visual scheme through the use of headings, rubrication, etc. (Carruthers 2008, 99–152).

III The Number in the Sentence

When it came to medieval texts that summed up property, determined debts, recorded dues, or carried out payments, numbers still did not have a fixed place in the graphic space of the manuscript page. Frequently, these texts were ordered so that numerical figures were written out in words, and numerical statements were written out in full sentences. These texts had to answer not only the question of how to conceive of goods as countable objects, but also how to notate these quantities according to their administrative significance. The fundamental heterogeneity of writing traditions and of the traditions of determining quantities subjected intellectual schemes and the development of writing practices to a longer process of adjustment.

There are three key aspects of this process of intellectual adjustment to the problem of conceiving of goods as countable and measurable objects: detaching one's perception of things from the practical context of everyday routines; systematically isolating the qualities of objects deemed to be important for administration; and developing written forms for documenting these isolated qualities. This process can be read off of manuscripts in detail. The main practice, extending across centuries from the earliest ninth-century documents, consisted of drawing distinctions between things, measures, and numbers. It prepared the way for early modern and modern bookkeeping, and its significance for the history of measuring cannot be overestimated (see D).

Significantly, the criteria that were important for medieval administration can differ markedly from modern ideas. In addition to alphabetic criteria of organization, further criteria were based on the species of the objects being measured, the region in which they were found, and their economic or religious significance (see D I 2). Initially, there were not any conventions governing the range of criteria applicable to medieval administration practices (Kuchenbuch 2012a; Hermand et al., ed., 2012). In addition, arithmetic correctness frequently played a subordinate role in the courtly practice of calculation (Seggern and Fouquet, ed., 2000), and in what is known as “counted piety,” a tradition of counting different acts of

piety (e.g., prayers, bodily exercises, donations) and converting them into one another. This practice had strong administrative traits (Angenend et al. 1995). Occasionally, numerical analogies to biblical figures or astronomical information determined which numerical values were indicated in detail (see F). Similarly, for the writing of chronicles, the “informative value” of numbers (*valoire informatif*) played a particular role alongside biblical and cosmic models of numbers. In contrast to a modern concept of quantification, more overarching estimates were used rhetorically as vivid images (Flori 1993). Likewise, processes of calculation in mathematical literature were not formalized in symbols for a long time, but rather remained stated in complete sentences (see E IV–V).

Measured according to modern standards, some of these practices can seem irrational, and consequently, scholarship occasionally attributes a perceived lack of arithmetic rationality to the alleged backwardness and incompetence of medieval practitioners. This impression should not be generalized. The availability of mathematical knowledge was admittedly different according to regional conditions and those of milieu. However, we can still proceed from the assumption that the chosen ordering patterns also followed from a situated rationality that was consciously placed against, or over, arithmetic rationality. An archaeological analysis of the history of number has the task of first reconstructing the specific rationalities that were connected to practices in terms of objects, actions, situations, and communication.

IV Lists and Tables

Only over the course of the Late Middle Ages did quantification gain such a strong conceptual significance that the representation of numerical figures generally began to stick out from the flow of the text. In administrative sources, the practice of writing out inventories in complete sentences was increasingly replaced by more analytical ways of writing in which three main categories were written down separately: the *object* (the specific commodity; or the “measurand”); the *number* (the indication of amount or magnitude; or the “numerical quantity value”); and the *measure* (the name of the corresponding “unit of measurement”). The starting point for this process was indicating a measurement as an expression of an object that was given as a multiplicity. That is, number had the status of an accidental property of objects in early documents. As part of the analytical differentiation of documentation, numbers were increasingly used to indicate the quantity of units of measurement with which the amount of an object was determined. In other words, number became an accidental property of units of measurement. In this sense, the quantity that was incorporated into the object (the “integrated num-

ber”) was excorporated from the indication of amount, and it became an independent instrument of expressing a quantity (see D II 1–2).

Separating objects, numbers, and measurements contributed to the development of tabular forms of representation in documentation. In principle, these representations took the form of lists (Koch 1990; 1997). Within the entries in lists, then, local writing practices gradually adjusted to more complex administrative procedures, and an analytical understanding of objects, numbers, and measurements became apparent (on merchants’ books, Arlinghaus 2000; 2002; on feudal bookkeeping, Kuchenbuch 1993; 1994; 1999; 2012a; Bertrand 2012). The asynchrony of this development is evident in the English Royal Court’s settlement of taxes, the Pipe Rolls, which have been preserved since 1129. From the start, the information in these sources was noted in numerals, ordered graphically, and it was consistently correct in terms of arithmetic. Due to unknown reasons, however, only the earlier Pipe Rolls organized information in tables, while the later ones gradually dissolved it in the flow of the text (Kypta 2014, 51–83).

Analytical ways of writing came to play a role in historiography as well. The prehistory of historical tables stretches back to bishops’ lists (Caspar 1975) and synoptic representations of historiographical lines in Eusebius of Caesarea’s (ca. 260/65–339/40 C.E.) chronicle, transmitted in Latin through Jerome’s (or Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus, ca. 347–420 C.E.) *Hieronymi Chronicon* (a graphic adaptation from 699 can be found in Herkommer 1987, 148). Since then, the combination of Christian and pagan history, not only conceptually but also graphically, influenced the representational problems of universal chronicles (Zimmermann 1977; Collioth-Thélène 2003). In the late Middle Ages and the early modern period, this tradition of tabular arrays was made productive in a changed medial context, to order, interpret, and transmit history (Brendecke 2001; 2003; 2004; Steiner 2008).

Beyond all these fields, an analytical tabular way of writing was applied in astronomical literature, especially in descriptions of the movements of heavenly bodies, but also in multiplication tables (C V). Of particular significance among the countless tabular columns of figures found in astronomical literature are those that lie in the overlapping field of historiography and astronomy, namely, the tables on determining the date of Easter, known as Paschal Tables (E I).

V Tables and Diagrams

The epistemic potential of tables goes beyond organizing inventories in the form of lists (Hilgers and Khaled 2004). Numbers in tables were not only used in connection with other kinds of entries, such as properties, historical events, or astronomical movements. They also organized the relationship of numbers to other numbers. In doing so, the connection of lines with columns, which usually remains latent in administrative and historiographical records, was made productive.

Two main traditions came together in the medieval number table. On the one hand, many tables of mathematical calculations were present in sources on astronomy and calendar reckoning (E I), serving as calculation aids. Usually, in the Western tradition, these tables were not put together comprehensively as was the case in the Arabic sphere (see King 1974), being dependent on particular applications. Thus, multiplication tables for only the numbers 7, 19, 28, and 59 are regularly given in astronomical literature, because these multipliers supported the majority of calculations. One example of such a set of multiplication tables can be found in Codex Oxford St. John's College MS 17 (f. 34v–35r with tables for 4, 5, 7, 11, 19, 29, 30, and 59; digital edition: Wallis 2007). An important strand of this tradition of practical calculation aids can be found in Victorius of Aquitaine's (fl. fifth c.) *Calculus* (Victorius 1871). This treatise was incorporated into abacus literature, where it was commented on by Abbo of Fleury (ca. 945–1004; Peden 2003), and in turn, was integrated into computational literature (Wallis 2007, comments on f. 34v–35r).

The other more prominent tradition of number tables was derived from ancient diagrammatics, which entered into specific *artes* literature and medieval encyclopedicism. In this tradition, diverse connections among knowledge were visualized, ordered, explained, proved, and transmitted in a recurrent but also increasingly expanding inventory of images and forms (seminally, Murdoch 1984; Obrist 2004). Medieval number theory became part of this tradition, and was (see F) intensively reworked in the form of diagrams, especially in the twelfth century. This integration of number theory applies especially to Boethius's (Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius, ca. 480–524) writings on arithmetic (*De arithmetica*) (Müller 2012a; 2012b), but also to diagrams of his music theory (*De institutione musica*) (Mellon 2011, 169–252). While diagrams of Boethius's arithmetic initially varied greatly, they were increasingly systematized, being adapted to the operative potential of tables and overlaid with multiplication tables (Hilgers and Khaled 2004; Müller 2012b; Koch 1997). As a result, some of these diagrams functioned both as instruments of calculation and as a means of representing the determination of the relation among numbers.

The technique of operationalizing the graphic arrangement of numbers on a surface, was also used in a monastic game based on calculation and arithmetic knowledge called “rithmomachy” or “Zahlenkampfspiel” (also *numeratorum conflictus* or *rithmomachia*) (Hilgers and Khaled 2004; on the sources, Folkerts 1992b; exhaustively, Borst 1986; Moyer 2001). The game was played on a checkered surface similar to a chessboard. The movements of the game were based on the qualities of numbers that were taught in Boethian arithmetic (modern instructions for playing the game in Illmer et al. 1987).

The operational use of diagrammatic surfaces was also a formal precondition for the construction of astronomical instruments. Müller (2008, 266–70) sketches the connection between diagrams and astrolabes in the Middle Ages (the working principles of the astrolabe are explained in King 2001, 359–63). The technique of displaying arithmetic proportions in geometric terms, which the astrolabe deployed, can also be found in later instruments developed to simplify the process of field measurement (e.g., the “Quadratum geometricum”). The same technique also applied to calculation instruments such as the “sector” that Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) presented under the name of a “geometric and military compass” (*compasso geometrico et militare*) (Galileo 1606). This instrument allowed calculations that otherwise would demand elaborate mathematical skills to be performed mechanically. Hence, Galileo praised the diagrammatic representation of numbers as the “Royal Road” (*Via veramente Regia*) to geometry and arithmetic. Multiplication tables from late antiquity and the Middle Ages can thus also be seen as the beginning of a history of *avoiding* calculation (Galileo 1606, *A i discreti lettori*; explanations and illustrations in Korey 2007, 17–19, 28–31).

VI Didactics of Writing Shapes

Modern editions of medieval sources usually reproduce medieval number notations in modern symbols and in a modern typeset, often even including modern operators like “+,” “-,” “x,” “:,” or “=”. This is highly problematic for all kinds of mathematical literature as well as for administrative sources, because the graphic aspect of writing also played an epistemological role throughout the Middle Ages. For example, the possibility of reading off orders of magnitude from the positional length of notations made it easier to approximate numerical values. Furthermore, the results of calculations—or even of the processes of writing from which they result—were frequently provided in sketches. These, in turn, could be interpreted iconically, and partly ‘sketched out’ in further images. It is necessary to take this practice into consideration to understand the names that were given to procedures of calculation, e.g., in late Italian manuscripts—*castelluccio* (in the form of a

“little castle”), “*per campana*” (a bell), “*gelosia*” (a grid), and “*galea*” or “*battello*” (a galley) (Swetz 2002, 404–09). Thus, the graphical presence of calculations was used as both a didactic and a mnemonic aid. This twofold function of written numbers’ visual shape also applies to didactic diagrams used in number theory (see F IV).

Figures of visualization were also used on the level of rhetorical imagery. In order to make arithmetic clear and vibrant, authors of medieval abacus treatises often took mathematical terminology literally and constructed wordplays around it. For example, the Pythagorean Table (*mensa pythagorica*) was visualized in terms of different kinds of food, and divisions leaving remainders in terms of the crumbs left on a table after a meal has been consumed. Evans (1975) observed this use of visualization, describing the transmission of mathematical knowledge from the perspective of applied vocabulary and its “literary” quality.

D Measuring

Next to counting and naming quantities (B I), measurement was the most common form of using numbers in the Middle Ages, and the most important for everyday situations. The field of medieval metrology is too vast and too diverse to describe here completely (an excellent short introduction to its history and methodological problems is Zupko 1989; a comprehensive report on the state of research is Wedell 2010). In the following, after some general remarks on the problem of measuring in the Middle Ages (D.I), I will outline the role that number played in medieval measurement. Here, the alterity of the medieval understanding of measurement becomes especially apparent. As a result, the following will provide preliminary orientation to the medieval practice of measuring as well as to research problems. We can approach the subjects of number and of measurement from three main perspectives: the relation between numbers and measured objects (D II); and that between numbers and measurement procedures and norms (D III); but we also need to address the problematic relation between medieval and modern norms of measurement (D IV).

I General introduction

While the act of counting allows discrete objects to be quantified, the act of measuring refers to the quantification of things that are not in and of themselves divided—in particular, to lengths, volumes, and weights. Additionally, the act of measuring can refer to things that are not in and of themselves divided into a practical scale, such as bulk materials (grain, honey, and salt, etc.) that today are usually measured in terms of weight. In other words, the task of measurement includes the conceptual transformation of things and materials into quantifiable objects. This process is responsible for many of the irritating features of medieval sources on measurement.

In the modern world, the act of measuring in everyday situations is setup in such a way that it can usually be reduced to the act of counting. The metrical system is supposed to guarantee the stability and ubiquity of units of measurement, and their corporeal realization in everyday life, science, and engineering (Helmholtz 1887; VIM 2008). Modern metrology is based on the axiom that a single system of measurement should be able to account for as many kinds of quantities as possible. Correspondingly, norms are formulated abstractly, related to each other formally, and can be applied almost ubiquitously. In medieval culture, on the other hand, norms and practices of measuring were not the same across different regions. In more centralized administrations (e.g., England and France), there were some attempts to establish unified norms; in less centralized administrations (e.g., Italy and the German-speaking sphere), attempts were only made on a communal or regional level in centers of trade. These norms would bring local units in line with those in use across regions so that they could be converted, thereby contributing to peace within a city and its surrounding regions. For these purposes, physical standard measures were displayed in public spaces, such as in front of churches and town halls. Furthermore, metrological norms were increasingly subject to legal ordinances. The success of these attempts, which depended on many different factors, varied. Often, there were not enough standard measures to make them available everywhere, and juridical monitoring of the misuse of measurements developed only gradually over the course of the Middle Ages. In addition, official attempts to control measurement and stabilize norms competed with the interests of feudal lords who sought to increase norms to their favor in the collection of dues. Lastly, administrations occasionally made exceptions to legal rules for particular trading interests or aristocratic groups.

The plurality of units of measurement in the Middle Ages was due not only to the disparity of norms at different places, but also to the medieval understanding of the concept of measurement, which gave rise to an immense variety of units. In

the Middle Ages, measurements were concrete, comparative, and relative. To describe the quantities that were relevant for the medieval practice of trading in modern terms, we would only need terms for counts, weight, and lengths, together with the derivative quantities of area and capacity. However, medieval sources provide evidence of a much wider spectrum of units of measurement that cannot easily be converted into one another. Characteristically, their use in any given situation was related to particular goods, e.g., there were independent measurements for different kinds of grains, fish, bread, wood, etc. The wide spectrum of units was the result of creating counting words and terms for measurement for particular kinds of quantities. In this sense, we can also speak of medieval measurement units as “incorporated numbers”—each particular unit incorporated information about both a good and an amount.

Timekeeping, the monetary system, and the field of numismatics each had its own history and its own conventions of measurement (see Ken Mondschein and Denis Casey’s contribution to this volume on time and timekeeping, as well as E I below; Rory Naysmith’s contribution on numismatics; and Philipp Robinson Rössner’s contribution on banking, money, and the economy).

II Numbers and Measured Objects

In modern terms (VIM 2008), measurement involves a number (in technical terms, the “numerical quantity value”) that is assigned to a thing or substance to be measured (the “measurand”) through a “unit of measurement.” This unit corresponds to the kind of quantity being measured. Modern systems of measurement aim to account for as many different kinds of measurements as possible within one kind of quantity. Although this effort to standardize the relation between numbers and things may seem self-evident, it does not apply to medieval practices of measurement.

To understand medieval concepts of measuring, we have to analyze the relation between numbers and things on several different levels, especially those of language, writing, and practice. Each of these levels shows a specific mode of integrating numbers and goods, according to the respective traditions of naming, writing, and carrying out practical procedures. Each of these traditions has its own internal rationality. This is the reason for the plurality of medieval measuring units and the instability of the application of medieval measuring norms. As a result, the main problems for research on metrology arise from the historical modalities of integrating numbers and things, and the multifaceted processes of de-integrating them. (Here, I use “things” in a more general sense to indicate material substances that are not necessarily discrete objects.)

1 The Linguistic Integration of Numbers and Things (in Names for Units)

On the level of language, the integration of numbers and things was based on concepts of measurement, which were usually not abstracted from the objects being measured. This concrete, object-oriented approach to measurement is reflected in the names of units, which were always only applicable to particular classes of objects (cf. Menninger 1969, 117–20; for German terms Schuppener 2002; 2007; for the explanations of each of these units in reference works, see Zupko's respective dictionaries for Italy (1981), France (1978), and for the German and Scandinavian area also Witthöft 1979).

The tight integration of numbers and things in one term for measurement is especially evident in what are known as “units of quantity.” These are expressions like *binne*, *stick*, *gwyde*, *ream*, *quire*, *bale*, *score*, *hundred*, etc., in which manageable amounts of particular objects are summarized as units that can then be counted. These units correspond to the following quantities: 1 *binne* is 33 skins; 1 *stick* 25 eels, and 10 *sticks* is 1 *gwyde*, i.e., 250 eels; 1 *ream* consists of 20 *quires* of 24 or 25 sheets each, equal in turn to 1/10 *bale*. A *score* is 20 of any item, though with regional exceptions—e.g., a *score* is 21 lambs, 21 *chalders* of coal, but 20 to 22 *bushels* of lime (all examples taken from Zupko 1968). In medieval England, as in other countries, the quantity of a *hundred* could regionally be assigned to quantities other than 100, e.g., 106 lambs and sheep, 120 (a “long-hundred”) for canvas, eggs, faggots, herrings, linen cloth, nails, oars, pins, reeds, spars, stockfish, stones, and tile; 124 for cod, ling, haberdine, and saltfish, 160 “hardfish,” and 224 for onions and garlic (Zupko 1968, 80–83).

This way of integrating a number and the objects being counted into one specific unit of quantity illustrates the emergence of the wide variety of units of measurement in the Middle Ages. This process of integration applies likewise to other types of measurands that are not countable piece by piece, but are expressed in many various units of length, area, or capacity—in late medieval England alone, there were hundreds of major units and around 25,000 local variations (Zupko 1989, 582). Only a small portion of these units of measurement has been described properly in scholarship. Due to the spatial and temporal limitations of these norms and their validity, reference works with as much specific information as possible should be consulted (D IV). Although concepts of measurement based on the integration of numbers and things were used in continental Europe until the introduction of the metric system in the late nineteenth century (Witthöft 1979; Zupko 1985), general reference works on “old measures and weights” that do not make any reference to specific places, times, and areas of application will probably be misleading for the evaluation of particular sources.

The fact that heterogeneous sequences of counting words were used for different types of things was also noted and reflected on in late antiquity and the Middle Ages. Within the framework of grammatical and encyclopedic collections, as well as in propaedeutic sections of computistic works, this phenomenon was raised to the level of theoretical reflection, treated under the label of “species of numbers,” or *species numerorum* (F VI).

2 The Written Integration of Numbers and Things (in Traditions of Writing)

Even in the Early Middle Ages, there was a strong development in the written documentation of possessions, income, and expenses in the feudal system (Kuchenbuch 1993; 1994; 2012a; 2012c). The oldest sources here are surveys, dating from the ninth century, that asked for information about the status of things and customs, making the practice of conducting surveys essentially oriented to a then-present need. For this reason, in the early Middle Ages and partly still later on, the surveys sometimes made distinctions in the realm of what was deemed to be necessary, but no further differentiation beyond what was deemed to be sufficient (*sufficiens*) (Kuchenbuch 1993, 194f.; 2012a, 249; 257; 270). If the counting words, which indicate the amount of things or goods, are not yet expressed in the form of Roman Numerals, this may be based on the fact that the number symbols were associated with the sphere of scholarly communication and therefore considered alien to the verbal expressions in the local dialect (Kuchenbuch 2012a, 243–44, illustration 242). In other inventories of possessions, the objects that are listed were displayed in order of significance. Kuchenbuch (1993) analyzes paradigmatic examples of inventories of churches, dating from the ninth and tenth centuries. These documents list, for example, first, liturgic crosses, then communion cups; plates for the hosts; the lectionary; bells; and finally liturgical garments; all of these items are in turn displayed according to their material value (e.g., gold, pewter, bronze, iron, etc.). Only this scheme also applied to other inventories (first buildings, then men, livestock, tools, including different kinds of emblems, etc.). Correspondingly, in these documents, the formulation *in summa* does not introduce a sum in an arithmetic sense. Rather, it introduces a summary of the *most important* things mentioned above. Thus, the practice of surveying was object-oriented to a great extent, and, for that reason, could forego abstraction. At the same time, it was oriented toward a strictly hierarchical understanding of relations among things. This may have linked the inventories to analytic concepts and writing techniques established in the trivial arts (Kuchenbuch 1993; 1994 with reference to the conceptual framework of Fried, ed., 1997). Thus, the linguistic integration of numbers and things (D II 1) is mirrored in

written language, and this process goes along with a transformation of verbal expressions through specific, locally established writing practices that in turn derive from the realm of literate education.

Over the course of time, the protocols for these surveys, which were initially stated in complete sentences, were gradually replaced by analytic ways of writing; the questionnaires on which the surveys were based came to be ordered more systematically; and the things that were to be measured, the units of measure, and the numerical figures were all listed separately in a new tabular way of writing. The impetuses for these developments were changing economic circumstances and increasing requirements of administrative efficiency. In the agrarian sphere, these analytical forms of documentation first developed gradually and locally (Kuchenbuch 1993; 1994; 1912a; C III–V). Hence, the process of de-integrating numbers and things through analytical writing was discontinuous depending on the region, on local writing traditions, and on the concrete metrological practice to which the documents referred. In the late Middle Ages, and especially in the early modern period, (printed) arithmetic books were primarily responsible for this process, although in rural regions the process was not completed until long into the modern era.

One exception here was the English tax administration, which used an analytic means of representation from at least the first third of the twelfth century, when our sources start. The administration was specialized in order to process sums of money in a complex centralized administration (Kypta, 2014). Its analytic means of representation separated numbers and things (here, the currency) in writing and listed them in tabular orders. By contrast, the receipts issued by the administration were notched into tally sticks, thereby making them suitable for the semi-oral situation of those who were collecting the taxes.

Modern editions of medieval sources frequently transfer integrated forms of representation for the results of measurement into a modern analytic way of writing, including number symbols and contemporary operators. It is important to keep in mind that this can obscure the specificity of the sources in terms of their individual epistemic profile and their position in the history of writing.

3 The Practical Integration of Numbers and Things (in Routines of Measurement)

Today, in the practice of measuring, we expect that the measurement of the same thing (i.e., the measurand) with the same unit of measurement will lead to an identical result, which can then be expressed through the combination of a number (i.e., the numerical quantity value) and the name of the unit. Measurement thus provides a stable relation between a certain amount or magnitude of

something and the number through which its quantity is expressed. In medieval sources, on the other hand, we are confronted with not only an immense plurality of measurement units, but also the fact that the relation between numbers and objects for the application of one and the same unit of measurement was not necessarily stable.

This instability of the application of units and norms is the third perspective from which the integration of numbers and the goods being measured can be described. The integration of numbers and things followed not only the traditions of naming measures and techniques of writing, but also that of manual routines: How much *one*, *two*, or *five* bushels of grain are, depends on how a “bushel” was construed and how it was applied in the act of measuring.

This becomes apparent in the case of measuring out bulk material. The same amount of bulk material can correspond to the unit of measurement in one situation, but be more or less than it in another. For example, a bushel of grain can be measured out “striked” or “heaped” (“topped-up,” “semi-topped-up,” “brimming over,” etc.), “pressed down” or “unpressed” (Kula 1986, 128–29). The quantity can vary even for a bushel that has been “striked:” depending on the height from which the grain is poured into the bushel, the filling thickness can be higher or lower, so that, as a result, the striked bushel contains more grain on one occasion, and less on another. In this sense, the relation between an amount and the act of counting its magnitude is fluid, and it essentially depends on how the measuring instrument is used (these processes are described in detail in Kula 1986, 43–70).

How much *one*, *two*, or *five* bushels are thus varied not only from place to place but also, in some instances, from one act of measuring to another. What we would today call (instrumental) measurement uncertainty was not necessarily seen as a deficiency in the Middle Ages, but rather as something neutral. Adjusting procedures of measurement to particular situations, which also affected the norm represented by the unit, was subject to traditions (of measurement, of trade), ordinances (by lords or cities), and negotiations that accompanied each act. Variance in the practice of measurement mediated between norms on the one hand and concrete situations of their application on the other. The questions of which unit should be applied; which norm it should represent; and how it should be realized technically, often depended on that of who was more powerful in a concrete situation. For this reason, complaints are often transmitted in medieval sources. Correspondingly, there have also been attempts to control the relation of numbers and goods in the practice of measurement on different levels: by standardizing measuring instruments; by modifying technical equipment in a way that would make their use more standardized; by regulating the use of the objects being measured; and by making criminal threats for misusing measuring instruments.

Zupko has programmatically shown the problem of the plurality and variation of measurement units and norms in the Middle Ages (for England 1973/74; in general 1989). Kula's standard study of the history of measuring (1986) works out the varying applications of units of measurement and norms of measurement in great detail. Although his findings refer to Early Modern sources (Poland and France) and do not exactly match medieval conditions, Kula's study sharpens the focus on medieval practices in a heuristic perspective. Coquery, Menant, and Weber (ed., 2006) suggest the concept of a medieval practical rationality, which can be applied to the problem of measurement, and which must be principally divorced from modern mathematical rationality.

III Numbers and Measurement Control

Historically, the long and discontinuous process of de-integrating numbers and things played out through conceptual differentiation (D II 1); through analytical ways of writing (D II 2); and through controls on the practice of measuring (D II 3). On the whole, this process aims at stabilizing the relation between performing a (manual) procedure and assigning a value for a numerical quantity in the act of taking a measurement. Attempts to control measures can be described from two main perspectives, which I will call "iconic" and "arithmetic." They play a decisive role in stabilizing all measurements and anticipate the modern de-integration, or individuation, of numbers, units, and the measurands.

1 Determining Norms of Measurement Iconically

An iconic determination of a norm is given in the reproduction of a measure in a 1:1 relation. It is the most elementary form of measurement, as one can imagine for the case of deriving a cubit of some particular material from a standard cubit. It aims at a precise reproduction of a standard measure. Historically, copying a measurement in a 1:1 relation played the most important role in gauging. For the practical use of measurements, it was necessary to make measuring instruments available for a particular commodity. These instruments reproduced the current local norm. For this purpose, the unit underlying each measurement had to be materially provided, sanctioned as a norm of measurement by the authorities, and prepared for the practical reproduction of the unit of measurement. These instruments are called "standard measures" or "etalons."

In gauging a measuring instrument, the correct scale of the measuring instrument was checked and confirmed by authorities. Gauging in medieval practice

involved aligning the instrument of measurement to be gauged with a standard measure. The process could be accomplished unmediated, as in the case of a measure of length (e.g., a cubit), or mediated, as in the case of a measure of capacity (e.g., a bushel), when the same amount of material has to fit into both measurement instruments (the etalon and the one for use). Not much is known about the concrete processes of gauging in the Middle Ages (but see Folkerts 1974; 2008; Meskens et al. 1999; Ziegler 1985). The material transmission of medieval gauges and material standard measures is, as a whole, thin, but see Darrou for the French sphere (Darrou 2005), Witthöft for the German-speaking sphere (Witthöft 1986), and for special balances for weighing (uncoined) silver in the Baltic area Steuer (1997).

How much exactly 1 of a unit was remains uncertain not only with measures of capacity for bulk material. For bulk material, as well as for measurements of lengths and surface, the problem arises that measurement instruments, in daily practice, were usually copies of copies of standard measures. In the process of copying, errors came about, intentionally or unintentionally, so that the fluidity of an amount that stood for a unit was accompanied by uncertainty about the application of these measurement instruments. Lastly, there were also regional differences in standardizing norms. Attempts at arithmetic stabilization reacted to this problem (D III 2).

2 Determining Norms of Measurement Arithmetically

Although medieval systems of norms for measurements are not coherently organized according to the decimal system, the multiple units of measurement are at least partly regulated by arithmetical relations. These relations were historically significant for enabling trade across regions by bringing different local norms into harmony with each other. This was especially the case for the units of weight and the value of gold and silver. The Middle Ages inherited a system of units and norms of measurement from antiquity. This was regulated anew in the Carolingian era (Grierson 1965). In this system, twelve *pennies* (*denarius*) were grouped into a *shilling* (*solidus*), while twenty *shilling* were equivalent to one *pound* (*libra*). Though there was dramatic variance in terms of coinage, this system was accepted throughout Europe and provided one precondition for the interregional exchange of goods (fundamentally, Witthöft 1984; concisely, Portet 1991; cf. the article on numismatics by Rory Naismith in this *Handbook*).

Medieval sources on trading also determine numerical relations for several kinds of trading goods. Even if local norms of a certain unit were not identical to other local norms, there were attempts to make them convertible according to a pattern of proportionalities, which was also subject to an important rule of

calculation, the *regula de tri* (rule of three) in late medieval textbooks on commercial arithmetic (E.VI): X bushels in place A correspond to Y bushels in place B. The trend of establishing fixed proportions between different local units, primarily in the late Middle Ages, can be accounted for especially well in sources from the Hanseatic region and those on valuable goods such as salt. Proceeding from these findings, Witthöft has developed the outline of a comprehensive “historical metrology,” in itself coherent and stable over time, in numerous publications (primarily Witthöft 1979; 1998). The historical concept, which according to Witthöft guarantees the arithmetic stability of the relationship of numbers and measures, is expressed in the term *aequalitas* (Witthöft 2006). Explicitly, the term does not mean the identity of units and the norms through which they were determined, but rather the ability to convert multiple norms among one another. Sources from the Early Modern period up to the end of the nineteenth century strongly support Witthöft’s model (see, e.g., Nelkenbrecher’s metrological manual *Taschenbuch eines Banquiers und Kauffmanns*; in 20 editions from 1762–1890). Still, it is uncertain whether his thesis can be transferred to the Middle Ages in general (compare the case studies in Hocquet 1992).

IV Converting Medieval Norms into Modern Units

Scholarship has not been able to give a satisfying answer to the problem that coherent and stable norms of measurement in premodern Europe are only given on a very small scale. One pressing desideratum remains the creation of chronotopographical atlases with maps of measurements that would document the local units in use, the particular norms, and, where known, the practices of measurement. Only such an instrument would allow for an evaluation of the history of measurement as a whole, and in particular of the role of local and imperial traditions in the constitution of units and the norms they represent. Given the current state of research, it is difficult to gather dependable data and to convert premodern units of measurement into modern ones (Zupko 1989).

A dependable and concise conversion, in the strict sense, is only possible on two conditions: there must be material evidence of a standard measure; and corresponding sources must guarantee the spatial and temporal range of this specific norm for a unit. Anything else is at best a rough guess. Still, small-scale generalizations can be made for particular conditions. The best case scenario is when well-preserved material objects still exist that can be archaeologically located in space and time; when the size of this object has been documented in historical sources; and when the territorial and chronological range of the corresponding norm of measurement is known. If the conversion ratio between the

norms of measurement for two places is guaranteed by sources, one norm can be derived from the other. Lastly, in reconstructing norms of measurement for the later premodern period, local conversion tables, which were created during the introduction of the metrical system in the nineteenth century to make switching to the modern system of measurement possible, play an important role. Nevertheless, it is difficult to determine the historical scope of these tables, and whether they applied only to the period in which they were created or whether the same norms were used in previous periods. In any case, we have to keep in mind situational conditions for applying norms of measurement (D II 3), as well as the specific conditions of writing down numbers (B). Some scholars focus particularly on physical standard measures and less on written sources and practical traditions, connecting especially antiquity with the Middle Ages. They have observed a striking continuity of precise measurement norms, sometimes over millennia and continents. In the case of specific length standards they hold that these units were passed on with a precision close or equal to modern digital technology (see Heinz's contribution "History of Medieval Metrology" in this volume.) On the potentials and limitations of this school of thought, cf. the debate between Rottländer and Witthöft in Ahrens and Rottländer, ed., 1995, 24–35, and Guerreau 2000).

There are several dependable aids for determining the relationships between medieval indications of measure and modern metric units in various countries: England (Zupko 1968; 1977; 1985); France (Zupko 1978); Italy (Zupko 1981); and the German-speaking regions (Witthöft 1979). General information on individual units of measurement, their origins, and their subunits can be found in Zupko (1989), Witthöft (2001), and Ebel (2001), as well as in the pertinent articles of the *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* (ed. Strayer) and the *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*.

E Calculating

The medieval history of calculating came about in late antiquity and in the early Middle Ages in connection with three main areas: concrete challenges in trading; mathematical problems in field measuring; and the task of determining the date of Easter. In trading, it was a practical matter of creating modalities of exchanging goods and fine-tuning metrological systems (D III and IV). In surveying land, on the other hand, it was more a matter of negotiating the Roman tradition of *agrimensores* as handed down in the *Corpus agrimensorum* (Lachmann, ed., 1848–1852; Hultsch, ed., 1864–1866; and Bubnow, ed., 1969; for a review of the history of research, especially the role of Cantor 1876, cf. Folkerts 1992a). This corpus was less relevant in light of its practical application than in light of its role

in quadrivial geometry (Folkerts 1987; Folkerts 1992a). With respect to these first two areas, trading and surveying, a new type of source appeared in the Carolingian period—the collection of mathematical problems. These sources present not only a discussion of economic problems (Folkerts 1971; Van Egmond 1996), but also mathematical questions for entertainment, as in the *Propositiones ad acuendos iuvenes* attributed to Alcuin (ca. 735–804) (Folkerts 1993). Only later, from the tenth century on, does a large and increasing number of treatises document the development of mathematical thought and technique. Although these treatises eventually connected the theoretical knowledge of numbers in the *quadrivium* with knowledge of calculation, the history of calculation was initially only connected to the history of writing numbers indirectly. Written numbers first became the medium for calculation in what is commonly called the Indian method of calculation. The efficiency of this method spurred on the further development of mathematical procedures, and also led to more elaborate ways of writing—particularly, formalized ways of writing calculations through numeric signs and operators in the late Middle Ages. The third area, determining the date of Easter, is bound up with an independent tradition of manuscripts, dating back to the third-century C.E., that integrated mathematical and other spheres of knowledge.

Above all, the medieval history of calculating is one of heterogeneous practices, including counting, calculating with an abacus, with one's fingers, with Hindu-Arabic numerals, and with geometric calculating instruments. These practices initially spread only over a small scale, and only came to be considered in retrospect as a coherent history of innovation. The modern cultural historical view, insofar as it is blinded by the historical power of Leonardo of Pisa's (or Fibonacci ca. 1170–after 1240) *Liber Abaci*, suffers from a limited horizon that does not do justice to the mathematical heterogeneity of the Middle Ages.

I Calender Reckoning (*computatio*)

Determining the date of Easter carried a religious urgency from the beginning. The date was linked, in keeping with biblical passages (Mt 26,2.17–19; Lk 22.1,11,13,15; Mk 14,1.12.14.16), to the Judaic feast of Passover, which fell on the day of the first full moon in the spring. On the other hand, however, in order to determine the date independently of the Judaic lunar calendar, the first Nicean Council (325) declared that the Christian feast of Easter should be celebrated on a Sunday after the feast of Passover, and after the start of spring in the Julian solar calendar. Those who did not wish to wait for the appearance of this astronomical constellation from year to year had to find ways of determining the date. Although there were some references to one model of determining the lunar and solar cycles that had been

developed in Alexandria, the contemporary center of intellectual activity, various competing models, known as Paschal tables, were also in use at the same time over the course of centuries. The earliest of these Paschal Tables based on the astronomical cycles (ca. 285 C.E.) come from Eusebius of Caesarea (ca. 260/65–339/40 C.E.). But the earliest ones that became generally recognized come from Dionysius Exiguus (ca. 470–ca. 540 C.E.), who was able to determine a cycle of 95 years, and from the Venerable Bede (657–735), who extended these calculations to 532 years. Another important figure was Gerlandus (fl. in the eleventh c.; see his *Computus*, lib. I, cap. 1, in the new critical edition [2013] for the so-called *Tabula Gerlandi*). The method of calculation presented in Bede's *De temporum ratione* dominated the rich computistic literature of the Middle Ages, which absorbed the various mathematical methods that were in use. However, the relation of computistic literature to the quadrivium and to practical mathematics was subject to constant changes and always had to be re-determined, depending on the concrete intellectual and institutional context. Furthermore, calculating the date of Easter came to be connected with astronomical and medical treatises, and even with those on prosody and poetic meter. The cult aspect of determining the date of Easter is particularly apparent in a poem in the computistical section of Herrad of Landsberg's (also known as Herrad of Hohenburg; ca. 1130–1195) *Hortus deliciarum* (316v–321v), which formulates the whole performance of the calculation in verses (an interpretation is given in Joyner 2012, esp. 111–13; compare, however, computistical poems with other functions, e.g., in the Codex Oxford, St. Johns College MS17, 14r–v, commented in Wallis [2007]; on the genre in general Bischoff 1967). While this poem enabled the calculation to be memorized, it primarily indicates that carrying out the calculation was considered to be a religious exercise.

A brief and pointed introduction to medieval calendrical calculations can be found in Contreni (2002); more comprehensive is the introduction to texts by Bede in Wallis (ed., 2004). While Jones (1943, 1–122) develops the question of determining the date of Easter from the angle of mathematical calendrical calculations, Borst (1990) develops it from the angle of cultural history. An excellent introduction to the topic is the commented online edition of the substantial Codex Oxford, St. Johns College MS17 (Wallis 2007). King's monumental study (2 vols. 2004–2005) describes contemporary Islamic astronomy, which also aimed at synchronizing human time and astronomical time under different religious demands.

II Traditional Calculations with an Abacus

Calculating on the abacus was the most widespread procedure for reckoning in the Middle Ages, and the one with the richest tradition. As an instrument of

calculation, the abacus corresponded to the Greek alphanumeric system and to Roman numerals. In antiquity, the practice of calculating spread across the whole Mediterranean region and further from there (for a detailed introduction Hultsch 1896 and Nagl 1918 are still valuable). Early medieval records are sparse, but we can assume that the abacus was continuously available up to the High Middle Ages (Bubnow 1914; Burnett and Ryan 1998). Indeed, it was the most important aid for carrying out calculations in the Middle Ages (Bergmann 1985, 176–85). The transmission of texts essentially begins in the tenth century (E IV) and that of objects in the twelfth century (Barnard 1916; Menninger 1969, 319–27; Pullan 1969; recently Schärflig 2003; 2006).

In the early Middle Ages, the abacus, as a surface for calculating, usually consisted of vertical columns; in the late Middle Ages, it consisted of horizontal lines that reproduced the positions of the corresponding numeric system. Alongside the customary decimal system (base 10), the hexagesimal system (base 60) appeared, especially in astronomical contexts. For calculations in monetary currencies, there were also columns or lines for fractions. Visually, numbers were broken up into their decimal place value (e.g., 1s, 10s, 100s, etc.), and pebbles (*calculi*) were laid on the corresponding amount in the columns or on the lines. Addition resulted from adding the amount of *calculi* in the appropriate columns or lines. If the amount of pebbles in one column/line exceeded the place value, then all the pebbles were removed from that column/line and one pebble was put in the column/line for the next higher value to represent the amount carried over (*purgare rationem*). Subtraction was carried out by removing a pebble from the appropriate column or line; multiplication by continued addition (Friedlein 1865, 254–61). Division was only possible in a roundabout way (Friedlein 1865, 261–69) following the rules of the *divisio ferrea* (“iron division”) or the *divisio aurea* (“golden division”). A concise introduction to calculation procedures for multiplication is given by Mahoney (1989, 220–21) and for division by Menninger (1969, 327–31).

Beyond its study in monastic and scholarly settings, the abacus’s functional principle was first named explicitly, as an established procedure, in the twelfth century with Richard of Ely’s (ca. 1130–1198) *Dialogus de scaccario*, a dialogue on the English treasury (Poole 1911, 43–57; McCleery 1957; Kypta 2014). Detailed instructions, accompanied with illustrations, for calculating on the abacus are first available only in the context of commercial arithmetic in the arithmetic books of the late Middle Ages and the Early Modern period. These records begin with the *Arithmetica* by Jehan Adam of 1475 (Thorndike 1929) and increase greatly starting in the sixteenth century (E VI).

III Finger Counting: *Computus digitalis*

In addition to calculating with an abacus, one could also calculate with one's fingers—a technique known as “finger counting” (*computus digitalis*). This procedure made it possible to display all the numbers from 1 to 9999 manually, and it also allowed manual calculations. The *computus digitalis* was so widespread as to seem self-evident to many authors in antiquity and late antiquity in the entire Mediterranean region (Menninger 1969, 208–12; Lemoine 1932; Marrou 1958, 98–103; 1965, 238–40; 561f.). In the framework of everyday (oral) communication, the technique constituted an alternative to Greek and Roman number notation (Williams and Williams 1995). Quintilian (ca. 35–ca. 100 C.E.) recorded the technique in his *Education of the Orator (Institutionis Oratoriae libri duodecim)* (1970, I.10.1, 10,35).

In the Middle Ages, finger counting became less common. It was passed down primarily in the Latin written culture of monasteries. The technique was designated as *computus*, *loquela digitorum*, *flexus digitorum*, *calculus articularis*, *loquela per digitos*, *indigatio et manualis loquela*, *gestus computationis* or *computatio romana*. Ever since the Venerable Bede (657–735) placed the technique of finger counting in front of his book on calculating time, *De temporum ratione* (ca. I,1), it had a religious valence, specifically in the cult use of the technique for exegesis and calendrical literature. Apart from theological literature, the records are sparse but continuous up to the Early Modern period (on the transmission of the short writing *De computo vel loquela digitorum*, see Sittl 1890, 254–55, for the edited text see 256–61; cf. Menninger 1969, 201–08; 212–19). Leonardo of Pisa (ca. 1170–after 1240) also presents finger counting in his *Liber Abaci* as a mnemonic for the processes of calculating with the new Hindu-Arabic numerals (vol. 1, 5). In the fifteenth century, Luca Pacioli (1445–1517) describes the procedure in his *Summa de Arithmetica* (Pacioli 1494, 36–37), a procedure that was then printed in Johannes Aventinus's (1477–1537) edition of Bede (1532). Lastly, in the eighteenth century, the *romana computatio* were further publicized in Jacob Leupold's (1674–1727) *Theatrum Arithmetico-Geometricum* (1727), here under the updated title *Dactylonomia* or *Finger-Rechen-Schrift* and already with the intention of preserving the technique for posterity.

The prejudice that it is not possible to perform calculations with the *computus digitalis* has been disproven by Wallis (Wallis, ed., 2004, 254–63). Saidan (1978, 349–50) explains the differences between the Arabic and Latin practices of *computus digitalis*, particularly, the inclusion of fractions and calculating with a hexagesimal base, proceeding from a poem by Ali ibn al-Maghribis (1213–1286). Additionally, Van Brummelen (1998, 47) mentions treatises by Abu'l Wafa' (940–998) and al-Karaji (953–1029). In the Arab-speaking sphere, calculating with the fingers is replaced first by calculating with Arabic numerals. In 1932, Lemoine

gave a summary, also describing a further technique of finger calculation that operated on the basis of the joints of fingers. The importance of finger calculation in competition with the written numerals in the West is discussed in Williams and Williams. Pictorial material in late antiquity and the Middle Ages is gathered together in Rieche (1986), Alföldi-Rosenbaum (1971) and Minaud (2006). On the theological use of the technique, the work of Antonio Quacquarelli, a scholar of patristics, is crucial (Quacquarelli 1953; 1970; 1973; 1982; 1991). The question of whether the technique was actually used for calculating the date of Easter remains open, though it is often doubted. A current research report on the *computus digitalis* can be found in Wedell (2012a).

IV The Gerbertian Abacus

A second special technique for calculation was what is commonly known as the Gerbertian Abacus (also: monastery abacus), a columnar abacus whose usage required calculating stones furnished with 9 symbols (*characteres*) that indicated the values of the calculating stones (*apices*) (Friedlein 1865). In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, there is documentation of the use of Ghubar numerals for these symbols or *characteres* (Folkerts 2001). Whether the practice can be traced back to Gerbert of Aurillac (also known as Pope Sylvester II, ca. 945–1003) is debated. Arguments made on the basis of Gerbert's biography and his place in the history of knowledge (Lindgren 1976) were contested in light of treatise literature and its conditions of reception (Bergmann 1985). Recently, however, Folkerts has once again made Gerbert's use of Ghubar numerals seem probable through the analysis of the interdependence of visual representation in illustrations of abacuses (1996; 2001). However, the decisive accomplishment of the Gerbertian Abacus is not dependent on the type of numerals it uses. Alphanumeric signs fulfill the needs just as well (Bergmann 1985, 176–98). Labeling *calculi* with numerical values makes it possible to simplify and abbreviate multiplication and division logistically, even with the inclusion of fractions.

Gerbert's (treatise *Regulae de numerorum abaci rationibus* (ca. 980), transmitted in two redactions, was commented on early on (Heriger of Lobbes's [d. 1007] *Commentarii in Gerberti regulas de numerorum abaci rationibus*; Abbo of Fleury's [ca. 945–1004] *Excerpta ex Abbonis scolastici Floriacensis in calculum Victorii commentarii*). Among the redactions were Heriger of Lobbes's, *Regulae de numerorum abaci rationibus*, Laurentius of Amalfi's († 1049) *De divisione* (cf. Newton 1965) und Hermannus Contractus's (also known as Hermann of Reichenaue, Hermannus Augiensis, or the Cripple; 1013–1954) *Regulae, qualiter multiplicationes fiant in abbaco* as well as Adelard of Bath's (ca. 1080–after 1150)

Regule Abaci, in addition to Pandulf of Capua's *De calculacione* (second half of the eleventh c., illustrated), Gerlandus's (in earlier research also Garlandus with the byname Compotista) (eleventh c.) *De Abaco*, Turchillus's *Reguncule super abacum* (before 1115), and an anonymous abacus treatise (Narducci, ed., 1882; for an introduction to both, Gerbert's treatise and Heriger's reworking of it, see Narducci 1882; cf. the overview in Portet 2006, 57f.). From the perspective of reception history, Herigers's reworking is more important than Gerbert's treatise itself, because it presented the rules more coherently and more correctly. Scholars have paid particular attention to the treatises by Berlinus (early eleventh c.) and the abacus treatise in Pseudo-Boethius, *Geometria II* (second half of the eleventh c.), because they explicitly mention the use of Hindu-Arabic numerals (B V 1). One single oversized folio in Echternach provides a record of the Gerbertian abacus's use in pedagogy (Burnett 2002b).

For studies of the intellectual history of the tenth century, it is crucial that we do not assign calculating with an abacus primarily to arithmetic, but rather to geometry. The technique was entwined with problems of land surveying in the field of the quadrivium, although it responded to different interests from the perspective of the genealogy of knowledge. The integration of an abacus treatise in Pseudo-Boethius's *Geometria II* clearly references this connection (Folkerts 1970). Bergmann (1985, 177–79) points out further pieces of evidence, dating back to the sixth century, that are nevertheless partly based on a debatable equation of the dustboard, counting board, and the abacus (Burnett and Ryan 1998, 5). In the eleventh- and twelfth-century reception, scholars increasingly referred the abstract issues of calculating with abacuses to quadrivial arithmetic and dialectics (Evans 1977a; 1977b). The treatises further undercore the role of visuality and imagination in learning to calculate with an abacus, which was included among forms of learning in the cathedral schools (Evans 1975; see C II).

Terminologically, it is important to point out the diverse uses of the word “abacus” (Burnett and Ryan 1998, 5; Menninger 1969, 346–49). First, in antiquity, though also in the Arabic and European Middle Ages, it stands for the “dust board” on which geometrical figures could be drawn (Bergmann 1985, 177–78). In the Arabic tradition, Hindu-Arabic numerals were named after the dust board (Ghubar-numerals) and refer to it as a writing surface for performing the Indian method of calculations (Berggren 1986, 31–35). In Gerbert's reception of the numerals, the dust board was replaced by the counting board, on whose columns calculating stones with Ghubar numerals were used in turn. Ever since the Late Middle Ages, “abacus” has denoted a “counting board,” “counting table,” or “counting cloth” equipped with horizontal lines and used with simple calculating stones. Bergmann (1985) has criticized the idea that all the innovations of the tenth century are concentrated in the Gerbertian abacus. Alternatively, he sug-

gests a typology of four different forms and functions of abacuses from the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century, which Portet assigns to the appropriate types in his overview of sources (Portet 2006, 57–58). The abacus treatises of the tenth to twelfth centuries have not been completely researched and edited. A broad, illustrated, modern translation that expands on Friedlein's explanations (1864; 1865) is attached to Beatrice Backhouche and Jean Cassinet's Bernelin edition (1999). A new edition of Gerlandus's treatise *De Abaco* with manuscript transcriptions was published as an appendix to Alfred Lohr's critical edition of Gerlandus's *Computus* (2013).

V Latin Algorismus Literature

A further development was triggered by the intensive translation of Arabic texts in the Latin world. Among the texts that were translated, above all in Toledo, were the writings of Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Ḥwārizmī (ca. 780–ca. 850) (overview in Folkerts, ed., 1997, 13–18; in general, on Arabic mathematics, Berggren 1986; Rebstock 1992; on the reception of Arabic mathematics in the West, in a condensed version, Saidan 1978, 3–5; on the general setting of adaptation and exchange see in this volume the contribution of Mark. T. Abate “Convivencia,” section G). Al-Ḥwārizmī's book on arithmetic, the Arabic version of which is lost, was particularly significant (Al-Ḥwārizmī, editions of the Latin translation with commentary and a modern translation in Al-Ḥwārizmī 1992 and in Folkerts, ed., 1997). The book gives an indication of the contemporary spectrum of the Indian method of calculation: adding, subtracting, halving, doubling, multiplying, dividing—all with both whole numbers and with fractions. In the Arabic scientific discourse, the Indian method of calculation replaced calculating with one's fingers (Saidan 1978, 353; E III). Furthermore, the incipit of the Latin version *Dixit Algorizmi* (twelfth c.) was adopted in the generic term for Latin treatises, the “algorithm.”

From the perspective of reception history, however, other treatises that drew on al-Ḥwārizmī's *Dixit Algorizmi* were more significant than his treatise itself: the *Liber Ysagogarum Alchorismi*, the *Liber Alchorismi* and the *Liber pulveris* (all from the twelfth c.; on these texts, Allard 1991; editions in Allard 1992; short characterization along with the subsequent treatise literature in Folkerts, ed., 1997, 8–12). In the *De elementis arithmetice artis*, Jordanus de Nemore (also Jordanus Nemorarius; first half of the thirteenth c.) took the schema of Euclidean elements as the basis for the systematic development of his material. In the thirteenth century, hundreds of manuscripts were copied from two works, namely, Alexander of Villedieu's (also Alexander de Villa Dei, d. ca. 1250) *Carmen de algorismo*, a

versified arithmetic treatise, and Johannes de Sacrobosco's (first half of the thirteenth c.) *Algorismus vulgaris*. Both texts succinctly represent the rules and steps of calculation, but remain restricted to calculating with whole numbers and do not give any examples. They played an important role in the inclusion of the Indian method of calculation into the exchange of knowledge at universities. The Latinization and de-contextualization of knowledge also played a role in this process, supporting the Christian appropriation of knowledge. Ocreatus's treatise *Helceph Sarracenicum* (twelfth or early thirteenth c.) shows a certain skepticism about the Indian method of calculation, though it was not disseminated very widely. In this treatise, the Indian reckoning was represented in excerpts, covering the decimal system, multiplication and division, and the representation of remainders; but the author foregoes a representation of Hindu-Arabic numerals and adheres to the terminology of the Western mathematical tradition (Folkerts, ed., 1997, 9). The most important arithmetic treatise by an Arabic author, Omar Khayyam's (1048–ca. 1131) *al-Jabr w'al Muqabalah* was not translated into Latin, probably for religious reasons (Hughes 1996, 198–203). That did not change the growing demand for new and efficient calculation techniques, above all, on account of the increasingly complex requirements of astronomy (Van Brummelen 1998, 46–47).

Charles Burnett's collected volume (ed., 1987) brought to light the intellectual and social milieu of mathematical translators, and their position in society and in the history of knowledge, starting with Adelard of Bath's (ca. 1080–after 1150) mathematical writings and providing further detailed studies (Burnett 1996; and more comprehensively 2009; see also concisely Berggren 2002). Evans (1977b) investigates the relationship between abacus treatises and algorithm treatises with respect to their inclusion in the quadrivium. The step from calculating with a dust board to calculating with ink and paper was still happening in the Arabic sphere at the end of the tenth century. However, the history of the dust board as a calculation instrument has not yet been reviewed systematically. Its use (description in Berggren 1986, 31–35) was still a precondition in the thirteenth century for Kushyar ibn Labban (971–1025; in his *Principles of Hindu Reckoning*, end of the tenth c.) in the field of arithmetic and for Nasir al-Din al Tusi in the field of astronomy (Van Brummelen 1998, 46). By contrast, al-Uqlidisi (fl. mid tenth c.) first discussed the traditional Indian method of calculation in Books 1–3 of his arithmetic *al-Fusul fi al-Hisab al Hindi* (ca. 975), and then explicitly contrasted it with the new technique in the fourth book. In al-Uqlidisi's argument, this contrast also served to differentiate between arithmetic and astronomy (cf. the commentary on the edition in Saidan 1978, 353). In spite of the comparatively large distribution of algorithm treatises, the knowledge of algorithm treatises in the West remained limited to the milieus of cathedral schools and less educated laity.

VI Practical/Commercial Arithmetic

The Indian method of calculation was first comprehensively popularized in the wake of Leonardo of Pisa (Fibonacci; ca. 1170–after 1240). His most important arithmetical work, the *Liber Abaci*, was initially only a summary of the known Indian method of calculation, and, in this respect, his work linked up with the scholarly scientific discourse (on calculational procedures, see Burnett 2005a). Leonardo's references to Abu Kamil (ca. 850–ca. 930) are clear (Allard 2001), though apart from that, his sources have not all been identified (see Rashed 1994, Folkerts 2005 and summarizing Sezgin 2006). From the perspective of reception history, Leonardo's innovation consists in that he referred the theoretical knowledge (ca. 1–7) in the second part of his book (ca. 8–15) to the practical economic problems of everyday life. The impact of the *Liber Abaci* outshined his other mathematical works, *Liber quadratorum* and *De Practica Geometrie*.

The dominance of trade in Northern Italian cities in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries made it necessary to perform calculations quickly and certainly. The precondition for the circulation of the Indian method of calculation was a lay economic-intellectual milieu that was able to transfer the method intellectually and pragmatically. First, it was simply a matter of making Latin texts understandable and translating them into the vernacular; then, it was more about adapting texts to local situations, as well as to the further development and optimization of techniques. An essential driving force in this development may have been social greed (Murray 1978, 141–210). On the whole, we can imagine the translation of Indian texts as an experimental process in which scholarly knowledge was reworked, step-by-step, into practical *know how*, as Paul Benoît has argued for late medieval Italian and French cities (Benoît 1982; 1989). For everyday practices, this entailed the further development of educational institutions, counting schools, *botteghe d'abacco*, and correspondingly, the new profession of *maestri d'abacco*.

In the context of this translation project, new genres came about. Next to the algorithm treatises (besides the Latin *Carmen de algorismo* of Alexander of Ville-dieu and Johannes Sacrobosco's *Algorismus vulgaris*, both copied frequently in the thirteenth century, above all the anonymous *Crafte of Nombrynge*, ca. 1300), the *pratiche della mercatura* (Swetz 2002) appeared, a group of texts, usually in the vernacular, with concrete instructions for calculating that were compiled for self-study, the classroom, or as reference works. Among the most prominent of these texts were Francesco Balducci Pegolotti's *Pratica della Mercatura* (ca. 1340) and Luca Pacioli's *Summa de Arithmetica* (1494). (A catalogue of the Italian tradition up to 1600 was published by Van Egmond in 1980; a list of edited texts, along with comparative references to the French tradition can be found in Portet

2006, 60–63). Although the *pratiche della mercatura* generally outlined recurring constellations of problems (Van Egmond 1996), their content was significant for an enormous part of the tradition, which has been ordered typologically and described in its historical variation only to a small extent. Furthermore, the potential of these texts for the histories of measuring, calculating, and everyday life is far from being exhausted. This goes for the genre of European arithmetic books in which the Italian tradition of *pratiche della mercatura* was incorporated as well.

Mathematical knowledge was prepared and transmitted in the vernacular for the laity, above all in the context of opening up the educational system in the age of the early printing press. Arithmetic books, focused on practical use, were created for use in arithmetic schools, and consequently they repeatedly taught the traditional means of calculating with an abacus. However, the practice that this brought about was professionalized and taught for use-dependent situations. Only since the sixteenth century has the method of calculating with Hindu-Arabic numerals been taught in arithmetic books over a wide area. Early printed arithmetic books include Ulrich Wagner's *Das Bamberger Rechenbuch* (1483), Johannes Widmann's *Behende vnd hubsche Rechenung auff allen Kauffmanschafft* (1489), Adam Ries's *Rechenung auff der linihen* (1522), Robert Recorde's *The ground of artes teaching the worke and practise of arithmetike* (1542); Jean Tranchant's *L'Aritmétique de Ian Trenchant [...]* (1558), Antoine Cathalan's *L'arithmétique et maniere d'apprendre [...]* 1566, and J. Awdeley's *An introduction of Algorithmis: to learn to reckon wyth the Pen or wyth the Counters* (1574) (more are mentioned in the overview in Swetz 1987, 305–08; Gärtner 2000, 583–90; and Portet 2006, 54–55; short analyses can be found in Gärtner 2000, 189–258). The status of the professional arithmetician, who was dependent on the economic viability of teaching mathematics, brought about a new competitive elite of mathematicians (Schneider 1993) whose achievements in commercial mathematics flowed back into academic mathematics (Hadden 1994).

F Number Theory

Medieval number theory can be traced back to the transmission of Nicomachus (fl. ca. 100 C.E.) and Boethius (ca. 480–524 C.E.) in antiquity and late antiquity (F I). It was subsequently influenced by, and reacted to, the development of learned mathematics (E II–IV). It encompassed reflections on the ontology of numbers (F II) and on definitions of numbers (F III). The most important fields of number theory were the schema of dividing numbers according to their formal qualities (*divisio numerorum*), which were a basis for quadrivial arithmetic (F IV);

and the integration of number theory into music theory. The relation between number theory and the practice of calculation, on the one hand, and that between *musica* and *cantus*, on the other, was particularly liable to change and constantly had to be redetermined (F V). Finally, we can include treatises on the *species numerorum* in the field of number theory, even if these teachings come from the field of grammar and hence belong to the trivial instead of the quadrivial arts (F VI; cf. B I; D II 1).

I Heritage from Antiquity

Arithmetic, as a theory of numbers, formed the systematic center of the quadrivium. It derived from Nicomachus's (also Nikomachos of Gerasa; fl. ca. 100 C.E.) *Introductio arithmetica*, which was based on Pythagorean arithmetic (Thiel and Kranz 2004). In antiquity, number theory was subdivided into *logisticae* (practical calculation), *arithmetica* (number theory) and *arithmologia* (the projection of number theory on the cosmic order; see G I). Crucial for medieval number theory was Boethius's (ca. 480–524) *De institutione arithmetica* (beginning of the sixth c.), a condensed translation of Nicomachus's arithmetic that belonged to the most widespread treatises of the Middle Ages. A concise overview on medieval commentaries on Boethius's *De institutione arithmetica* is given in Masi (1983, 49–57).

Number theory can be clearly differentiated from practical arithmetic, since, from the perspective of the genealogy of knowledge, practical arithmetic did not belong to the quadrivium and was viewed more as a complementary skill for the study of geometry and astronomy. However, practical arithmetic was often related to the subjects of the quadrivium in the discourse of the cathedral schools, and it was interpreted from within this context. One indication of this viewpoint is Jordanus de Nemore's (or Jordanus Nemorarius first half of the thirteenth c.) *De elementis arithmetice artis*, which reworks arithmetical number theory according to the model of Euclid's (fl. around 300 B.C.E.) *Elements*, the foundational writing on geometry (for a rich reconstruction of Jordanus's intellectual context, cf. Høyrup 1988).

Evans (1975; 1977a; 1977b) and Burnett (esp. 1996) have reviewed the historical dynamic of these connections between practical arithmetic and the theory of number. The fluidity with which practical arithmetic was incorporated into the pedagogical canon in late antiquity and the Middle Ages corresponds to the constant reconfiguration of the disciplines. Encyclopedic forms of knowledge in the *artes* exhibit a great variance here. Englisch (1994) presents a systematic comparison of these epistemic movements in the cases of Macrobius (ca. 385/390–after 430.), Martianus Capella (fl. 410–429 C.E.), Cassiodorus (ca. 485–ca.

580 C.E.), Isidore of Seville (also Isidorus Hispalensis; ca. 560/570–636 C.E.) and the Venerable Bede (657–735). For the transformation of the quadrivium in the twelfth century, see Beaujouan (1982).

II The Ontology of Number

The medieval ontology of number is frequently reduced to the Christian appropriation of Pythagorean number theory (G.I). This tradition tended to use a dichotomous model in which numbers were construed as ideas, on the one hand, and as given corporeal multiplicities, on the other. The ontology of number was discussed from many perspectives. Here I would like to mention Augustinian speculation, which was indebted to a Platonic model and described in *De musica* (389) and the reception of Aristotelian number theory, which was transmitted to the Middle Ages, on the one hand, through the anonymous *Categoriae decem* (arguably from the fourth c.) and, on the other, through Boethius's (ca. 480–525) *De trinitate*.

1 Augustine on the Ontology of Number

In the general frame of Neoplatonic thought, Augustine of Hippo (354–430) developed a model for types of numbers (*genera numerorum*) in his analysis of listening to music (*De musica*, Book VI), a model in which the ontology of a number was further subdivided into ontologically different levels. In Augustine's ascending hierarchy, which was later adopted as a model by Bonaventure (1221–1274) in *De itinerarium mentis in deum* (II,10), these levels mediated between numbers given by corporeal things and those given by God; the individual *genera numerorum* were thought to correspond to each other in the act of human perception (cf. Hentschel 2002). With respect to a given multiplicity, such as a hymn's rhythm (*numerus*), which was incorporated into number, Augustine drew a distinction between the corporeal numbers (1.) and those that are given in the soul (2.–5). Although there is a certain variation between the names that Augustine gives to these categories in a summary (VI.16) and in the development of the argument throughout the treatise, the levels can be summarized as follows.

1. In a sound, there are *numeri corporales*, alternatively called *numeri sonantes*, or “corporeal”/“sounding” numbers that exist in themselves, independently of any faculty of the soul, and that the listener hears (*qui auditur*, II.2);
2. In sense perception, there are *numeri occurrentes* or “reacting numbers.” As a *sensus numerum* (number sense), this *genus numeri* is already present in the

- listener's sense perception (*qui est in sensu audientis*, II.3) and it makes perception possible;
3. In a recital, the *numeri progressores* or "forthcoming numbers" are created. This *genus numerorum* is located in the performance, i.e., the activity of the performer (*quod est in ipso usu et operatione pronuntiantis*, III, 4);
 4. In the memory, there are *numeri recordabiles* or "memorial numbers." These numbers (*qui sunt in memoria*, III, 4) allow the numbers that were perceived sensually to be recognized or recalled;
 5. In the soul, there are *numeri iudicandi* (also *iudiciales*) or "judging/judicial numbers." This *genus numerorum* (*quod es in ipso naturali iudicio sentiendi*; IV, 5) grounds the soul's natural capacity to make judgments about whether numbers (or rhythms, in this case) have been executed rightly or wrongly according to their pleasingness.
 6. Lastly, in the soul, there is a second species of *numeri iudicandi* (or *iudiciales*), numbers that are not adopted in the soul from the body, but rather those that the soul receives from God and that imprint the body (*quos non a corpore accipit anima, sed acceptos a summo Deo ipsa potius imprimit corpori*, IV,7). They make it possible to render a rational judgment about the aesthetic judgment.

2 Aristotelian Number Theory

Alongside the Neoplatonic metaphysics of number, there was an Aristotelian tradition of understanding number that was related to the act of counting. This tradition had already been discussed before the reception of Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.) in the thirteenth century. What was up for debate was the number theory from Aristotle's *Physics*: *Quoniam autem numerus est dupliciter (et namque quod numeratur et numerabile numerum dicimus, et quo numeramus* (*Physics* 4.11.219 b 5–8). For Aristotle, there was a categorical difference between the numbers being counted (*quod numeratur*) and we count with numbers (*quo numeramus*).

In the early Middle Ages, this distinction was known, on the one hand, through the *Categoriae decem* (arguably fourth c.) attributed to Augustine (354–430 C.E.) and on the other, through Boethius's (ca. 480–525 C.E.) *De trinitate*. The *Categoriae decem* provide a somewhat weaker paraphrase of Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.), claiming that numbers should be differentiated from the things that are being counted (*Anonymi paraphrasis themistianae* [Pseudo-Augustini, *Categoriae decem*] 1961, 82), a definition adopted by Alcuin (ca. 735–804), John Scotus (ca. 815–877) and some anonymous creators of glosses. By contrast, in his treatise *De trinitate* Boethius represented the stronger position that the things

being counted are also numbers: “There are as a fact two kinds of number. There is the number with which we count and the number inherent in the things counted” (*Numerus enim duplex est, unus quidem quo numerus, aliter vero qui in rebus numerabilibus constat*, Boethius 1973, 3.13–14). In the background, for Boethius, was the theoretical problem that the persons of the trinity are at once three and one. Thus, for Boethius, it was a matter of finding a conception of counting that did not presuppose a multiplicity of things. Through the wide circulation of Boethius’s *De Trinitate*, this definition became widespread in the early Middle Ages (especially through members of the School of Chartres like Gilbert of Poitiers [ca. 1075–1154] in his *Expositio in Boethii libros De trinitate*, 59, and Clarembald of Arras [fl. in the 1150s] in his *Tractatus super librum Boetii De trinitate*, 1965, 134–37; cf. further the overview on commentaries and adaptations in Masi [1983, 49–57]).

Robert Kilwardby (ca. 1215–1279) broke up this dualistic conception in his commentary on the Aristotelian *Categories* through a further differentiation, as Andrews (1990) shows on the basis of largely unedited commentary literature. While Boethius recognized the “things being counted” as numbers, Kilwardby saw the need for an additional differentiation within the category of the “numbers used for counting.” Because the *numerus quo numeramus* belongs to the category of quantity, it was necessary to distinguish the numbers used for counting in the soul (*qui est in anima*) from the numbers used for counting that provided the measure of the thing being counted (*mensurans res numeratas*). Going even further, John Pagus (first half of the thirteenth c.) in his commentary of the *Categoriae* presented a distinction that encompassed three categories of numbers: *numerus numeratus: et talis numerus dicitur res numeratae, quae substantiae sunt* (“the number numbered: and these numbers are called numbered things, which are substances”); *numerus numerans: et hoc est ipsa anima, et sic adhuc substantia* (“the numbering number: and this is the soul itself [of the one who counts] and therefore in this respect substance”); and *numerus quo numeramus: et iste nihil aliud est quam nutus corporeus transiens supra res numeratas, et sic quantitas est* (“the number by which we number: and this is nothing other than the corporeal gesture of pointing [or, inclining, nodding, looking] that is carried out on the numbered things, and therefore it is a quantity”).

What is striking here is the emphatic corporeality of counting, of the *operatio numerantis*, as a *nutus corporeus*, an interactive gesture of pointing. Number was understood as a repetitive act, and not as a numerical sequence of counting words, consequently being defined as pure quantification and not as ordination (Andrews 1990; Meier-Öser 2004). It is worth noting that this theoretical model—as Leibniz would later formulate comparably, “when we count, that is, when we say *this* (for to count is to repeat *this*)” (*cum numeramus [...] dicimus hoc [numerare*

enim est repetitum hoc], *Confessio philosophy* 1672/73, 102—has a counterpart in the elementary notation of numbers on tally sticks (B.II).

III Definitions of Number

There was no unified definition of number in the tradition of the quadrivium. Particular definitions were formulated primarily in the introductions of individual treatises on arithmetic and music.

However, these converged in the concept of number as a multitude that is made up of units (*to ek monadon synkeinomenon*), a definition that can be traced back to the *Elements* (VII, 2) of Euclid (fl. around 300 B.C.E.). Early on, this definition was adopted by Cassiodorus (ca. 485–ca. 580) in the *Institutiones divinarum et saecularium litterarum: numerus autem est ex monadibus multitudo composita* (II,4,2). Similarly, Jordanus de Nemore (also Jordanus Nemorarius) (first half of the thirteenth c.) also defined number as a collective quantity of discrete units (*Numerus est quantitas discretorum collectiva*) in the context of arithmetic (*Arithmetica decem libris demonstrata*, fol. a 2r.). Later on, this definition of number as a multitude of units was still used by Francesco Feliciano (1470–1542): *Il numero secondo ciascuno Filosofante e vna multitudine de vnita composta* (*Libro di arithmetica et geometria speculativa et practicale*, fol. A 2r). Hieronymus de Moravia (d. after 1271) and Pietro Borghi (fifteenth c.) defined the numbers as a collection or combination of units in their treatises on music (*Tractatus de musica*, I,36) and arithmetic (*La nobel opera de arithmetica*, fol. 1v.). For Pietro Borghi, number was a *unitatum collectio, vel ... multitudo ex unitatibus aggregata* or *una congregazion de piu unita*.

In contrast to this emphasis on multiplicity, a second strand of traditional definitions of number emphasized the role of “the one” as the starting point for “the multiple.” Hence, in Isidore’s (560/70–636) *Liber numerorum* (II,2): *numerus est congregatio unitatum, uel ab uno progrediens multitudo*. In *De institutione arithmetica* (I,2), Boethius emphasized the return of the one that leads to the multiple (*in numero quo numeramus repetitio unitatum facit pluritatem*). Similarly, Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) stated that number is measured through unity (*numerus est multitudo mensurata per unum*) in connection with the question of God’s unity (*Summa theologiae*, I, 11, 2 res). Aquinas’s conception of numbers is also present in Jacobus Leodiensis’s fourteenth-century *Speculum musicae: Est ... unitas numeri pars simplex quae aliquotiens repetita ipsum totum reddit et mensurat numerum* (95).

Further definitions were given to the terms incorporated into music theory (for the corresponding source texts, see F V).

IV Properties of number (*divisio numerorum*)

The formal typology of numbers, the *divisio numerorum*, was based on the arithmetical properties of numbers (on the ancient pre-history of the typology, see Thiel and Kranz 2004; on the Middle Ages, see the introduction in Ambrosetti 2008, 12–14). Numbers are not only even or odd; the even numbers can be divided further into even-even numbers, even-odd numbers, and odd even numbers, etc. A number is even-even if its parts, and all the parts of their parts, are also even numbers, and if the process of division terminates in the number 1 (e.g., 64 can be divided into 2×32 , 32 into 2×16 , 16 into 2×8 , 8 into 2×4 , 4 into 2×2 , 2 into 2×1 .) A number is *perfect*, if it can be represented as the sum of its parts (e.g., $6 = 1 + 2 + 3$; $28 = 1 + 2 + 3 + 7 + 14$); *overperfect*, if the sum of the parts is greater than the number itself (e.g., $12 < 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 6$); *deficient*, if the sum of its parts is smaller than the number itself (e.g., $10 > 1 + 2 + 5$).

The criteria for dividing numbers is stable, and can be traced back to Nicomachus (fl. ca. 100 C.E.) and partly even to Euclid (fl. around 300 B.C.E.). However, there are still different patterns for the description of the division of numbers in the Middle Ages. Boethius (ca. 480–524) developed these divisions in great detail (*De arithmetica*, I–II). Cassiodorus (ca. 485–ca. 580) brought these divisions together schematically in the *Institutiones divinarum et secularium litterarum* (II, IV, 3–6):

- I. 1. *numeri in paribus* (even numbers): subdivided into
 - a) *pariter par* (even times even),
 - b) *pariter impar* (even times odd),
 - c) *impariter par* (odd times even)
- vs. 2. *numeri imparibus* (odd numbers): subdivided into
 - a) *primum et simplicem* (prime and simple),
 - b) *secundum et compositum* (secondary and composite),
 - c) *tertium mediocrem* (intermediate); the last ones divided into

α) *quodammodo primus et incompositus*, (prime and not composite) or *modo secundus et compositus* (secondary and composite). (cf. Boethius 1966, I,3; I,8; I,13).

- II. 1. *par* (even)
- vs. 2. *impar* (odd), and viz. subdivided into
 - a) *superfluous* (overperfect),
 - b) *indigens* (deficient),
 - c) *perfectus* (perfect). (cf. Boethius 1966, I,19).

III. The numbers were further subdivided according to the way of looking at them: observation

1. *secundum se* (considered in itself),
2. *ad aliquid* (considered in relation to another), and viz.

a) *alii sunt aequales* (some are equal). Among the *aequales* gehören are *multiplices* (multiples), *superparticulares* (superparticulars), *superpartientes* (superpartients), *multiplices superpartientes*.

b) *alii inequales* (some are unequal), among these are

α) *alii sunt maiores* (some are greater),

β) *alii sunt minores* (some are less). Among the *inequales* are *submultiplices* (submultiples), *subsuperparticulares* (subsuperparticulars), *subsuperpartientes* (subsuperpartients), *submultiples superparticulares* (submultiple superparticulars), *supmultiplices superpartientes* (supmultiple superpartients). (cf. Boethius 1966, I,20–22).

IV. The division according to their qualities:

1. *discreti* (discrete) vs.
2. *continentes* (continous); these are divided into
 - a) *lineales* (linear),
 - b) *superficiosi* (plane)
 - c) *solidi* (solid).

V Music Theory

The properties of numbers organized in the *divisio numerorum* can also be described as proportions, or harmonies. Understood as intervals, they constituted the main link to Pythagorean music theory, which was transmitted to the European Middle Ages through Augustine (354–430; *De musica*), Boethius (480–525; *De institutione arithmetica*, *De institutione musica*), Cassiodorus (ca. 485–ca. 580; *Institutiones divinarum et saecularium litterarum*) and Isidore of Seville (also Isidorus Hispalensis; ca. 560/70–636; *Etymologiarum sive originum libri xx*; Bernhard 1990).

Music theory built on the description of proportions as an explanation for harmony and dissonance. For this reason, arithmetic was also incorporated into medieval treatises on music theory, and *musica* was correspondingly defined as a

numerus sonorus or as a *scientia de numero relato ad sonos* (Hentschel 2000, 144–46; generally, Hammerstein 2007). The relationship between music theory and arithmetic in Boethius and the connection between both disciplines in the quadrivium in the Neoplatonic tradition has been reviewed comprehensively in Heilmann (2007). The intertangling of arithmetic and *musica* in the wake of Boethius is apparent in many treatises, including Jacob of Liège's *Speculum Musicae* (also Jacques de Liège or Jacobus Leodiensis; ca. 1260–after 1330); Johannes de Muris's (1290s–after 1345) *Libellus Cantus Mensurabilis* (mid-fourteenth c.); Guilelmus Monachus's *De Preceptis Artis Musicae Libellus* (late fifteenth c.); Johannes Tinctoris's (1435–1511) *Proportionale Musicae* (1472/72); Franchinus Gaffurius's (1451–1522) *Practica Musica* (1496), Prosdocimus de Beldamandis's (d. 1428) *Brevis Summula Proportionum* (1409) (cf. Masi 1983, 23–24), who also discusses the transfer of the principle of proportionality to rhythm (Masi 1983, 25–30, an issue further explored by Traub 1997, Lütteken 2001, and Curran 2013; Augustine discusses the aesthetic perception of rhythm in Book VI of his treatise *De musica*, see F II 1).

There was a tension between *musica*, understood as a speculative science, and *cantus*, the practical execution of music, which, as part of the Judeo-Christian tradition of liturgical song, aimed at creating affect (Hentschel 2000; Fuhrmann 2004). While the two traditions were genetically independent, they nevertheless did not run alongside each other without influencing each other. Although harmonies reflected speculatively are, by definition, not audible to the human ear, liturgical song contradicted the harmonic rules of *musica* insofar as it was bound up with affect. This created a problem of legitimation for liturgical song, which has only been addressed in recent research.

The contradiction between Pythagorean number theory and the affective aspect of liturgical song was already discussed in the Sixth Book of Augustine's treatise *De musica*. As a solution to the problem, Augustine sketched out an ascending model of types of numbers in which the perception of audible patterns of numbers (rhythms) can be grasped analytically. In Augustine's model, the corporeal numbers (*numeri corporales*) are transmitted across the reacting numbers (*numeri progressores*), the advancing numbers (*numeri occurrentes*) and the memorial numbers (*numeri recordabiles*) with the judging or judicial numbers (*numeri judicandi* or *judiciales*) (see F II; Brennan 1988). Boethius's speculative music theory was also opened toward a theoretical reflection on *cantus*. This is evident in the manuscript tradition, where the strict arithmetic outline of *musica* is reworked through the addition of diagrams, glosses, and commentaries in order to make it also relevant for the teaching of performing music (Mellon 2011). However, there was never a canonical resolution of this conflict between speculative *musica*, ordered according to number, and affective liturgical song (*cantus*). We can only reconstruct solutions for particular situations in the interaction

of different types of sources such as theoretical treatises, pictorial sources, didactic outlines, modalities of writing, and compositional models of thought (Wald 2012).

Furthermore, music theory was not limited to the reception of Boethian number theory and its implications (on its context, see Zaminer, ed., 1984; Zaminer, ed., 1985; Ertelt and Zaminer, ed., 2000; Deussen 1995; ed., 2011). Music theory as advanced science (Goddu 1994; 1998; Panti 1992) was also the field to create advanced models for describing proportions and qualities of sound, as well as theoretical models of perception. These culminated in Nicole Oresme's (ca. 1320/25–1382) writings on music as a universal structural model for the description of the physical world (Taschow 1999). In their theoretical modeling of sound and its effects, Oresme's writings anticipated many modern physical and psycho-acoustic concepts (Taschow 2003; 2012).

VI Types of Numbers (*species numerorum*)

In a further conceptual approach, a differentiation was made among types of numbers, the so-called *species numerorum*, which were worked out in Rabanus Maurus's (ca. 776–856) treatise *De compvto*, III (ca. 820). The *species numerorum* indicate numbers not only in the category of quantity, but also according to ranks and several grammatical functions. Indeed they were first systematically presented in Priscian's (fl. around 500 C.E.) grammatical work on numbers (*Priscian Liber de figuris numerorum*) and thus were, in the system of the artes, considered a part of the trivium (cf. C I). Proceeding from the cardinal numbers, Rabanus first distinguished between seven *species numerorum*:

- 1) *numeri cardinales* (*unus, duo, tres, quattuor* [...] with reference to abstract numbers: one, two, three ...);
- 2) *numeri ordinales* (*primus, secundus, tertius, quartus* [...] with reference to ranks: first, second, third ...);
- 3) *numeri adverbialis* (*semel, bis, ter, quater* [...] as adverbs: once, twice, three times ...);
- 4) *numeri dispersiui* (*singuli, bini, terni, quaterni* [...] as distributive numbers: every one, every two, every three ...);
- 5) *numeri ponderales* (*simplum, duplum, triplum, quadruplum* [...] as multipliers: double, triple ...);
- 6) *numeri denuntiatiui* (*solum, alter vel alius*: the one, the other [of two]);
- 7) *numeri multiplicatiui* (*simplex, duplex, triplex, quadruplex* as well as the adverbial forms *simpliciter, dupliciter, tripliciter et reliqua*; as multipliers: one-fold, two-fold, three-fold ...).

Rabanus then expanded this list to 14 derivative types (*aliae species deriuatiuorum numerorum*) (Rabanus Maurus 1979, 208, note to section 3, line 17–42). In doing so, he drew on Priscian, who himself partly adapted Marcus Terentius Varro's (116–127 B.C.E.) explanations of weights of currency (*De lingua latina*, V., ca. 169–74, on the multiples of the As); but also that of the Venerable Bede (657–735), which showed how to proportion a whole into twelve parts through the *numeri unciarum* (*De temporum ratione*, ca. 4 on *De ratione unciarum*).

- 1) *singularis, dualis, ternarius, quaternarius* [...]: indicating multitudes (with reference to one, with reference to two, with reference to three ...)
- 2) *assis, dussis vel dipondius, tresis, quadrasis* [...]: indicating multitudes of units of weights of currency (one as, two asses, three asses ...)
- 3) *deunx, dextans, dodrans, bessis, septunx* [...]: indicating multitudes of fractions of twelve, particularly of the pound (ounces), which was relevant as the weight of gold (counting twelfth: *deunx*: a twelfth [or one ounce], *dextans*: ten twelfths [or 10 ounces], *dodrans* nine twelfths [but also three quarters or 9 ounces]; *bessis*: eight twelfths [or eight ounces], *septunx*: seven twelfths [or seven ounces])
- 4) *anniculus uel annuus, biennis, triennis, quadriennis* [...]: indicating multitudes of years in terms of age (one year old, two years old, three years old, four years old)
- 5) *bimus, trimus, quadrimus* [...]: indicating multitudes of years in terms of ages or time periods (biennial/two-year, triennial/three-year; quadrennial/four-year...)
- 6) *bipes, tripes, quadrupes, decempes* [...]: indicating numbers of feet, also in the context of measurements (bipedal/two-footed/two feet long, tripedal/three-footed/three feet long, quadripedal/four-footed/four feet long...)
- 7) *biceps, triceps, quadriceps, centiceps* [...]: indicating numbers of strands of muscle fibers (two strands, three strands, four strands)
- 8) *bifariam, trifariam, quadrifariam* [...]: indicating multitudes of parts (in two parts, in three parts, in four parts)
- 9) *biduum, quadriuum* [...]: indicating multitudes of time periods in terms of days (two-day, four-day...)
- 10) *bicorpor, tricorpor* [...]: indicating multitudes of bodies (in two bodies, in three bodies)
- 11) *bipatens, tripatens* [...]: indicating multitudes of open directions (open in two directions, open in three directions...)
- 12) *bilinguis, trilinguis* [...]: indicating multitudes of mastered or represented languages (bilingual, trilingual)

- 13) *biuium*, *truium* [...]: indicating multitudes of ways that meet at a crossroads (two-way crossroads, three-way crossroads)
- 14) *bifidus*, *trifidus*, *quadrifidus* [...]: indicating multitudes of divisions (two-part, three-part, four-part)

The historical context of the *species numerorum* in the treatises of Bede and Rabanus was education in calendrical calculations. Students had to understand verbal descriptions of operations of calculation, since calculations were always written down in complete sentences in sources transmitting the *computus*, generally not being formalized in symbols (Wallis 2007). However, the *species numerorum* had encyclopedic tendencies in Priscian and Rabanus. This differentiation, in its strong emphasis on things' mode of existence as a multiplicity, as a rank, or as a sequence, relativizes the modern primacy of the cardinal number. Here the theoretical description of Latin numbers also converges with the concept of number in the vernacular languages (B.I; D.II.1).

G Giving Meaning to Numbers

In all areas of the tradition of using numbers, we also have to account for the fact that numerical figures were interpreted with direct reference to numerical figures in the Bible and in connection with the divine (see the essays in Koetsier and Bergmans, ed., 2005. To establish analogies with biblical figures, procedures were first developed for determining the meaning of numerical figures. In this intellectual process, exegesis had recourse to Pythagorean number theory (F I). These procedures being established, the meanings assigned to individual numbers and numeric proportions gradually stabilized. Ultimately, they became so well established that they could be transferred to other fields, as is shown in the use of “symbolic” or “allegorical” numbers in bookkeeping, medicine, astronomy, the history of piety, pictures and architecture, etc. However, we cannot proceed from the premise that numerical figures were fundamentally and primarily intended to be numerical symbols—not even in the fields of art, architecture, and literature.

I Speculative Arithmetic

In the Pythagorean and Neoplatonic context, numbers were understood as an immediate expression of the divine order of being. This understanding of number, in the mathematical triad *logisticae—arimetica—arithmologia*, fell to the field of

arithmology, while logistics represented the field of practical calculation and arithmetic the field of number theory. Furthermore, due to the Platonic teaching that numbers have the status of ideas (Martin 1956, 17–29), this epistemological role of numbers was also emphasized throughout the Middle Ages. At the same time, the Christian appropriation of Pythagorean number theory also linked up with the Judeo-Hebraic tradition of interpreting the Pentateuch (Guillaumin 2005, XX–XXIV).

The fulcrum and source of legitimization for the Christian appropriation of Pythagoreanism was one of Solomon's dictums in the *Book of Wisdom*: *omina mensura et numero et pondere disposuisti* ("but thou hast ordered all things in measure and number and weight," 11,20). In patristics, this dictum provided legitimation for investigating the mathematical order of the cosmos as a whole without faulting *curiositas* (Petri 1983–1984; cf., for the Early Modern period, Knobloch/Folkerts/Reich 2001). The idea behind this approach, as formulated in Boethius's (ca. 480–524) *De institutione arithmetica* (I,2), is that a number is "the principal exemplar in the mind of the creator" (*principale in animo conditoris exemplar*). The formulation is similar in different contexts, such as Clarembald of Arras's (fl. in the 1150s) *Tractatus super librum Boetii De Trinitate* (1965, 4, 25), Alain de Lille's (also Alanus ab Insulis; 1128–1203) *Sermo de trinitate* (255–56) and Walter Odington's (early fourteenth c.) *Summa de speculatione musicae* (1.6). Epistemologically, this formulation was seminally interpreted by Bonaventure (1221–1274) in the *Itinerarium mentis in deum*: " 'number is the principal exemplar in the mind of the Creator,' and in things, the principal vestige leading to Wisdom" (*numerus est praecipuum in animo Conditoris exemplar et in rebus praecipuum vestigium ducens in Sapientiam*; 2.10).

Given this metaphysical coding of numbers, the exploration of their properties in Boethian number theory (*De institutione arithmetica*, *De trinitate*) became a speculative science with a long commentary tradition, in particular in Thierry of Chartres's (ca. 1085–ca. 1150) surroundings (Häring 1971, Jeuneau 1973). As a result, speculative arithmetic was closely connected with numerology (see G II).

II Numerology

Solomon's dictum (*Wisdom* 11,20) also supported and legitimated the Church Fathers's view that numerical figures in the Christian scriptures corresponded to symbolic meanings (Petri 1983–1984; Meyer and Suntrup 1987). The decisive procedures in the Christian interpretation of the world included referring the arithmetic properties of number to the numerical figures in the Bible, and explaining them from the perspective of biblical meanings. As an exegetic practice, these

procedures are already evident in Philo of Alexandria (ca. 15/10 B.C.E.–ca. 40 C.E.) whose pertinent work, *Peri arithmōn* (De numeris), is lost, though elements of this exegetic number teaching can be found in *De mundi opificio*, *Legis allegoriae* and the *Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesim*; see Staehle 1931; Moehring 1995). This practice was then adapted for Christian exegesis through Origen (ca. 184–ca. 254 C.E.) (Meyer 1975).

The medieval significance of number symbolism is grounded in Augustine's programmatic teachings on the interpretation of numbers (Hopper 2000). While numbers were understood, in philosophy, as *res*, i.e., the “things” in creation that have definable structural and ontological qualities, they were defined, in exegesis, as a sub-group of the *signa translata*, or “metaphorical signs” (Hellgardt 1973, 175–78). For Augustine (354–430) the quadrivial arithmetic, just like knowledge of natural history, was a precondition for the understanding of the *locutio figurata* in the Bible: “An unfamiliarity with numbers makes unintelligible many things that are said figuratively and mystically in scripture” (*Numerorum etiam imperitia multa facit non intellegi translate ac mystice posita in scripturis. De doctrina christiana*, 2.25.62).

1 Procedures of Numerological Interpretation

The strong connection between the knowledge of numbers and that of things was a precondition for the most frequently used method of interpretation—namely, the analogy between a number and various ways of dividing the thing being counted (*secundum officium sollemne*, *secundum paritatem* oder *secundum multitudinem partium*). Other methods included the interpretation of numbers as sums and products (*secundum partes / compositionem / multiplicationem*) and the affinities among numbers that resulted from this (*secundum affinitatem [compositionis]*). Furthermore, based on Boethius's arithmetical *divisiones* (F IV) even and odd numbers, as well as divisible and indivisible numbers, were viewed as bearers of meaning (*secundum qualitatem compositionis / appellationem*). The position of a number in a numerical series could also be the starting point for an interpretation (*secundum ordinem / positionem / ordinem positionis / numeri computationem / modum porrectionis*), as could the sum of the divisors (*secundum partitionem*), a recurring proportion (*secundum proportionem*) or the triangular number for a given number (*secundum aggregationem*). Numbers could also be interpreted according to the geometrical figure that they represented (*secundum formam dispositionis*) (cf. C VI; F IV) and according to the ciphers or finger signs through which they were illustrated (a *figuris*, *secundum signa*) (cf. E III; Meyer 1975, Meyer and Suntrup 1987, XV).

In theory, high mathematical claims were formulated for the interpretation of numbers; in practice, interpretation according to the composition of addends and factors was the most common, accounting for over 90% of usage (Meyer and Suntrup 1987, XVII). Although these philosophical and exegetical views of numbers should be distinguished from each other systematically in research, both categories of numbers rivaled each other and mixed in the process of exegesis (Meyer 1975, 42–46).

2 Sources for Medieval Numerology

Biblical interpretations of numbers were first brought together systematically as a catalogue in Isidore of Seville's (also Isidorus Hispalensis; ca. 560/70–636) *Liber numerorum*, after which the task of determining the meanings of biblical figures remained a fixed part of encyclopedic literature up to the Baroque period (cf. Petrus Bungus's *Compendium Numerorum mysteria* (1599), which was published and expanded on many times; and the section on numbers in Hieronymus Lauretus's (also known as Jerónimo Lloret) *Silva Allegoriarum* (1681).

In the twelfth c., the interpretation of arithmetic number theory was pushed forward, above all in the Cistercian context. Odon of Morimond (1116–1161) commented extensively on the first three numbers in his *Analetica numerorum*, and this commentary was continued for further numbers in the treatises *De sacramentis numerorum* by William of Auberive (also Guillaume d'Auberive; twelfth c.) (3 to 12) and Geoffrey of Auxerre (twelfth c.; 13 to 20), as well as *De quatuor modis quibus significationes numerorum aperiuntur* by Thibaut of Langres (twelfth c.). On this group of authors, see Deleflie (1978); Garnier (1979); Leclercq (1948); Gastaldelli (1975); and above all, Lange (1979).

For medieval Latin literature, Meyer (1975) presents the range of biblical interpretations systematically. Meyer and Suntrup (1987) provide a comprehensive lexicon of medieval meanings of numbers.

III Numbers in Architecture, the Visual Arts, and Literature

Research on the role of numbers in architecture, the visual arts, and literature is vast and difficult to grasp systematically. Basically, all of the aspects of the use of numbers outlined here also apply to the use of numbers in literature and the visual arts. Nevertheless, attempts to derive complex structures of meaning for buildings, images, or texts from given or ascertained relations among numbers should be enjoyed with caution.

In essence, we cannot exclude the possibility that presenting something as having three parts, particularly in religious usage, could generally increase its dignity simply on account of the dominant reference of threeness to the trinity, and so forth. Since exegesis itself avoided more complex numerological constructions (see G II 1), there has to be further supporting evidence for any thesis that claims to find meaning in more complex proportions within texts, images, or buildings. This evidence could come in the form of explicit claims in the text; in the application of unambiguous iconographic traditions in the artwork itself; or in statements made by the creator or contemporary reception (programmatically, see Ernst 2012 on the case of literature). In any case, a numerological interpretation cannot be solely legitimized by the mere fact that a building, image or text can be divided numerically (fundamentally, Guerreau 2000; 2012; Hellgardt 1973). Even the assumption that musical structures imitated the cosmic order is debated in medieval music theory (Wald 2012), as it can be shown that the apparent geometry of churches might not be related to cosmic order (Guerreau 2012). On the other hand, it is true that we have to account for the fact that symbolic arithmetic was also used in secular literary genres, as e.g., in the case of Dhuoda's *Liber manualis* (fl. 824–843) (Brunner 2012).

Ultimately, our judgments should be based on concrete objects in specific contexts. Collected volumes that aim to meet the appropriate frame of interpretations case-by-case include Contreni and Casciani (ed., 2002); Koetsier and Bergmans (ed., 2005); Les Nombres (1992–1993); *Measurement* (2011); Wedell (2012); Zimmermann (1983–1984).

H Conclusion

This survey of numerical knowledge in the Middle Ages has attempted to understand number not from the vantage point of the mathematical avant-garde, but instead from the most common and unspectacular forms of use. Taking spoken numerals and the elementary notational practice of carving notches into wooden tally sticks as a starting point for this survey significantly broadens our understanding of what a history of numbers is about.

Even extraordinarily learned authors like Rabanus Maurus (ca. 776–856) referred the elaborate mathematical practice of calendrical computation back to the verbally pronounced number and its grammatical shape: it is the cardinal number from which all other concepts, forms, qualities descend: (*Plures quidem species numerus habet, sed tamen omnes ab una origine nascuntur, De compvto*, III, 3–4). The example of Rabanus's *De compvto* illustrates how mathematical sophistication remained always interwoven with practical concepts: the counting

voice; numbers displayed with fingers and hands; manual techniques for writing out numerals as words, for moving pebbles on an abacus, and for writing and operating the traditional (Roman) or the newly fashioned (Hindu-Arabic) *figurae* with ink on paper. These practical aspects of numbers are also evident in any book on commercial arithmetic from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, e.g., Johannes Widmann's *Hvbsche and behende Rechenung auff allen Kauffmannschaft* (1489). The alterity of medieval numerical knowledge is not given in a fundamental simplicity—as it may seem from a teleological modern perspective—but as a fundamental distinction in terms of material, practical, social, and communicative complexity.

Moving beyond the stubborn image of premodern numerical knowledge that involved straightforward shifts from mysticism to ratio, from symbol to science, from a primitive to an elaborate mathematical culture, a more holistic approach will help to carve out the concrete intellectual work that was actually carried out on the market, in seigneurial scriptoria, in monasteries, and in calculation schools. In light of the multifaceted presence of numbers in terms of materiality and techniques, we have to revise the belief that the creators of texts, artworks or calculation techniques were limited to “symbolic” or “rational” concepts of number. Rather, the sources (works of art, literary and scientific texts, as well as the broad field of didactic, economic, medical, theological, and juridical treatises, journals, or records, etc.) mirror the complexity of using numbers. A history of numerical knowledge, in contrast to that of mathematic thought, includes the phenomenology of counting, of visualizing hierarchies, of customizing goods, of exchanging values, and of giving meaning, i.e., the use and phenomenal givenness of numbers *in a specific situation*.

It is striking that the medieval counterparts of the modern words for “counting” and “number,” such as *tael*, *compter*, *zeln* etc., comprise a spectrum of meanings that correspondingly range from *counting* to *recounting*, from *quantity* to *narrative account*, including all kinds of variants of *making sequences*, *enumeration*, *estimation*, *reckoning*, and *calculation*, as well as *expressing judgments* and *assigning quality* and *rank*. This semantic evidence draws our attention to the significance of the communicative and performative acts that are involved in the application of numerical knowledge.

Ultimately, the role of number in the ecology of practical and intellectual processes cannot be described appropriately in terms of abstraction, mathematical rationality, and scientific progress, but rather in terms of materiality, performance, and communication. While the importance of quantification and calculation increased significantly throughout the period and led to the fascinating diversity of mathematical models and procedures, numbers remained ontologically bound up with the ungraspable divine and with a sphere of music that no

human ear would ever be able to enjoy. Without any opposition, counting was intimately related to the assignment of rank—quantitative, qualitative, and social. After all, applying numbers in the first place meant determining what was countable, i.e., answering the question: What counts?

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Rory Naismith
Numismatics

A The End of the Roman Empire and the Early Middle Ages (ca. 500–900)

Coined metallic money was virtually universal in medieval Europe, taken as a whole. Even if there was immense variation in the scale and form of medieval coinage, and extensive areas and times in which coin was not made or used at all, it provides a source of crucial importance to the historian. Aspects of political, artistic, cultural and social history can all be informed by numismatic evidence, and it has obvious significance for consideration of economic life.

The later Roman Empire was heir to centuries of familiarity with coins, which had first spread out from the Eastern Mediterranean in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. (Grierson 1975). By about 400 C.E., the empire possessed a complex monetary system closely integrated into its fiscal and administrative machinery. Base-metal issues were by far the most numerous and familiar in day-to-day circulation. In many parts of the empire, monetization of society on the basis of these low-value coins must have been very considerable. Silver was coined to a significant degree to help cover state expenditures such as payments to the military, but of greatest interest to the state were gold *solidi* and their fractions. These high-value coins were made in tightly controlled fashion, sometimes with only one mint (which travelled with the emperor) supplying the whole empire. They were the preferred medium for payment of taxes and other official dues, but plentiful enough to be used widely for private purposes (Banaji 2007, 39–88).

For these reasons gold was the only element of the late Roman coinage to be maintained on any level in the early medieval West (Hendy 1988; Naismith 2014 a). Post-Roman governments had a vested interest in preserving the part of the currency which had been most essential to the payment of soldiers and officials, and the income of the state. In contrast, the silver and base-metal issues of the empire withered away in the fifth and sixth centuries. There is no question that, in monetary and more general material terms, early medieval Europe was a poorer and less complex society than its Roman precursor (Ward-Perkins 2005; Wickham 2005). It should be stressed that this was not the case in the Eastern part of the empire, which preserved and adapted the more complex late Roman monetary system across the early Middle Ages (Morrisson 2002; Hendy 1985; Grierson 1999). The Byzantine Empire's neighbors to the East—the Sassanians and subsequently the Islamic caliphate—also inherited dynamic late antique monetary traditions,

and possessed a range of gold, silver and copper-alloy denominations issued in impressive bulk.

In the post-Roman kingdoms of Western Europe, initial gold issues tended to copy those of past or present emperors, to the exclusion of direct reference to their actual place or authority of origin. Scattered exceptions and references in documents—such as the coins of the Burgundians (which include royal monograms) or a set of the same people's sixth-century laws which name *solidi* of specific kings and mints—reveal a fast-changing monetary landscape; one in which kings were taking responsibility for the currency and new mints were being set up answering to the local needs of customers rather than the fiscal demands of the state (Hendy 1988). Vandal Africa and Ostrogothic Italy remained closest to late Roman models, down to the production of extensive copper-alloy coinages and (in Italy) maintenance of established minting administration. The Merovingian kingdoms in Gaul, however, can be seen to have moved definitively away from the centralized model of late Roman currency when their gold coins began (ca. 575) to name the place and maker (moneyer) as a matter of course. Up to 800 mint-places and 2,000 moneyers are named on gold coins of the subsequent century, constituting a major (if challenging) source for topography and onomastics (Felder 1978; 2003). As in the fifth and earlier sixth centuries, it remained the norm to avoid direct reference to the king or any other political authority: only about 17 places are known to have produced any coins in the name of a Merovingian king, and Marseille was the only one to do so regularly (Grierson and Blackburn 1986, 128–31; Prou 1892). On the other hand, the likelihood is that the numerous Merovingian mints include a large number of estates or aristocratic residences where wealthy landowners had the rent or tax from their land turned into coin (Stahl 1982; Strothmann 2008).

Contemporary kingdoms in Spain and England were akin to Gaul in having only gold currency during much of the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries. In the Visigothic realm there was also an initial phase of imitative pseudo-imperial coinage spanning the fifth and sixth centuries; as in Gaul this came to an end in the 570s. The new coinage which followed, however, was quite different (Miles 1952; Pliego Vázquez 2009). There was strict unity in design and royal recognition, and the number of mints stayed comparatively small. It remains debatable whether Visigothic *tremisses* were used in the same way as their Merovingian counterparts, and there may have been a more persistent link between coinage and taxation (Retamero 2011; Martín Viso 2011; García Moreno 1982). The first Anglo-Saxon coinages in England were essentially outgrowths from the Merovingian monetary system (Sutherland 1948). They were of very similar form, weight and fineness, and circulated in England alongside a large quantity of Frankish currency. Indeed, the first Anglo-Saxon coins grew out of increasing familiarity

with Merovingian models, and local minting began in conjunction with conversion to Christianity and adoption of other associated cultural trappings from continental Europe. However, in design the first English gold pieces (often known as *scillingas* or *thrymsas*) looked more to Roman than Merovingian models, and cannot have formed part of any economy in which Roman-style taxation prevailed: their use was presumably concentrated in other areas such as high-level trade, gift-giving and payment of fines or tributes (Gannon 2003; Sutherland 1948; Williams 2006).

The seventh century saw a common trend across Western Europe toward the debasement of gold coin. By about the 670s, most territories from Italy to England were dominated by *tremisses* containing only a small minority of gold by weight. In the Merovingian and Anglo-Saxon kingdoms—which were closely related monetarily—this process eventually resulted (ca. 675) in the adoption of a new coinage of pure silver (Metcalf 1993–1934; Grierson and Blackburn 1986, 138–54; 164–89; Lafaurie 1963 and 1969). The new coins were known as *denarii* in Latin, and are usually (albeit possibly anachronistically) called *sceattas* in the context of Anglo-Saxon England and Frisia (Hines 2010; Naismith forthcoming). Silver issues retained the same basic model as the gold: they were of similar weight and size, and shared a reluctance to name kings or other rulers (in England any inscription at all is unusual). In England and Frisia especially the switch to silver coinage in the late seventh and early eighth centuries inaugurated a surge in the quantity of coin in circulation. Finds suggest that the period ca. 680–740 may have seen the richest circulation of coin between the end of Roman rule and the late twelfth century (Blackburn 2003; Naismith 2013a). Up to a third of all English finds came from the Low Countries, and there were smaller but still significant quantities of Frankish and Danish coins in England as well (Metcalf and Op den Velde 2010). The coinage of this period thus reflects especially well the full development of the North Sea economy in the Merovingian period (Lebecq 1983).

A series of changes affected the coinage of England and the Frankish kingdoms in the middle of the eighth century, as a result of which the classic form of the medieval penny or *denier* appeared, and royal involvement with minting and circulation became noticeably more explicit and direct. The process apparently began in Northumbria, under King Eadberht (737–758); related reforms followed over the next two decades in East Anglia, Francia, Kent and Mercia (Naismith 2012a). Pippin III (751–768) was the first to institute the broader, thinner form of silver coin, and his model was soon taken up in Southern England. These two regions remained closely associated throughout the early Middle Ages, though the beginning at this time of relatively effective policies for excluding foreign coin from circulation within both kingdoms obscures the true extent of monetary interaction.

The Carolingian coinage provides a powerful material manifestation of contemporary royal ideology. Rulers emphasized in their legal pronouncements that adulteration of the coinage was a direct challenge to the authority of the king (Garipzanov 2008); they also placed a high premium on unity and standardization. Charlemagne (768–814) in the early 790s ordered an empire-wide recoinage which introduced a new weight standard keyed into general reform of weights and measures (Coupland 2005). His son Louis the Pious (814–840) carried the principle furthest with his *Christiana religio* coinage of ca. 822–840 which effaced even separate mint-names on coins issued at dozens of places from Dorestad to Barcelona (Coupland 1990). Under these rulers minting even expanded, tentatively, into fresh territory such as Germany beyond the Rhine. A major departure from the Merovingian coinage was the abandonment of moneyers' names on coins: responsibility for oversight of production under the Carolingians and after was instead vested in the counts (Lafaurie 1980). England retained a strong emphasis on the role of the moneyers, and they—in close association with the king—occupied a position at the heart of the English minting system throughout the Middle Ages, and were named on each individual coin down to the late thirteenth century. The kingdoms of Southern England in the late eighth and ninth centuries were served by a small but prolific selection of mint-towns on or near the coast where these moneyers were based (Naismith 2012b, 128–55). Despite its important role in establishing a new form of royal involvement with minting in the middle of the eighth century, Northumbria thereafter stood apart from developments in Southern England. It never adopted the broad, thin format of penny introduced by Pippin III (ca. 714–768): coins of small, thick module remained the norm down to the end of the kingdom in about 867. These coins (widely known, again anachronistically, as *stycas*) became particularly debased around the 830s, such that Northumbria may be said to have developed the first new base-metal coinage of Western Europe in the Middle Ages (Metcalf, ed., 1987; Pirie 1996; 2006). Although probably born in the context of political disorder, the *stycas* may have been much more versatile as a currency than the higher-value pennies of the South and Carolingian empire.

The eighth and ninth centuries therefore represented a turning point in the form and organisation of Western European coinage, setting a pattern of royal silver pennies or *deniers* that would last for centuries. Of course, it would be wrong to assume that the prevalence of the broad silver penny was secure in the middle of the eighth century: recent research, for example, has shown that small, thick silver coins similar to those of Northumbria continued to be made and used in Denmark until around 800 C.E. (Feveile 2012). There were, in addition, much larger and more articulated monetary systems to be found in the Byzantine and Muslim spheres of influence in the Mediterranean, with outposts in Italy and

Spain respectively. When gold coins re-emerged on a very limited scale in eighth- and ninth-century Western Europe, they were therefore modelled on a mix of Roman, Byzantine and Muslim traditions (Blackburn 2007; Grierson 1951). These coins are relatively prominent in surviving texts because they were concentrated in high-value and prestigious transactions between members of the elite, which tend to feature more frequently in surviving documents. Yet the cultural, economic and political influence of the Carolingian Empire led to the adoption of Frankish-style silver *denarii* in Northern Spain and Italy as far south as Rome and Benevento during the late eighth and ninth centuries. In England, Viking takeover of the North brought an end to the distinct tradition of Northumbrian *stycas*. A currency founded on broadly similar silver pennies which, by 900 C.E., extended from Southern Italy to the Tyne was hence one of the key developments of the Carolingian era.

B “Feudal” and Royal Coinages, New Silver and the Rise of the Denier (ca. 900–1250)

If, by the early part of the tenth century, there was comparative unity in the basic form of the monetary economy across Western Europe (based on the silver penny/*denarius/denier*), there was increasing divergence in the relationship between the coinage and political authority. England, unusually, saw an expansion and intensification of royal control over the currency—first through imposition of the West Saxon/Mercian model of coinage after successful campaigns of conquest in the late ninth and early tenth centuries, and subsequently through a major consolidating reform under King Edgar (959–975) (Blunt, Stewart, and Lyon 1989; Stewart 1988; Naismith 2014 b). By the end of the tenth century, between forty and seventy mint-towns at any one time issued identical coin-types and undertook nationally co-ordinated recoinages every few years (Dolley and Metcalf 1961; Stewart 1990; Keynes and Naismith 2012; Sawyer 2013). England’s Norman conquerors inherited this system in 1066, and maintained it until the middle of the twelfth century; thereafter, the focus shifted to more irregular recoinages concentrated in a small number of industrial-scale mints (Allen 2012; Stewartby 2010; Mayhew 1992). At all times (with the brief exception of the civil war under King Stephen (1136–1154) (Blackburn 1994)), royal control was complete, and was exercised through the moneyers based in each mint-town. This last feature sets English development apart from that of most of continental Europe in the same period (Dumas 1991). The delegation of authority over minting to counts and other magnates in the Carolingian Empire laid the foundations for what has long been

known as the “feudal” coinage of the tenth century and later in France (e.g., Poey d’Avant 1858–1862; Legros 1984). Already in the late ninth century, individual potentates declined to recognize new kings or, in some cases, any form of royal authority at all on their coinages (Dumas 1973; Lafaurie 1970). In the tenth century some began to issue *deniers* in their own name, either alone or in conjunction with the king; others used the name of a dead king, or (at Auxerre) omitted the name of any ruler altogether (Dumas 1971, 169–71). This practice of minting “immobilized” issues could be carried to extremes: some Swiss mints were still striking coins in the name of Louis the Pious in the fourteenth century. The coinage of the later Carolingian and first Capetian kings contracted significantly, being produced at only a few mints mostly in and close to the Île de France. Conversely, some of the “feudal” issues were produced on a considerable scale and had a major impact: those of Troyes, for example, were closely bound up with the importance of the Champagne fairs in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and so enjoyed prominence far and wide. Gradual re-expansion of royal power in the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries was reflected by the increasing scale of the associated coinages of Paris and (after it was inherited by the kings of France) Tours, at the expense of “feudal” issues (Lafaurie 1951; Duplessy 1988; Bompaire and Dumas 2000). In 1226 Louis VIII (1223–1226) decreed that henceforth only royal coinage was universally acceptable across the kingdom, while “feudal” coinage was restricted to its territory of issue (though this was not effectively enforced for some time) (Spufford 1988, chpt. 8; Cook 2006).

Germany was similar to France in the comparative weakness of the royal grip over minting. The origin of this likewise went back to Carolingian practices, and was cemented by a tendency for kings to promote the establishment of new mints by granting rights over them to local secular or ecclesiastical magnates (typically in conjunction with a market and toll) (Kaiser 1976; Kluge 1991). As a result, “feudalization” of the coinage in what is now Germany was built into minting from the very start: most of the hundreds of mints set up in this way were new creations of the tenth, eleventh or twelfth century, extending the effective bounds of the monetized economy hundreds of miles East of the Rhine. Recognition of the king or emperor was highly sporadic, especially after the mid-eleventh century, and could be further restricted by disputes such as the Investiture Controversy (Kamp 1981; 2006). A distinctive feature of coinage in parts of Central and Eastern Germany from the mid-twelfth century onwards was the production of what are now known as bracteates: extremely broad, thin coins struck only on one side (Spufford 1988, chpt. 4; Svensson 2013). These fragile objects gave great scope for artistic elaboration, and are among the masterpieces of Romanesque art. Italy was divided politically and culturally at this time, and its fragmentation is reflected in a deeply complex numismatic history (Travaini 2011). In general, the number of

places issuing coins remained small until the later twelfth century and was based on centres such as Lucca, Milan, Naples, Pavia, Rome, and Venice which had a long history of minting. Kings and emperors in the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries still played a major role in the supervision of these coinages, and the popes issued silver *denarii* at Rome from the 770s until the 980s (Grierson and Blackburn 1986, 249–66). Expansion of the northern Italian coinages in the later tenth century meant the end of Rome's small local coinage, although as a rule new mints were rare. In the second half of the twelfth century and after, however, greater availability of bullion along with urban and commercial growth meant that the number of places producing coin began to grow significantly. Southern Italy was especially complex, as successive Lombard and Norman principalities issued many different coinages already in the tenth and eleventh centuries (Grierson and Travaini 1998). The kingdom of Sicily inherited a rich blend of Norman, Byzantine and Muslim traditions, which comes across very clearly in its coinage.

The central Middle Ages were characterized by two significant waves of expansion in minting and monetization felt in Italy and more widely, both of which were fuelled by wider economic developments and by the discovery of major reserves of silver. In the mid-tenth century, new mines in the Harz mountains (northern Germany) made available huge quantities of silver, which drove the swift spread of minting in Ottonian and Salian Germany, and caused surges in production in England (Roseneck, ed., 2001; Segers-Glocke and Witthöft, ed., 2000; Naismith 2013b). Export of silver by peaceful and violent means also led to the inception of substantial native coinages around this time in Bohemia, Poland, and Scandinavia. The Harz mines remained a major source of silver until the mid-eleventh century: the aftermath of their decline was marked by debasement in the quality of coin and/or reduction in output in many parts of Western Europe (Phillips, Freeman and Woodhead 2011). However, a series of new silver mines came online in the mid- and late twelfth century, the most important being those at Friesach in Carinthia/Austria and Freiberg in Saxony/Germany; these propelled a second and, in quantitative terms, much larger burst of activity which helped consolidate the effects of the first. A relatively standardized form of silver penny/*denier*, founded on similar systems of account, was one of the features which helped unite disparate parts of Christian Europe at this time (Bartlett 1993, 280–91). There were major economic consequences to this second wave of bullion, feeding into the commercial revolution of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Lopez 1971; Britnell and Campbell, ed., 1995; Bolton 2012). In numismatic terms, the result was that some territories saw higher production than ever before, such as England, whose reliable and plentiful currency became established as a standard across Europe. In Italy and parts of France, on the other

hand, the new silver was more widely dispersed and resulted in the opening of new mints (Spufford 1988, chpt. 5 and 8).

With few exceptions coinage in Western Europe between the tenth and thirteenth centuries therefore meant silver coinage in the form of pennies (*deniers*, *denari*, *Denaren*): the currency was not only monometallic, but also to a significant degree monodenominational. Halfpennies (obols) were made on some scale in certain areas, but smaller units of currency were not yet coined. High-value gold coins were also largely unknown, at least as native products: some Byzantine and Muslim gold entered circulation, but the only area where native gold coins were made on any scale was Spain. There, contact between Christian kingdoms—which inherited a silver-based currency of Carolingian inspiration, albeit with limited coin-production until the eleventh century—and gold-using Muslim territories had been prolonged (Crusafont i Sabater, Balaguer, and Grierson 2013). Reconquest of Muslim lands in the eleventh century presented both the demand and the resources for a local gold coinage.

C Gold, Silver and “Black Money” (ca. 1250–1450)

By the middle of the thirteenth century the underlying framework of the medieval coinage was well established. England still possessed a high-quality silver coinage, closely controlled by the crown. The French monarchy had made considerable progress toward a similar goal, despite the continued existence of “feudal” coinages. Similar “national” coinages had by this time also become well established in Scandinavia, Spain and central Europe as well, under the authority of local rulers. Germany and Italy were still marked by the existence of profuse local coinages, among which there was a clear economic hierarchy. Within Germany Cologne and the other major Rhine mints played a leading role, while in Italy, Florence, Venice, Sicily and at various times other territories enjoyed local (and even international) prominence.

The immense complexity of later medieval coinage—which by this time is often illuminated by mint accounts and other local documents—cannot be explored here in any detail (Grierson 1991; Naismith 2010; Spufford 1988; 1986). Yet there were several salient developments that illustrate the general trends of the period and had an impact across much of Europe (Watson 1967). Perhaps the most important of these was the resumption of large-scale gold coinage. Quantities of this metal had begun to enter Western Europe on a larger scale during the twelfth century. Ultimately this gold stemmed from the mines of West Africa, and reached the Mediterranean via Muslim territories. Significant outputs of gold coins, modelled on Muslim pieces, had already begun to be made in the Christian

Spanish kingdoms, and in 1231 Frederick II (1194–1250) had coins made in Sicily which mirrored the weight and fineness of Muslim double dinars. By the middle of the thirteenth century the volume of gold circulating in Italy was sufficient for local gold coinages to begin in earnest, without any direct link to Muslim currency. 1252 saw the first appearance of both Florence's florin and Genoa's *genovino*, and was followed in subsequent decades by other major coinages such as the ducat of Venice (1284) (Spufford 2006; Ives and Grierson 1954). Attempts at gold coinage were made further north in France and England, but although foreign gold was extensively available, local issues in Northern Europe did not take off until the fourteenth century. Silver remained generally plentiful throughout this time, and large-scale availability of both metals led to a complex bimetallic money market. Changes in the value of gold relative to silver could trigger drains of either metal in or out of a territory, and merchants paid close attention to the rates and values being offered for various gold and silver pieces across Europe (Spufford 1988, chpt. 7 and 12; Bolton 2012, chpt. 8–9).

At the lower end of the currency in later medieval Europe, debasement of the old, ultimately Carolingian *deniers* meant that they frequently ended up containing only a token amount of silver. They were effectively base-metal. Often known as “black money,” these coins were of relatively low value, and so despite their poor appearance and low standards of production, they fulfilled an important purpose in society (Spufford 1988, chpt. 13–14). One resident of Paris in the early fifteenth century made it clear that *monnaie noire* was usual for the most lowly expenses, such as reckoning the price of a loaf of bread, or giving alms to the poor (Shirley, trans., 1968). Yet there was also demand for a coin of higher value, beginning already in the time before gold had become plentiful. Hence Venice introduced a larger, purer silver coin, the *grosso* (worth 26 *denarii*), in connection with preparations for the Fourth Crusade at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Similar coinages were introduced across Italy and the rest of Europe thereafter (Watson 1967).

Although silver retained a prominent, often fundamental, role in European coinage, parts of later medieval Europe hence developed a more complex currency, with gold for high-value transactions, “black money” for low-value payments and better quality silver (sometimes known as “white” money, of half silver) for those in between. Credit and bills of exchange supplemented the monetary economy, though the relationship between credit and the money supply remains debatable: supply of credit may have kept pace with the availability of hard cash, rather than expanding to fill the gap it left at times of scarcity (Bolton 2013, chpt. 9 and 2011; Nightingale 2004 and forthcoming; Mueller 1984; Spooner 1972). Fluctuations in the quality and valuation of coinages in different kingdoms helped create a money market, as speculators sought to derive advan-

tage from the differences between various currencies (Munro 1992; Appuhn 2002). As with the relationship between gold and silver, there were times and places where the quality of the silver coinage was manipulated by rulers for profit (Munro 2012a; 2012b). Successive French kings, for example, raised huge funds during the Hundred Years' War by debasing the supposedly reliable silver coinage, much to the chagrin of their subjects; at other times rulers arbitrarily restored "strong" money, with just as severe effects on society (Sussman 1993). In 1420, for example, restoration of good coinage in France was accompanied by an unfavorable revaluation of the old issues relative to the new: the intention of this was to encourage reminting and favor landowners receiving fixed rates in the new coin, but the effect was to increase rents so sharply that the poor of Paris rioted and eventually abandoned the city (Shirley, trans., 1968).

D Coinage and Power

When the Roman populace chose to reject the authority of the heretical Byzantine emperor Philippicus (711–713), the way they did so, according to the *Liber pontificalis*, was to reject his likeness from their churches and his name from their prayers, and also to refuse to use his name in their charters or on their *solidi* (Garipzanov 2008, 1). Coinage, in other words, was one of the most important and fundamental signifiers of authority in medieval Europe; one which had much wider dissemination than any other medium. The importance of audiences was generally rated more by quality than quantity, and so much of the subtlety of coin-design (as of charter formulation, ritual display and artistic patronage) was directed at a relatively small secular and ecclesiastical elite.

For many users and issuers, the key visual criterion was in fact consistency: coins were expected to look broadly as they had always done, or else risk being rejected. First attempts at minting hence commonly took the form of imitation of successful neighboring coinages, in an attempt to benefit from their familiarity and acceptability; a trend seen everywhere from Viking territories in the ninth and tenth centuries which imitated Frankish and Anglo-Saxon coinage, to mints in the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Netherlands which took inspiration from English or French issues, and others across Europe at the same time which looked to the gold issues of Florence and Venice as models for their own gold pieces (Spufford 2006; Day 2004). There are also numerous examples among established issuers of remarkable stability in the appearance of coinage despite major social, economic and political changes: Venice, England, the Byzantine Empire and other polities all preserved the same essential design for certain coin-issues over centuries, because these coinages were a major asset whose standing might be

affected by drastic changes in design. Other, more surprising instances of this tendency toward conservatism can occasionally be found. Gold coinage in the eighth and ninth centuries was rare, but unusually international in its circulation. Arabic, Byzantine and Italian gold pieces all circulated north of the Alps, and influenced local expectations of what acceptable gold coins should look like. As a result, moneyers in England faithfully copied the design of an Arabic gold dinar when they made a batch of gold coins, possibly intended for donation to the pope, during the reign of King Offa (757–796), whose name was inserted (upside down) into the Arabic legend (Naismith 2012b, 112–17; Blackburn 2007, 57–73).

Because of this close connection between coinage and authority, the norm was for at least one face of the coin to be dedicated to the name, title and (often) representation of the local ruler. The precedent for this was already long established by Greek and Roman coinage, and Roman imperial coinage in particular exercised a powerful influence over its medieval successor: most designs of Western European coins between the fifth and seventh centuries were directly or indirectly inspired by Roman models, sometimes down to the name of the emperor. Kings in Visigothic Spain and Lombard Italy were the first to have their own names placed on coins as a matter of course in the late sixth and late seventh centuries respectively (Pliego Vázquez 2009; Grierson and Blackburn 1986, chpt. 5). Yet the association of gold coinage with the emperors was strong enough that kings in Italy, Francia and England rarely had their name or representation placed on coins prior to the early of mid-eighth century (Naismith 2012a). Thereafter, recognition of the ruling authority forms a continuous and prominent feature of European coinage—either through inscription, representation, heraldry or some combination of all three.

Coinage always had a flip side, and there was enormous variation in what was placed on coins besides the name and title of the ruler (see e.g., Grierson 1975; 1991). By far the most ubiquitous element of coin-design in medieval Europe was the cross: a basic and universally-recognized Christian symbol. Very commonly it is found at the beginning of legends, where—as in contemporary charters and inscriptions—it served as a religious invocation for what followed. Crosses of various (sometimes highly elaborate) forms could also serve as the centrepiece of both the obverse and the reverse. Other religious iconography provided a large proportion of the designs placed on coins during the medieval period. Saints of all types were popular, beginning in the early Middle Ages but reached their most diverse and elaborate forms in the twelfth century and after. Thus at various times the coins of Rome featured St. Peter, those of Milan St. Ambrose, those of Mainz, St. John and those of England the Archangel Michael (Moneta 2010). More allusive references to Christian belief can also be found. The earliest Anglo-Saxon silver coins (known as *sceattas*) current ca. 675–750 normally carry no inscription at all,

but do provide a rich and diverse range of imagery, including animals, human figures, floral motifs and geometric patterns. Interpretation of these is often problematic, but it is likely that many of the images are sophisticated allusions to biblical passages (Gannon 2003).

E Coinage in Society

The production and form of coinage were closely tied to its intended use, and it is through consideration of the role coinage played in society that it becomes a genuine tool of economic history. This works on a number of levels. It is possible, on the one hand, to look to the forces behind production of coinage. Coin-issues varied dramatically in scale and complexity. A “mint” could represent nothing more than a single craftsman setting up a temporary operation, responsible for only a few hundred coins. Others could be industrial-scale establishments lasting for centuries, with highly developed infrastructures and close physical and institutional ties to central authority. Diagnosing the nature of a given mint-place requires delicate assessment of surviving coins, written documentation and other background information (La Guardia, ed., 2001). It may generally be said that the establishment of medieval mint-places was dictated by the twin forces of power and economy (Spufford and Mayhew, ed., 1988). The most successful mints tended to be those which answered to both. London, for example, played a leading role thanks to the city’s commercial prominence, as well as the patronage and presence of royal government. Conversely, to use another English example, a range of tenth- and eleventh-century mints in the Southwest were set up on royal estates, and are believed to have answered very directly to the king’s need for monetary resources (Stafford 1978). Yet the contribution these made to the coinage as a whole was minute; the real powerhouses of production were the leading commercial centres of the South and East coasts—above all London, Lincoln, York, and Winchester (Naismith 2013a). Royal patronage in itself did not therefore guarantee success. Availability of bullion could also intervene, and a mint located at the Hungarian mines of Kutná Hora enjoyed a frenetic period of activity during the fourteenth century; similarly, the coins of Saxony became particularly plentiful during the richest phase of the local silver mines’ activity in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The emphasis on precious metal coinage during the Middle Ages meant that there was a long-standing connection between minting and mining, and other large-scale movements of bullion (e.g., Kaplanis 2003). Cycles of availability played out over generations, beginning with a dearth of gold in the mid-seventh century, then of silver in the mid-eighth, mid-ninth and tenth centuries (Watson 1967). Bullion famine in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth

centuries had an especially damaging effect (Bolton 2012, chpt. 8–9). But because of the scarcity of surviving coins and of clear references to the forces behind these cycles, it is difficult to determine what factors might lie behind specific cases: possibilities include mining activity and trends in thesaurization (cf. Sussman 1998; Munro 2012a; 2012b). The 20½ carat fineness of Byzantine, Muslim and other gold coins in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, for example, was not the result of difficulty in obtaining enough gold for higher purity: it was the natural quality of the West African gold which was becoming widely available at that time (Spufford 1988, 109–263).

Relative judgments of medieval mints require close engagement with the surviving coins and any relevant documentation on output. In the best-case scenario, extensive mint accounts from the later Middle Ages state how many coins were made each year (or even each month, week or day) (Stahl 2000; Allen 2012). Yet more often than not, the coins themselves are the only guide to how active a mint might have been. Comparison of surviving specimens of a particular type can show how many stamps (dies) they represent, which figure in turn can yield estimates of how many dies were originally used in manufacture (Sawyer 2013, 115–25). Tentative though such calculations must be, they provide valuable evidence for the volume of the medieval coinage, and a forceful reminder of the large scale on which it could be made—and lost, given the tiny sample which is available for study. English accounts show that London in the period 1351–1353 (a peak time of recoinage) could produce about £80,000 worth of silver coins per annum—probably translating into 20,000,000 coins or more (since the total value by this time included halfpennies and farthings) (Allen 2012, 404–24). Earlier, during the first six or so years of the reign of King Cnut (1016–1035), London (together with its suburb of Southwark) supported up to eighty moneymen, who may have worked their way through more than 1000 reverse dies (Naismith 2013b). At both these times London must have been among the most prolific mints of Northern Europe: its dramatic expansion between the tenth and fourteenth centuries is above all a reflection of the general growth in the monetary economy. One trend visible at London and elsewhere across Europe from the late twelfth century onwards was toward centralization of minting where possible. The result was the appearance of factory-scale minting centres, staffed by permanent and highly-skilled staff: minor and provincial mints were phased out in favor of them, where local political conditions permitted (Spufford and Mayhew, ed., 1988).

The impetus behind this movement stemmed partly from common developments in government and administration, but also from the growing scale of the monetary economy across Europe. This was apparent at all levels: from the quickening movement of gold and large quantities of silver (as well as, of course, movement of the commodities with which they were associated) on an interna-

tional level, to the more frequent chink of coin in purses and palms throughout Western European society. The period of the “commercial revolution” from the late twelfth century until approximately the time of the Black Death (ca. 1347–ca. 1351) witnessed swift and impressive growth in the use of coin, such that it genuinely did become—for the first time since antiquity—a ubiquitous feature of daily life for most segments of society. Rents, taxes and other payments came to be reckoned (and paid) in cash as standard. Estimates of the volume of coin in circulation grow from 3–8 pennies per capita in England in the period before 1180, to 20, 50 and even 100 pennies per capita in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries (Mayhew 1995). In many respects, the thirteenth century must be seen as the key watershed in medieval monetary history. Its steep rise in monetization has been linked in general terms to population growth, which accelerated at approximately the same time, on the understanding that more people meant more demand and complexity in the supply of food and other commodities—hence a society in which cash became increasingly attractive, as relations beyond one’s immediate community became unavoidable. Supply of coined money became such an important feature of society that sudden changes could have serious effects: food prices climbed during the monetarily unstable early fourteenth century, for example, at least in part because of difficulties with the coinage (Spufford 1988, chpt. 11–13; Mayhew 1995; Bolton 2012; Wood 2004; Le Goff 2012).

It is worth beginning with the maximal period of medieval monetary development before moving on to the more challenging later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, or back into the preceding period. There can be no question that use of coinage, and the economy more widely, was markedly smaller and less sophisticated in the early Middle Ages. But this is not to say that coined currency was economically marginal, or consistent in its form, function and quantity over the centuries between the end of the Roman empire and the “commercial revolution.” Probably the most limited period of coin-use was that immediately following the end of the Roman empire. As noted above, in Western Europe outside Italy, gold was effectively the only coinage which continued to be made. Its survival says much about persistence of administrative structures and certain high-value exchange functions, but it is impossible to reconcile this situation with any substantial persistence of monetization. Yet even this relatively restricted coinage became more versatile over time. By the later sixth century, for example, gold *solidi* were very much outnumbered by fractional gold coins—above all the *tremissis* (1/3 of a *solidus*). The popularity of the *tremissis*, at a time when the *solidus* remained firmly established as the normal unit of account, reflects a concession to the smallest convenient gold unit possible within the prevailing system. Over time, in the Merovingian kingdom especially, the gold *tremissis*

regained some of the breadth of use which characterized late Roman gold coin. Payment to the king for tax purposes had declined considerably by the time of these coins' greatest popularity in the period after ca. 575. This function had probably carried the production of gold through the difficult fifth and earlier sixth centuries, but by the later sixth century gold coins were being used for high-value and bulk commerce, payment of fines, savings and even some payment of rent by free and unfree tenants—as well as for gift-giving and other socially-driven purposes by the elite (Naismith 2014c; Kloss 1929). It was this gold coinage which evolved into the silver penny of the late seventh and eighth centuries. Specimens of the latter coinage are known in such huge numbers and from so many locations in Eastern England and the Low Countries that it is difficult to imagine it as the preserve of merchants and the elite. Finds from a range of archaeologically-excavated settlements contribute to the conclusion that the coins were extensively used at even the lower levels of society. Unquestionably the level of monetization at this time was much higher than in the late sixth or earlier seventh centuries, and possibly higher than at any other point before the later twelfth century (Metcalf forthcoming). Yet the vibrancy of the silver coinage did not last: there was a sharp contraction in the middle of the eighth century. Resultant irregularity in the quality and quantity of coin was probably one factor which led to the kings of the day assuming a much firmer role in minting (Naismith 2012a). Recovery in the ninth and tenth centuries tended to be sporadic and regional, though became more constant in the later tenth and eleventh centuries (Murray 1978).

Use of coin in the era of the Merovingian and Carolingian silver *denier* has, in the past, often been seen as limited, like that of its gold predecessor, because of historically pessimistic readings of the contemporary economy. Consequently, discussions of the role played by coins tended to argue for very limited circulation, and any exchanges of *tremisses* or *deniers* which did occur were more likely to be connected to gift-giving and fines rather than commerce (Grierson 1959; Hodges 1989; cf. Mauss 2002). Recent re-evaluations have taken account of new finds as well as more positive views of the broader economic context (e.g., Devroey 2006; Toubert 2004; Coupland 2010 and forthcoming; Naismith 2012b, 252–92). While there remains no doubt that the scale of monetization was pitiful by modern—or even later medieval—standards, it is instructive to focus on the range of activities for which coin could be used: these were extensive, both functionally and socially. Anecdotal evidence for peasants buying and selling with coin becomes widespread, as does evidence that a significant minority of rent from the lands of Saint-Germain-des-Près near Paris was being taken in silver early in the ninth century (Devroey 2006, 231–39, 398–401). *Deniers* also featured prominently among alms and other gifts, but often in such a way that they were

expected to be used for buying and selling subsequently: different types of use, that is to say, were closely bound together. In general, it is likely that coins were issued first and foremost for more “neutral” forms of payment such as buying and selling, or official dues like rent or tax (Sahlins 1976, 185–204): a point which applies throughout the Middle Ages (and more generally), but which is of special relevance when the monetized element of the economy was relatively small. Most day-to-day necessities in the largely rural society of early medieval Europe could be met by other forms of exchange within the immediate community of kin and acquaintances; coins, on the other hand, were suited to transactions in which trust was not so firm between the parties involved, or where (perhaps) a certain statement about neutrality and finality in the exchange had to be stressed. In other words, a large portion of the populace would need coins sometimes to pay rent or make exceptional purchases, but those who needed them often were surely much fewer: among the latter were traders, travellers and dwellers in larger cities (Naismith 2014c).

In the period following the Black Death and other difficulties in the early fourteenth century, there were further challenges to the monetary economy. Indeed, the state of the money economy can be argued to have been one of the primary variables affecting the later medieval economy (Bolton 2012). One of the main ills relating to the money supply which Western Europe had to deal with at this time was bullion famine in silver (see above). This bit hardest from the later fourteenth century. Continuing availability of gold and possibly the development of credit kept the overall value of money in circulation high, but silver coin became very scarce—to the extent that, in England (which had no “black money” to fill the gap left by good silver coin), 80 per cent of the value of the currency consisted of gold by the 1420s. The impact of this silver famine was severe and deflationary, serving to curb the inflationary effects of the Black Death (Mate 1978; Nightingale 2010). Fiscal policy at this time could contribute to debasement as desperate governments sought to exploit the coinage for profit, as happened for instance in France and Castile. Contemporaries recognized that sharp debasement could benefit the ruling authority in the short term, but hurt others in the medium and long run—including, most notably, landowners who depended on fixed rents. For this reason, writers such as Nicholas Oresme (ca. 1320/1325–1382) in his famous *De moneta* railed against debasement: they challenged the ruler’s prerogative to implement it and examined its consequences very critically (Johnson, ed., 1956; Mäkelä 2003; Wood, ed., 2002, 96–109). Yet the weaker and poorer members of society, who relied on wages or had to raise rents to pay landowners, would suffer from either debasement or a restoration of strong currency. Gold coinage was (except possibly at harvest time) beyond the effective reach of most coin-users, for whom silver was the norm. Good silver (half-pure or

better depending on time or place) was used for higher-value transactions; low-value fractions or “black money” was most versatile, but because it was about as expensive to produce as any other coin, minting authorities rarely issued low-value denominations in great quantity. This was a cause of frequent complaint in cities across late medieval Europe (Spufford 1988, 382–86). Merchants, aristocrats and others who operated at the opposite level of the monetary economy faced difficulties of their own in making transactions, but their means of circumventing these problems were more numerous and sophisticated.

F Money without Coin

It is easy to slip into the assumption that money in the Middle Ages meant coin. In an abstract sense this was usually so, and coins or purses containing coins performed general service as metaphors for wealth, as in Chaucer’s well-known “Complaint to his Purse” (ca. 1390) and also in much earlier ecclesiastical artwork (Newhauser 2003). But money signified (and still signifies) a more general system of widely-accepted values, of which coins were only one physical manifestation. Indeed, there was a strong sense in the Middle Ages, voiced early on by Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636) and John Cassian (ca. 360–435) (cf. Brown 2012), that coins could not be a fiduciary currency: each had to contain at least a token quantity of precious metal. Medieval coinage was therefore always a commodity, bound — even if often tenuously — to its notional precious metal value. Yet it was a very special commodity, created with the express purpose of holding and transferring abstract worth (Godelier 1999, 161–67; Parry and Bloch, ed., 1989).

The close link between coin and precious metal meant that there was always some crossover with gold and silver in uncoined form. It is no coincidence that units of value and weight (e.g., the pound) were related, for instance, or that gold and silver objects were, when mentioned in documents, generally rated by weight or value: awareness that they represented stores of wealth seems to have been the norm, even in the Church (Mayr-Harting 1999, 36–38; 51). Some transfer between plate and coin was always going on, even in the late Roman period (Hunter and Painter, ed., 2013), and changes in the value of coin relative to bullion sometimes created an incentive to store up or melt down supplies of precious metal plate. Desperation was also a powerful factor. Gregory of Tours (ca. 538–594) records a sixth-century Frankish bishop who melted down a gold chalice into coins when forced to pay a ransom (*Historiae* vii.24, Krusch and Levison, ed., 1951, 344). Five-hundred years later, William the Conqueror (1028–1087) demanded 700 silver marks to restore favor to the abbey of Ely. At least some of this sum was raised by melting down church treasures, since when the resultant coins proved deficient

in weight, the king demanded a further payment of 300 marks—which was got by breaking up whatever remained of gold or silver in the church (*Liber Eliensis* ii.111, ed. Blake 1962, 193–95).

For large payments of a prestigious nature, such as purchases of land, it was commonplace not even to melt down gold or silver objects at all: medieval charters, chronicles and other texts are replete with handovers of gold and silver objects, often reckoned by weight and value in the same terms as contemporary coins (Naismith 2013c). Transactions of this nature continued among the elite throughout the Middle Ages. In some societies, bullion transactions were all that was available. Scandinavia in the Viking Age, which had never known a monetary system based on native coins, developed a “bullion economy” in which precious metal circulated freely on the basis of weight and fineness alone. Coins were present, but not treated as anything other than round and conveniently regular pieces of silver: they could be cut up and melted down to form ingots or other objects. This system was founded on a great glut of silver which entered the region from the Muslim world (via Russia) in the ninth and tenth centuries (Skre, ed., 2008; Wiechmann 1996). After supplies from this direction dried up around 970, Germany and England became the principal sources of silver in Scandinavia, and before long Viking rulers had begun to establish their own coinages modelled on what they saw elsewhere in Northern Europe: the bullion economy eventually declined in favor of these new, Western European-style coinages (Skaare 1976). However, silver ingots did not disappear from European monetary transactions entirely, and were revived on a considerable scale in the later twelfth century. Prompted by the increasing availability of silver and the existence of numerous different and incompatible local currencies, silver ingots came to serve as convenient means of storing or transporting large quantities of good-quality metal, which could be melted down in all or in part whenever needed. This was, for example, how Wolfger of Erla, bishop of Passau (1191–1204) and patriarch of Aquileia (1204–1218), took a supply of cash on a journey to Rome; unusually detailed accounts show how pieces of these ingots were cut off and minted in successive cities to pay expenses (Zingerle, ed., 1877; Boshof and Knapp, ed., 1994). Ingots like these could be stamped, sometimes with coin dies, as a mark of quality, and conformed to various recognized standards in order to function as stable units of exchange and value in themselves. Some of the standards they followed were Asian in origin, and were known as far east as the frontier of China (Spufford 2008). Eventually, in the fourteenth century, new and plentiful gold coinages gradually replaced ingots as the preferred compact form for large quantities of wealth.

Exchanges did not of course need to be carried out with precious metal (coined or otherwise) at all. As noted above, for most of the population—which is

to say peasants living in rural communities—day-to-day needs could largely be met locally, on the basis of autarky, trust, favor and deferred payment (often in kind); a pattern which persisted until very recent times in many parts of Europe. Landowners and other members of the elite, when buying or selling land and other prestigious commodities, often dealt in animals, agricultural products and other commodities as well as (or instead of) coin. Areas such as Northern Spain in the tenth century, where coin was especially scarce, saw a high proportion of recorded transactions carried out in this way (Davies 2010). The rise of cash rents from tenants has been followed across medieval Europe, accelerating during the “commercial revolution” of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It should be noted that this did not always proceed in direct proportion to increases in monetization. Parts of rural Tuscany in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, for example, actually witnessed a resurgence of payments in kind, which has been interpreted as a result of landlords trying to gain resources for sale at market and restrict tenants’ ability to do so (Kotelnikova 1982). Coin-use, in other words, always went on alongside transactions of other forms, and was bound to social as well as economic developments.

The other principal form of “money” to circulate in later medieval Europe was credit in the form of bills of exchange: documents in which one merchant ordered his banker to pay another. Letters like this removed the need to carry large quantities of cash between the major cities and fairs of Europe. They arguably also served to stretch the money supply, though the extent to which instruments of credit were produced independently of the money supply remains questionable (Munro 1973; Nightingale 1990 and 2004; Bolton 2012, chpt. 8–9; Briggs 2009). These depended on and were closely connected to the development of banking operations. As a result, bills of exchange appeared first in the leading commercial centres of Italy around 1200, but had spread to embrace most of the major cities of Western Europe by the beginning of the fourteenth century. Eventually they could be used even at relatively low levels of society within such cities. Yet outside this area development of credit was patchy.

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Sarah M. Anderson

Old Age

Introduction: The Topic of Old Age

The functions of old age in all sorts of medieval texts, from philosophic through poetic, constitute a complex phenomenon, and, while following medieval treatments of this stage of life, we see revealed some of the greatest problems common to all humans in whatever period—the problems of temporality, of how time’s passage changes the human mind and body and spirit, of mortality. Summarizing some of the prevailing paradigms of old age in the medieval West, exploring others in more detail, this article both suggests how persistent are medieval ideas about old age and also maps the cultural patterns that make up the concept of old age in the Middle Ages. As praxis and example, readings of influential medieval texts are included here, and some considered at length, although the reader is referred to more detailed surveys (see, e.g., Classen 2007a, 15–34 et passim, for a pan-medieval consideration of aged literary characters). Examples selected here to discuss in some detail include *Beowulf*, the *Roman de la rose*, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, and some of the works of Geoffrey Chaucer. The justly famous speech of Jaques and its wider setting in William Shakespeare’s *As You Like It* furnish telling examples of the afterlife of earlier conceptions and representations of old age. Though Protean (Coffman 1934, 249) and always available to metamorphosis by way of the invention of writers and artists and thinkers, old age, as depicted in the Middle Ages, is still very much with us in one form or another.

Old age is no longer quite the brand-new subject for scholars of the Middle Ages that it had been before the turn of the twenty-first century. The recent, growing interest in the category and constitution of the aged in the medieval West has been inaugurated by several factors. But from the broadest point of view, age studies have resulted from the expanding interest in the nature of the human subject. This expansion has resulted in abundant scholarly projects that concern medieval texts, including the examination of medieval texts in terms of their “new” readers—lay readers with their own social, political, and material interests; the investigation of the history of affect, even within “extinct” cultures like that of the medieval West; the figure of the medieval woman not only as a character within a text, but as the text’s reader; and the study of the social scripts by way of which gender and race are dramatized in medieval travel narratives, to cite some key examples of this development.

Old age in the Middle Ages cannot be considered outside these expanding intellectual projects. And, to turn to one of the most productive intellectual approaches offered by post-modern theory, old age can certainly be queered, for toward the process of aging and the fact of the aged individual, we are—and seem largely to have always been—ambivalent, especially because old age is produced as much by way of social performance and aesthetic representation as it is a result of the actual facts about aging in the Middle Ages. Broadly, old age has been understood as a state uneasily positioned upon a calculus of gains and losses for the human subject and for the larger body social.

Aging is both completely expected, if—to allude to that old joke—one lives long enough, as well as being a fearsome and final position in the arc of human life. Foreseeable, but not eagerly awaited, the phase of old age is altogether normal for the human animal and, perversely, contra-normative, for it takes away from the human subject bodily and mental characteristics that constitute identity in its positive and valued senses for human beings. So, the representation of this phase of life in literature, art, and philosophy draws old age as a state in which categorical distinctions of immense weight, distinctions like that of gender or those separating the natural from the artificial, are blurred and troubled. Philosophical, artistic, and literary discussions of old age deal with the same anxiety: the knowledge that the aging mortal comes so close to the troubled borderland between life and death that even that key difference is seen as bridged or breached by the elderly, who drift away from the roles of active human life and into the stasis that precedes our final motionlessness. Yet the old have a terrible potency: the old man or old woman is more than just a risible or pathetic figure who enters, stage left, in the greater human drama, but rather an entity whose ordinary human traits are obfuscated, confused, and confusing and perhaps replaced by so queering an ambivalence as to oppose the normative or, from another well-represented theoretical angle, to become the monstrous.

Other factors have influenced why age studies concerning every historical period are getting more attention in Western scholarship. The aging of populations has altered the West during the modern and post-modern periods, and old age is thus a frequent topic for policy-makers in, for instance, North America, Europe, and Japan. As social historians continue to predict, this shift of population toward the older end of the age spectrum, while current workers age and the birth-rate in the West remains low, will certainly raise many new social issues requiring national and broader responses. Scholars of old age in the Middle Ages have made the connection of an historical topic to contemporary policy explicit. For example, in the introduction to a monumental collection of essays, *Old Age in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Interdisciplinary Approaches to a Neglected Topic*, Albrecht Classen astutely points out the importance of old age policy in our

times as productive of the study of old age in respect to any era of human history, including the medieval (Classen, ed., 2007, 57 and 63).

A The Meaning of “Old” in the Middle Ages

The revulsion, fear, and aversion felt toward the aging human body is registered throughout medieval literature, and the rehearsal of excerpts from literary sources has been one way that synthetic treatments of “old age” have tried to fill the aporia of demographics for earlier periods. Indeed, the modern scholarly paternity of age study perhaps begins with the grand synthesis of the prolific historian Georges Minois, who, in one stupendously imagined project, sets out to examine how humans have aged from 2450 B.C.E. through the sixteenth century C.E. (Minois 1989). Minois discovers in this huge swathe of human history no golden age for those of old age in any period.

In the absence of demographic data about old age in the societies and time periods he surveys, Minois relies upon literary texts which, he opines, give one a partial vision of reality. He does not theorize his claim, but it seems based upon the principle of analogy: if characters of a certain type have a literary life, then they must have had some real existence, too. Later in this discussion that assumption of Minois will be challenged. In his chapter on the aged in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Minois rehearses the perverse fact that the bubonic plague (the worst of it coursing through the West from, roughly, 1348–1450) killed more young people than old ones. In one of the most fascinating and best known chronicles of the plague of 1348 in Florence, *Cronaca fiorentina di Marchionne di Coppo Stefani* (= the *Florentine Chronicle of Marchionne di Coppo Stefani*), Baldassarre Bonaiuti declares that the plague’s devastations caused many customs to change, including what fruits could be imported—fruit with a pit having been deemed unhealthy—and how men dined. It is in this context of disruption of custom and the natural order of aging and death that Bonaiuti’s remarks are best understood, for statistical studies of this phenomenon are not yet complete (here, Minois uses what he calls a “pre-statistical approach” [Minois 1989, 212 et passim]).

Minois’s statements about Florence’s social chaos following the plague of 1348 eventuate in his argument that Geoffrey Chaucer uses “many old men” in the *Canterbury Tales* (for all quotations from the works of Geoffrey Chaucer, including but not limited to the *Canterbury Tales*, see Chaucer 1987), particularly emphasizing the comedy plotted around the old husband who has acquired a young wife (Minois 1989, 227). Minois cites Chaucer’s *Miller’s Tale* and the *Wife of Bath’s Prologue* as examples of this sort of comedy (cf. Sandige 2007). But Chaucer’s comedy, in either one of these two instances, has a much deeper lineage than

Minois suggests, with Chaucer vigorously employing tropes representing the diminished sexual function of the *senex* (Latin, for “old man”), the misogyny of the young and lascivious woman, and the hilarious human comedy of sexual congress gone wrong, as it ever does in a May-December liaison. The grand synthesis of Minois’s brave survey rounds the corners off of age studies, using literary texts as evidence of an historian’s need for social reality, but falling between two posts in so doing. The robust interdisciplinarity of age studies, as it has developed in the last two decades, is a needed rejoinder to the grand synthesis of former studies. And, for better or worse, a comparison of contemporary studies of old age with earlier critical works shows that we now read differently and that we use texts differently as evidence, whether studying old age or other topics.

Despite its growing scholarly visibility and the vigorous application of several methodologies to it, strikingly fundamental questions about old age remain unanswered. How old was “old” in the Middle Ages, and what sorts of persons reached old age? Though statistics on longevity were not collected in the Middle Ages, examination of any social group yields some individuals of either sex who lived into the sixties and beyond. Studies point to a correlation between those who were royal or rich and those who have lived longer, though all bets are off in the case of a plague or other disaster. One finds evidence that well-known figures lived long lives even in post-modern terms: Augustine of Hippo’s life spanned some seventy-six years (354–430 C.E.), Charlemagne probably topped sixty-five (ca. 742–814 C.E.), and Pope Gregory VII [formerly, Ildebrando de Soana] may have reached some seventy years (ca. 1020–1085 C.E.). Similarly, for those medieval women who were important enough to have had records of birth and death dates noted, one finds that the ladies, provided that they survived their child-bearing years or escaped them by being cloistered, live to ripeness: Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine may have been eighty-two when she died (ca. 1122–1204), and Hildegard of Bingen lived into her early eighties (1098–1179). Aside from ecclesiastics and royals, we know something of the longevity of famous people, whose lives were thought worth recording, in the medieval period: Dante Alighieri nearly made it to sixty (1265–1321), as did Geoffrey Chaucer (ca. 1343–1400), while Giovanni Boccaccio survived just beyond that mark (1313–1375), and Donatello to eighty years of age (ca. 1385–1466).

Both this list of the famous dead and Minois’s survey of old age demonstrate that there is a dearth of direct observation on old age in medieval society. What we do have is a sample of medieval “celebrities” and royals. Generally, upper-class individuals constitute the only group about which we can derive sufficient information of the statistical sort regarding longevity in the Middle Ages. Using what data is available, some rough calculations have been made of average life expectancies for individuals within the two groups mentioned. Thus, for the

members of the Carolingian royal family (this group is comprised of thirty-eight males of the royal family, all born between Charlemagne in 742 and Louis the Child in 893), the average life expectancy was 33.5 years, and, if the calculations are corrected for six deaths in infancy, life expectancy rises to 39.6 years. Of interest, too, is that these royal males died from natural causes, rather than by death in battle or through court intrigue. For the females of the Carolingian line, of whom there are only three examples, average life expectancy was 34 years (Dutton 1990, 81–84; 91–94). These figures suggest that neither Carolingian king nor queen would have lived into the period of life denominated *senectus* by medieval thinkers who wrote about the topic of the human life cycle.

A more difficult question, then, arises concerning old age in the Middle Ages: when is one considered old (Covey 1992; Roebuck 1979)? By way of the simplest division of human life into stages, based on ordinary experience and observation, the life of a man is usually split into three phases: *puer* (Latin, for “boy” or “child”), *iuvenis* (Latin, for “youth”), and *senex* (Latin, for “old man”). The chronicles and histories rarely have occasion to include a man who has lived beyond the stage of *iuvenis*. This evidence argues, then, that, though the *senex* might well be instantiated and encountered plentifully in literary and philosophical writings, he is a much rarer figure in the actual social life and history of the Middle Ages. The aged ruler of medieval history, who may be found in the records of the Middle Age, is a figure whose construction demonstrates how deeply influential are the rhetorical and cultural conceptions of old age on all representations of the aged, whether these figures occur in historical accounts or in fictional ones. Art trumps life, or almost does so, and it is the synergy between lived, experienced senescence and those imagined, poetic shapes given the *senex* that eventuate in the composition of old age for the Middle Ages.

Thus, of Charlemagne, a ruler who did reach old age, it is noted in historical sources that the king’s duties in older years turned from wars of conquest to diplomacy and law-making—royal activities, but somewhat more sedentary ones. Both Charlemagne and Louis the Pious pursue the strategy of letting their sons, acting as surrogates for the aging rulers, make war on behalf of the kingdom (Dutton 1990, 86–87). Such a change in the duties of the elderly king’s rule reflects the weakness of the central power and the desire of the weakening ruler to play to his remaining strengths.

Let us also compare the portrait of an historical Charlemagne to the fictional portrayal of the rule of an elderly king, as explored in the Old English poem *Beowulf*, found in a single surviving manuscript written in England around 1000 (for a dual-language version of the anonymous poem *Beowulf*, see *Beowulf* 2002, and for the best fully-annotated edition of the Old English text, see *Beowulf* 2008). First, one learns in this poem of a Danish realm in jeopardy, ruled by the elderly

King Hrothgar. Hrothgar is a king who cannot protect the kingdom's meadhall, named Heorot—a symbol of rule, a venue for its rituals, and a place of safety. Second, one reads the subtly rendered performance of Beowulf, no longer the young champion winning fame in Denmark, but now the king of the Geats. Beowulf, the poem declares, has held his kingdom “fiftig wintra,” “for fifty years” (*Beowulf* 2002, line 2209a). Following that declaration of a rule so extraordinarily long that it marks something eye-poppingly exceptional, especially compared with the contemporary historical record for the period during the poem's probable inscription into its only known manuscript, we find that Beowulf's kingdom is threatened by the fire-breathing forays of an old dragon (“eald ūhtsceaða,” “the old night-harrower” [*Beowulf* 2002, line 2271a]), a dragon which has, for some three hundred years (“þrēohund wintra” [*Beowulf* 2002, line 2278b]), guarded a horde of treasure from a now-extinct culture even older than the kingdom of the Geats and perhaps older than the dragon. Old age, and older ages, are powerful, perhaps crucial, themes in *Beowulf*, not just in the examples mentioned above, but insinuating themselves throughout the poem's 3,182 lines (for a discussion of words for “old” throughout the Old English lexicon, see further Amos 1990). When contrasting old age as discovered in historical texts with it as represented in fictional texts, the complexities of old age in the Middle Age are thrown into high relief: in a fascinating construction, real-life familiarity with life expectancy, historical accounts of those who lived in the Middle Ages, and literary texts all work together to modify and transform the idea of old age, ramifying this plastic concept through each of many separate depictions of it.

B Medieval Medicine and Old Age

Such questions as how old age was experienced and delimited in the Middle Ages depend on how the body is represented and felt, both in terms of an awareness of biological aging and of how the state of old age is referred to in, for example, art and literature. In the Middle Ages as today, the body, medicalized and gendered, is the place where and through which aging is mediated. Aging, however, is not a stage of the body's life like infancy or puberty is, the onset of which is connected to certain physiological changes. Old age both now and then is linked with one's performance of social roles—with, for instance, the ability of a person to work, to create and bear children, and to fulfill similarly critical social functions. Were there, then, special roles that an aging individual was expected to assume? Had one honor and dignity in old age? What forms of social support could the elderly depend upon, either within the family or outside it by way of cognate measures like religious communities, hospitals, and almshouses?

Few prescriptive works concerning geriatric care exist before the fifteenth century in the West, although descriptive works about this stage of life, in which old age plays a part in the symbolic order and is thus intertwined with theological doctrine or natural philosophy are found (for a survey, see Demaitre 1990). For instance, as pursued by students in the faculty of arts at the universities of Paris and of Oxford from 1240–1310, the study of aging was shaped by ideas acquired from philosophical texts. By the 1240s, the ban on teaching Aristotle's natural philosophy had been disregarded at Paris, and some of Aristotle's *libri naturales* were being taught by Roger Bacon at Oxford then, though it is not certain which texts these were in particular. Aristotle's *De anima* was certainly included in the revised course of study because it was thought to examine life at its rational level. Similarly, medicine was considered a part of the curriculum in this period because it bore upon the living body. By way of introduction in the university curriculum, questions about the aging man, both philosophic and literal, also began to be formed among the educated classes. The stimulus for teaching texts like those of Aristotle in these two great universities was principally the result of another kind of expansion: the recent translations and expositions of Aristotle by way of Latin versions saved by Arabic philosophers and physicians and then transmitted to the West. Such was the case of *De anima*, translated in 1150 by James of Venice by way of Avicenna's digest of Aristotle (Lewry 1990, 22–26).

Several approaches to medieval medical care of the aged may be discerned. One diagnostic corpus is found in the works of, or attributed to, the Greek physician and writer on medical method and ethics Hippocrates (ca. 450–380 B.C.E.) and in those of the physician and philosopher Galen of Pergamum (129–200/216 C.E.), who, among other things, improved and implemented Hippocrates's theory of the body's four humors. A second corpus of medicine in the medieval West arrives by way of Arabic writers of the tenth and eleventh centuries, most famously, Abu 'Ali al-Husayn ibn Sina, who is known in the West by the Latinized form of his name, Avicenna (ca. 980–1037). The *Avicenna Latinus*, a part of Avicenna's works translated into Latin in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Toledo and Burgos (Spain), constituted a controversial contribution to medieval scholastic philosophy as well, especially in respect to Avicenna's distinction between "existence" and "essence." Through this Latin translation of some of his corpus, Avicenna's theories of knowledge, metaphysics, and psychology influenced significant thinkers in the West like William of Auvergne (1180/90–1249), Albert the Great (1193/1206–1280), and Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274). Also translated into Latin from Arabic was Avicenna's medical treatise in five books, *al-Qānūn fī al-Tibb* (the short-title, *Qanun*, by which the work is sometimes cited, comes from the same Greek root for "canon" as does the English word, but without passing through Latin). This encyclopedic work by Avicenna was the *sine*

qua non of Galenic method in medieval medical schools like Padua, remaining a standard medical text into the early modern period.

The third tradition of medicine was Western, resulting from medical approaches taught in monastic or cathedral schools, in which first Greek and later Arabic, medical traditions were studied. From this milieu come guides to good health which concern all phases of the human life cycle. The most famous example of such a guide is the *Regimen of Health*, as it is titled in English, authored by one of the foremost figures of medieval Judaism, familiar by way of his Latinized name, Moses Maimonides (known in Hebrew as Rambam, an acronym of his Hebrew name, Rabbi Moses ben Maimon; in Arabic, Abū 'Imrān Mūsā ibn Maymūn ibn 'Ubayd Allāh; 1135–1204). Although an adherent of Hippocrates, Maimonides's medical texts, all of which were written in Arabic, can be appreciated only within the framework of Galen's approach to human physiology (Bar-Sela et al. 1964, 6).

Was old age viewed as a disease to be ministered to during the Middle Ages? How were the changes to the aging body regarded? Here, it should be underscored that some conditions of aging, even if recognized as other-than-normal, may not have been considered treatable in the Middle Ages, except palliatively in the family dwelling or its social cognates, any more than some conditions would be today. For example, Maimonides's *Regimen of Health* covers real treatments for ailments like hemorrhoids and asthma, discusses sexual hygiene, and reviews antidotes for poison. But included in the *Regimen* too are commentaries on the *Aphorismi* (from the Greek plural, into Latin, and then English, "statements," "aphorisms") attributed to Hippocrates. In one of these (*Aphorismi* 3.31) is included a list of geriatric pathologies:

... dyspnea, catarrhs accompanied with coughs, dysuria, pains of the joints, nephritis, vertigo, apoplexy, cachexia, pruritus of the whole body, insomnia, defluxions of the bowels, of the eyes, and of the nose, dimness of sight, cataract, and dullness of hearing (Hippocrates 1964, 302).

The expected changes to the elderly body and nature, denominated *accidentia senectutis* (Latin, for "the accidents / events of aging"), come to include in later lists such indications of age as balding, insomnia, anger, and restlessness. A summary of these alterations to the person may be found in *De retardatione accidentium senectutis*, a medical treatise written in the early decades of the thirteenth century and, until the last decades of the twentieth, misattributed to Roger Bacon (see Williams 1997, 365–67). For such changes, there are remedies a-plenty, as there continue to be today—but we would also agree with the medieval physician that these are symptoms rather than an underlying disease or condition of body and spirit.

Medieval medical definitions of old age vary, with some writers placing its onset at thirty-five years of age and others at seventy, the span of life allotted to man in the Bible, Psalms 89:10 (in the Douay-Rheims 1899 English translation of the Latin Vulgate: “The days of our years in them are threescore and ten years”), or at seventy-five. Based on the scheme derived or attributed to Hippocrates, Galen’s influential humoral scheme, i.e., four humors, of life’s four-fold divisions, by way of which he attempts to explain all the processes of life as an interaction among the qualities warm, cold, dry, and moist, states that old age commences around sixty years of age. Galen declares that old age is a progressive condition of wasting, and in order to exemplify how aging is related to the humoral concept of life as continuous combustion, Galen uses the metaphor of a wick burning in an oil-filled lamp. A corollary of this way of thinking is that life cannot be extended by medical means beyond the measure of the “oil” in one’s “lamp.” Early modern commentaries on Avicenna demurred, suggesting that aging was a condition like desiccation that could be extended by way of diet and other remedies (Demaitre 1990, 8–10). But the therapeutic keystone for any possible treatment of age or of its “accidents” is related to Galen’s concept of “neutral causes,” factors neither natural nor contra-natural to ourselves, but necessary for healthy lives. These six neutral causes are: air, food and drink, excretions (including not only waste products, but also sexual emissions), sleep, exercise, and emotions. Besides treating an age-related problem by adjusting these neutral causes, medicines that were meant restore the balance of the humors could be prescribed—and these medicines consist of substances thought to warm, to moisten, and to purge, for instance (Demaitre 1990, 13–22; Burns 1976).

The elderly in the Middle Ages were thought to be deserving of special treatment in hospitals or almshouses under certain cultural conditions. For instance, Christian religious regulation also commands special treatment for elderly men and women in orders. Older members of the Benedictine Order, for example, are set aside as a special group (along with children, who would not at the present day be dependents of a Benedictine House) as naturally deserving of compassion, and they are appropriately accorded dispensations regarding when and what they may eat in the *Rule of St. Benedict*, chapter 37:

Although human nature itself is drawn to special kindness
towards these times of life,
that is towards the old and children,
still the authority of the Rule should also provide for them.

Let their weakness be always taken into account,
and let them by no means be held to the rigor of the Rule

with regard to food.
 On the contrary,
 let a kind consideration be shown to them,
 and let them eat before the regular hours.

(from *St. Benedict's Rule for Monasteries*. [= *Regula Benedicti*; St. Benedict of Nursia, written ca. 530 at Monte Cassino] Benedict 2001, chpt. 37)

Although the so-called *Rule of Saint Augustine* [= *Regula Sancti Augustini*, a compilation made from a number of documents authored by Augustine of Hippo and by other monks following Augustine], which of course precedes that of St. Benedict, does temper fasting and abstinence in proportion to the strength of the individual, the *Rule of Saint Augustine* does not set aside by naming them the life-periods of the aged (or of infants) receiving these dispensations. However, the *Rule of Saint Benedict* does specify these periods by name: “... in his ætatibus, senum videlicet et infantum” The *senex sapiens* who, according to the *Rule* written by Saint Benedict, had to possess the virtue of discrimination required of the duty of gatekeeper of the monastery illustrates the wisdom that may accompany age. Yet, for all the possible wisdom of his aged state, the gatekeeper was not able to move easily: age gave him something, and it took something away.

The medieval calculus of what old age gives a person and what it takes from him is asymmetrical with respect to gender. If the pre-menopausal woman in the Middle Ages has social value in part because of her reproductive capacities, then we can set against that valuation of a woman's biological state, how steeply her currency drops when aging brings menopause. Thus, in a pedagogical manual wrongly attributed to Albert the Great (i.e., Albertus Magnus), entitled *On the Secrets of Women* (= *De secretis mulierum*; Lemay, trans., 1992), the monastic audience is instructed about sexual practice and thus taught about the old woman as a kind of biohazard, for the terrifying post-menopausal woman, whose aging self has been made lethal by the retention of menstrual blood that she can no longer excrete, is invested with a gaze that could kill children in their cradles, declares this text. The attribution of this treatise to Albert—Dominican friar, Roman Catholic bishop, a sainted doctor of the Roman Catholic Church, and called “magnus” by his contemporary Roger Bacon—is a crucial argument for the authority and veracity of the science claimed by *On the Secrets of Women*. The historical Albert the Great, who studied the works of Aristotle at Padua, was known for his scientific genius, called “vir in omni scientia adeo divinus” by his contemporary Ulrich Engelbert (*De summo bono*, trans. III, iv). And he did indeed write treatises on both old age and senectitude (Albert the Great 1890). This treatise by the pseudo-Albert, then, is not only a potent example of the misogyny that could be constructed from, *inter alia*, the Aristotlean sources on which *On the*

Secrets of Women relies for gynecological knowledge, but also suggests that medieval notions about the ugly old woman focus the toxic gaze with which medieval women are imagined. Such examples of the ambivalence toward aging in the medieval period, and of the uneven treatment of aging women versus aging men, are only too easy to discover.

Old age as a problem and as a subject has not left us. It is a compelling and full topic that encourages many different intellectual approaches and forms of analysis. How did we in the West come to think about and represent old age as we do? Let us begin with that issue, and trace one of the most important trajectories by way of which old age in the Middle Ages, and in our historical period too, received its inherited literary figures, forms of representation, and conventions of description.

C An Inheritance from Antiquity

The medieval comprehension of the category of old age is largely a legacy from classical, especially Latin, thought and literature. We know, of course, that many aspects of the Middle Ages in the West are translated, “carried forward,” from classical sources (for medieval literature, see the magisterial treatment by Ernst Robert Curtius [Curtius 2013]). Though the classical legacy concerning old age has left the fullest traces and clearest imprint upon medieval texts, that legacy was also adapted and reformulated in the Middle Ages, not only to fit classical ideas into the poetic capacity of medieval genres, but also because the classics were inherited piecemeal in collections that might summarize, epitomize, or otherwise select from Greek and Latin texts, and from texts that may well themselves be fragmentary, literally. Intellectual and historical context and connections may have been lost partly or entirely as these texts, so often tantalizingly incomplete, were passed forward. There are, in addition, influences from non-Latin cultures and thought upon the perceptions of old age in the Middle Ages, but the textual legacy of antiquity has left the fullest traces and the clearest imprint upon old age in the Middle Ages.

In respect to the literary characterization of the old man, George R. Coffman (Coffman 1934, esp. 249–58) demonstrates how this arc of inheritance from Latin to Western medieval literature works using a verse epistle composed by Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus, 65–68 B.C.E.). Entitled *Epistola ad Pisones* (composed ca. 20 B.C.E.), this poem takes the form of a conversational, unsystematic and occasionally dense ramble, apparently addressed to the father of the Piso family and two of his sons, about poetic, and especially dramatic, composition. The *Epistola* largely elaborates Aristotle’s discussion of decorum in literary genre (see

Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, 3 *passim* for "decorum"), an idea which Horace extends to how a writer achieves unity within his work, meaning by "unity" a consistency in every respect of character, diction, and action. Though the title is probably post-Horatian, this verse epistle is commonly referred to as the *Ars poetica*, and, like Cicero's works on rhetoric, Horace's *Ars poetica* spawned a continuous tradition of commentary from late antiquity through the Middle Ages and became a crucial textbook of schooling in the Middle Ages, influencing poets like Jean de Meun and Geoffrey Chaucer. Within the *Ars poetica*, Horace argues that there are differences among the several stages of human life, advising the Pisos that the playwright must take the character's age, with its particular associated nature, into account when writing his dramatic role. The old man, writes Horace lacks bodily energy, but makes up for his dilatoriness by way of other sorts of action than the physical: he is quarrelsome, enviously castigates the vigor of youth, regrets a golden age now long past, and generally spews forth miserliness and greed (see lines 169–74). Horace's *senex* is a thoroughly unpleasant character.

As Horace's *Ars poetica* takes decorum in drama as its subject, his clever and observant verse characterization of the old man by Horace is unsurprisingly indebted to some of the stock characters employed in earlier Roman drama, particularly as found in comedies like those of Plautus and Terence, which typically make use of the ridiculous inaptitude of the *senex amans* (Latin, for "aging lover"), a player who is all repulsive desire and no action. In addition, the farcical unrealism that characterizes the *fabula Atellana*, a comic form of drama played in the first century B.C.E., regularly included the role of the *Pappas*, the easily tricked "old father" who lacks all foresight and rational command.

Horace's *senex*, thus, points at and uses the collective cultural knowledge of well-known types from drama in order to build his compressed but probing representation of the old man. These types of oldsters, both repellent and pathetic, are creatures of irritating lack and are signs of the fearful and total diminishment of aging. They have remained well-represented types in the West and certainly star in the Middle Ages, from Chaucer's character named "Januarie," the gulled *senex amans* of *The Merchant's Tale*, through Shakespeare's old King Lear, rampaging and irrational through his eponymous play (written ca. 1604–1606), a man who is old, but certainly not wise and a characterization indebted to the *senex* of antiquity, among other things.

The Horatian figure of the *senex* is next found in the early Middle Ages, some six hundred years after the date of Horace's stanza. Though lacking its immediate textual context and probably its broader cultural context—an element in the transmission from antiquity of this Horatian stanza which may imply that the verse about the *senex* was carried forward by way of a collection of extracts or similar anthology—Horace's depiction of the old man's disabilities is used in the

Latin elegies attributed now to the obscure figure known as Maximianus (fl. sixth century C.E.; see Coffman 1934, 250).

Little is known of Maximianus except what he reveals or invents of an autobiography in his six elegies. He claims friendship with Boethius (full name, Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius; 475/7–525 [?] C.E.) mentioning by name the author of, among other now less well-known works, the prosimetrum *De consolatione Philosophiae* [= *The Consolation of Philosophy*], an arresting and vastly influential philosophical work composed ca. 524, apparently while Boethius was been imprisoned by the Ostrogothic king Theodoric (r. 475–526), who would cause Boethius to be executed as a traitor on trumped-up charges. Along with Aristotle and Augustine, Boethius is the one of the greatest influences on the philosophy that developed from the Latin tradition in the Middle Ages. At *Elegy* III, line 47, Maximianus denominates Boethius “magnarum scrutator maxime rerum,” that is, “the greatest of investigators of the greatest matters” (Maximianus 1900, 40). It has been argued, though, by an editor of the elegies, that the third elegy is “intended to ridicule Boethius,” parodying the *Consolation* (Maximianus 1900, 14), so it is not clear that one should take this praise at face value. Though it is without question that Boethius composes the greater work in terms of influence, originality, and beauty, Maximianus and Boethius do have at least an intellectual friendship, for they share a concern with the topics of mutability and mortality as these were passed forward from antiquity, to which the state of old age is indissolubly linked. What each does with that classical legacy differs.

Maximianus writes out of an understanding of the classical tradition of the *senex amans*, but invents a more expansive persona than was needed for the scope of that character type in Roman drama. The *Elegies* emphasize the imagined private performance of (failed) lovemaking, rather than the staged ritual of drama. They are all about what the old man can no longer do in the boudoir—and why, and that is where growing old comes in as causal. In his first elegy in the sequence of six, Maximianus constructs the body as a prison-house from which one is not freed except through death, describes the *senex*, first diminished and wasted in the grasp of the living death of old age, and finally reduced to a human entity incapable of love, and thus of satisfaction in the deep ways in which lovemaking is mutually satisfying.

The fifth elegy is a wonderful whine, and a highly erotic one, devoted to describing the impotence of the *senex* and making clear the details of his sexual ineffectuality, including a memorable invocation by his mistress to the flaccid member of her would-be lover. The sixth and final elegy, only twelve lines long, recounts in moving brevity the impoverished horror of old age, its inaction and ruin, in ways that recollect Horace’s representation (Maximianus 1900, 52).

These six elegies present the reader with a number of interpretative problems. The first of these is understanding what the mode (or modes) of the *Elegies* might be. Is *Elegy* III parodic, and might its object have been Boethius's *Consolation*? Is the mistress in *Elegy* V a figure drawn with a spiteful and misogynistic pen, a witness to the antifeminist literature that imagined the wild and insatiable sexual appetite of women (in which horrible fantasies of sexual excess there seems to be a frisson of pleasure for men)? Or is the construction of the male speaker the elegies' focus—an amplification of that familiar *senex amans*, played for all he is worth against a longstanding tradition? Is this sequence of six elegies, chockfull as each one is with the imitation of and borrowing from other Latin authors at the smallest level of the phrase and line, more a poetic game for a suave audience or a witty homage constructed by scholars stuffed full of classical learning than it is a serious philosophical meditation like that of Boethius? Were the *Elegies* composed by or for a scholarly community? Is it the work of rambunctious young scholars? With the likely impossibility of "solving" the problem of who the historical Maximianus might have been or whether that is a pseudonym, how should one read the intellectual play with the role of the speaker within the elegies and of the poet outside them?

One certitude is how the *senex* in the elegies has been developed: the breakdown of the aging human body described by Maximianus operates within a rhetorical commonplace first found in late antiquity in which the "body" of the world is understood by analogy with the human body. Both bodies, thus, age, and the aging body of the world shows its approach to death by way of "symptoms." For example, it was argued that the lack of charity in the world was a symptom that the world was in its sixth and final age, cooling like the aged human body would according to medieval science, for Jesus had foretold that "the charity of many shall grow cold" (Matthew 24:12), which prophecy seemed to have come true. In addition to its use in rhetoric, *senectus mundi* (Latin, for "the old age of the world") may be found in many types of texts—literary, moral, apologetic, and scientific—where it functions as a crucial principle. Pushing that idea as far as it will go, James M. Dean has claimed *senectus mundi* as the "organizing principle" for foundational medieval authors like Jean de Meun, Dante, William Langland, John Gower, and Geoffrey Chaucer (Dean 1997, 10), who are able too by way of this idea, and also under cover of it, to criticize contemporary society.

This idea of the *senectus mundi*, the "old age of the world," is oftentimes resolved when the speaker in the text in which it is used sublimates the desires that are produced by his failing body. But Maximianus's elegies have no such consolatory endpoint. Rather, infirmity and impotence overwhelm both the individual body and the social body. Reconciliation with the fact of nature that death is inevitable may be suggested, but, though such an attitude may result

in one ending one's life with dignity, that gesture remains the only satisfaction offered by Maximianus, and it is quite a narrow one. What lasts, according to the final line of the final elegy, is the artist's role and product, rather than the artist.

The genesis of the idea that the age of the world, like the life of a man, can be divided into periods is an ancient theme in literature, and these periods were derived from observation or from numerological theories (see further the article on "Numbers" in this *Handbook* by Moritz Wedell). The obvious division of human life is into youth and age, corresponding to day and night, or to summer and winter. Aesop, Empedocles (490–430 B.C.E.), and Seneca favored a three-fold division of life, and Hesiod and Pythagoras a four-fold one. Solon determined that there were ten stages of life. But the commonest periodization of human life in antiquity was seven stages (see further, "Numbers"). Parallel to the cycles of human life were schemes that divided the history of the world into periods. Hesiod's five ages of the world were linked to metals and their properties, and Daniel's analysis of King Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the statue made of four metals signifies a succession of four ages or kingdoms of the world that rest of Jewish traditions of the ages of the world (Daniel 2:26–47).

These parallel schemes of human and world cycle are united, though it is unclear by whom. Examples from antiquity of the interpenetration of these schemes include Cicero's picture of the Roman Republic as a baby, who grows up, and then matures to adulthood (*De re publica* II.3), and Virgil describes the *saturna regna* (Latin, for "reign of Saturn," a theory of the stages of time that is derived from Greek religions) in his fourth *Eclogue* by way of the stages of boy, adolescent, and adult. Livy's history of the foundation of the Roman empire describes its periods using the same words that would refer to the stages of human life (*Ab urbe condita, Praefatio*, par. 3 ff.). Lucretius concludes the second book of *De rerum natura* with a peroration describing the symptoms of the bodily illness of the world in terms of nature, farming, and husbandry (II, lines 1150–75). He ends by observing that the man planting vines: "nec tenet omnia paulatim tabescere et ire / ad capulum spatio aetatis defessa vetusto" ("he does not grasp that all things by degrees are wasting away and going to the tomb, worn out by the age-old passage of life") (II, lines 1174–75).

For the Christian medieval tradition, the crucial thinker is, of course, Augustine of Hippo (354–430), path-breaking philosopher and theologian, author of one of the most astounding works of self-discovery ever written, the so-called *Confessions*, composed about 397, of which the eleventh book is devoted to the problem of time—discussing, for instance, what it is, how it is experienced, and what is meant by God's eternity. In part, his discussion of time includes how man experiences the problems of past, present, and future as man himself lives

through these stages. Augustine uses the trope of the ages of man and of the world on many other occasions. An influential example for the Middle Ages is his treatise *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* [= *About (the Book of) Genesis against the Manicheans*], a commentary on Scripture written very early after Augustine converted to Christianity, perhaps 388–390. It is meant as a counter-assault upon the Manicheans' literal and anthropomorphic interpretations of the creation narrative in Genesis. Considered within the canon of Augustine's works, it is connected to the chapter on time in the *Confessions*, for books 11–13 are a commentary on Genesis 1, as well as *De Genesi ad litteram* [= *On the literal meaning of (the Book of) Genesis*], a wide-ranging and open-ended work written between 401–415 that argues for the consistency of Scripture with science.

In the twenty-third chapter of his *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, Augustine juxtaposes three metaphors for the ages of man and the world, drawing them from classical non-Christian as well as biblical sources: the ages of man, of the days of creation according to Genesis, and of the historical periods from Adam through Jesus. The concatenation results in the “septem dies, et septem aetates mundi”—“the seven days, and the seven ages of the world.” For example, then, the first age, when men began to enjoy the light, may be compared both to the first day of creation when God declared, “Let there be light” (Genesis 1:3), and to the infancy of the world. The fifth age ends, and the sixth begins, with the coming of Jesus as the messiah, claims Augustine. This fifth age of the Jewish nation Augustine denominates as “senectus veteris hominis”—the “senescence of the old man”—which “old man” will be put away for the “homo novus,” the “new man,” who has put away the things of the flesh. The seventh day and seventh age of man will be the second coming of Jesus. The fusion of metaphors is ingenious and intricate, and the age of the earth's *senectus* as an end-point like that of man is reformed by way of Augustine's innovation. Further, in the conclusion to his *De civitate Dei* [= *Concerning the City of God*], written ca. 413–427, Augustine takes up the fusion of metaphors once more, comparing the ages of man, the ages of the world, and the days of the week.

Wherever found in Augustine's work, these fused metaphors are purveyed to innumerable readers and writers in the Middle Ages by Isidore of Seville (560–636), whose *Etymologiae* [= *Etymologies*] was a *summa* of all that was known and by Bede (672–735) whose *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* [= *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*] is the best known work in the twenty-first century out of some two-dozen extraordinary volumes on the reckoning of time, history, hagiography, geography, and Scriptural commentary. Both of these two men quote Augustine's fused metaphors of the ages of man, history, and the world or use them in their own works. The connection of the sixth age of the world to the *senectus* of human life gave impetus to the image of the *senectus mundi*, the

essential pessimism of which was re-read through Christian doctrine regarding the incarnation and second coming of Jesus.

The *senectus mundi* also informs several historiographical tropes. Important among them for medieval texts is the decline of the state or of the state's ruler using this trope of senescence, with the state or ruler being analyzed and represented as if an aging human. As Paul Edward Dutton shows, plentiful uses of this trope may be found, *inter alia*, in the correspondence between Alcuin and Charlemagne in the late eighth century (Dutton 1990). Carolingian sources also link old age with bodily infirmity, as exemplified by the Latin phrase *debilitata senectus*, "crippled old age." Yet, in the case of Alcuin's correspondence, such protestations of age and illness may also constitute a very practical excuse for avoiding the duties thrust on him by the king, rather than suggesting a high-minded conversation between sacred and secular rulers about our mortality (Dutton 1990, 77). The trope of the decline of a ruler or a reign also plays an important part in ninth-century historiography by Carolingian historians, certainly the more so as Charlemagne himself ages, and the trope arises in commentary whenever the country is ruled by an aging king, and is in disorder (Dutton 1990, 81). The connection between the rhetorical styling of a state or its ruler as aging, and thus as increasing inept and infirm, is a crucial association to make for understanding political and historical writings of the Middle Ages. Modern historians, too, use the *senectus mundi* as an ordering principle when writing analysis and, as Ernst R. Curtius remarks throughout his seminal study, often without knowing that they are participating in this medieval trope.

The lament about the illnesses, both somatic and social, caused by aging appears once more some six hundred years after Maximianus during that period of revitalization in the twelfth century in the West known as a renaissance in its own right. The continually re-fashioned character of old age is now embedded within the Christian tradition of *contemptus mundi* (Latin, for "contempt for the world"), rather than in the epicureanism associated with the *Odes* of Horace (see, e.g., Horace's famous formulation, "carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero" [= "seize the day, trusting as little as possible in the next"] in his *Odes* I.xi), with Roman stoicism, or in the late Antique figure of *senectus mundi*. An exemplary expansion of Horace's representation of old age may be sought in a treatise by Pope Innocent III (r. 1198–1216), *De contemptu mundi; sive, de miseria humanae conditionis* [= *On contempt for the world; with, on the misery of the human condition*]. Born Lotario dei Conti di Segni (Englished as Lothar of Segni) of a significant and noble Italian family, Pope Innocent III understood the papacy as having both powerful spiritual and secular roles and, as is well known, Pope Innocent III at once re-asserted papal rights in Rome, was directly interested in the complicated German succession following the death of Henry VI in 1197 (see

his famous decree “Venerabilem,” 1202), called the Fourth Crusade in 1198, began the Albigensian Crusade against the Cathars, convened the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, and annulled England’s Magna Carta, a declaration with which the English barons did not agree. In addition, he wrote two works which survive in hundreds of manuscript copies: *De miseria* while still Cardinal, and *De contemptu mundi* during a period of voluntary retirement when Pope Celestine III, hostile to Lothar because of a family quarrel, was pope (1191–1198).

The bodily devolution of old age is developed in the sort of compelling detail as Maximianus’s *Elegies*, but at greater length, varied, and repeated. The use of Horace by Pope Innocent III is clear indeed, from the titles for Book I, chapters ten and eleven of the treatise, taken from Horace’s opening line “De incommodis senectutis” and found more deeply in the regular accentual rhythm of the passage, also used in Horace’s *Ars poetica*, and, at the level of word and phrase, in the “immediate imitation or adaptation of Horace” (Coffman 1934, 255). Though it is not clear how Pope Innocent III learned his Horace—whether through excerpts from rhetorical manuals or florilegia or from a copy of the *Ars poetica*—it is by way of Pope Innocent III’s treatise that the idea of *contemptus mundi* is transmitted to England and France.

In the *Elegies* of Maximianus and *De contemptu mundi* of Innocent III are the physical and mental traits of old age found in Geoffrey Chaucer’s translation of the French poem *Roman de la rose*, known by the Middle English title *Romaunt of the Rose*. Chaucer’s “Elde” (Middle English, “elderly,” “old age”) has shrunk with age, feeble, faded to a waxy white in face and hair (lines 349–56), and when, in contemporary John Gower’s *Confessio amantis*, Venus shows the poet his own face in a mirror, Gower makes out his dim eyes, “unglade” expression, withered cheeks, and hoary head. In Gower’s grim witticism, “al my face / With Elde I myhte se deface” (Gower 1900–1901, Book 8, lines 2827–28). The character traits of old age show that Middle English authors were descendants of the Classical line about old age: “Elde” in the anonymous *Parlement of the Thre Ages* is envious and angry, and the narrator in *The Castle of Perseverance* castigates the greediness of the old man, and in William Langland’s *Piers Plowman*, the character Will, already rejected by his wife because he is impotent, is reduced to a terrified and trapped old man, watching the approach of Death (Langland 1988, B, Passus XX, lines 185–202). No one “wolde bicomem old” declares Chaucer’s *Romaunt of the Rose* (line 4965), but the aged character in play, poem, and lyric in fourteenth-century becomes so in ways that, despite the enlargement and invention of the medieval writers of this fertile period, show the old man and the old woman as members of an Antique line.

Another complex tradition of old age, and one which relies on many complicated strands of inheritance, is found in the tradition of the ages of man, of which old age is the big number.

D Old Age by the Numbers

Long before the medieval period, the ages of man had been analyzed as consisting of not only seven parts, but also of three, four, five, six, and twelve parts, of which the Classical scheme of four, derived from Pythagorean numerology, and the divisions of three and of six, derived from the Christian Trinity and the Christian Bible, dominated. Not only does the number of stages of human life differ in these diverse schemata, but also so do the content and the capacities accorded to each phase of life, regardless of how many years it contains. And along with the implied states of senile dementia, helplessness, and nearly inhuman ugliness bestowed on some models of seniority, there are conceptions of “old age” that add desirable human qualities in this period of life, rather than developing only the imponderable and woeful calculus of subtractions that Jaques declares (regarding the Shakespearean character Jaques, see further, below).

The significance of “seven” or of sevenfold groups of people, objects, and activities, of which, as we shall see, Jaques’s speech is an example, is widely distributed globally, both pre- and post-dating written traditions in which such an idea could have been transmitted within a culture or region. Jaques’s scheme, which imagines human life as divided into seven ever-diminishing phases, is one of two uses of “seven” in influential models that divide human life into calculated stages. In the other, and much older, use of “sevens” to describe the human life cycle, critical changes mark each group of seven years, of the ten each human is accorded, a fact of life recorded too in the “fourscore years and ten” of Psalm 89:10. In each one of these ten stages, nature acts decisively to causes key changes within the individual or in respect to his larger social duties.

The “sevens” of human age has had a long life. The earliest surviving evidence of this idea that a man’s life consists of seven phases of ten years each is an elegy on the ten ages of man attributed to Solon (ca. 638–558 B.C.E.) (for the text of this elegy, see West, ed., *Delectus ex Iambis et Elegis Graecis* [1980], Solon 27). Detailing the first four phases of life, Solon describes the physical maturation of the human body from birth through its twenty-eighth year. In the fifth heptad, he writes that man’s duty is to the social responsibilities of marriage and procreation. Because it was thought to mature at a different rate than the body, the mind comes into its own in man’s sixth age, from thirty-five years of age through forty-two. The seventh and eighth periods of life see the ripening of rhetoric, language, and speech within man. Even in the penultimate period of life, from fifty-six years old through sixty-three, Solon opines that a man can still do a great deal, even if there is a weakening in his capacities for thought and speech. About extreme old age, that tenth and final period of man’s life, Solon does write rather gloomily that: “And if anyone comes to complete the tenth [age] in full

measure, / He will not meet the fate of death unseasonably” (West, ed., 1980, Solon 27).

As a witness to the tradition of the hebdomadal analysis of the human life-cycle, Solon’s elegy has garnered an appreciative audience, who see in its reasonable and vigorous program for nine of man’s ten ages, a robust Attic reaction to more pessimistic assessments of human life, such as those wishes for death by the age of sixty attributed to Solon’s contemporary, the elegist Mimnermus, as are recounted in a life of Solon by Diogenes Laertius. Diogenes Laertius (fl. ca. third century C.E.) wrote a biography in Greek of the Greek philosophers, known in English as *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*. The first extant version of this work is a Latin translation of the Greek, printed at Rome in 1472, but thought to have circulated widely before that imprint in manuscript copies. Solon’s life may be found in the second chapter of Book One, often referred to as the book of “the Seven Sages” even though the numbers don’t quite add up. The idea of there having been seven wise Greek men is found in, e.g., the earlier life of Solon by Plutarch (45–120 C.E.), though Plutarch states in his biography of Solon that only Thales was a philosopher who carried his thinking beyond the realm of practical statesmanship.

This important use of groups of seven to analyze the ages of man has a known basis for intellectual development in Pythagorean and Neo-Pythagorean number theory, in which the role of significant numbers—like the tetrad, the heptomad, and the decad—is to symbolize and describe the qualities of the natural world and everything it contains. A revival of Pythagorean beliefs, referred to as Neo-Pythagoreanism, took place in the first century B.C.E., further underscoring and developing aspects of number theory like the ages of man. Neo-Pythagoreanism included the apotheosis of Pythagoras as against all of the known early Greek philosophers, one of several expansions of the reputation of Pythagoras that also added credibility to ideas imputed to him.

In point of fact, little can be verified independently of the life of Pythagoras of Samos (ca. 570–ca. 495 B.C.E.), revered as the first known “pure” mathematician in later traditions of intellectual history including our own. Pythagoras became associated with mathematical and scientific knowledge, including the eponymous theorem describing, in terms of Euclidean geometry, the relations among the three sides of a right triangle (also termed “the law of three squares,” this relationship may have been known in practical terms by, e.g., the Babylonians, but to Pythagoras is credited its first proof, as well as its relationship to a larger mathematical framework by biographers of Pythagoras like Vitruvius, Diogenes Laertius, Proclus, and Plutarch).

Of equal renown and importance were the ethical practices later compiled under the term “Pythagoreanism.” All of the actual works of Pythagoras on any

subject—if he wrote anything down at all—have been lost, either by having been deliberately destroyed or because these writings were the common intellectual property of his disciples, known as *mathematikoi*. But scores of texts from which Plato (427–347 B.C.E.) and Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.), for instance, were thought to have derived many important philosophical ideas were nevertheless ascribed to Pythagoras. By the times of Plato and of Aristotle, Pythagoras already had grown into a massive figure in the intellectual legendary history of the West. Nevertheless, Plato refers to him only once (e.g., in *Republic* 600a) as the founder of a way of life, and Aristotle never mentions Pythagoras as an historical figure at all. Indeed, with critical circumspection, Aristotle writes of the “so-called Pythagoreans.” When Pythagoras is mentioned by name in Aristotle’s corpus of works, such references are judged to have been interpolated later and may be attributed to the status of “Pythagoras” as a revered *auctor*, whether the facts related to him are historically verifiable or not.

In the Pythagorean system of beliefs, numbers were full of extra-mathematical meaning. For instance, the soul itself was imagined as a “self-moving” number that experienced a form of continuing metempsychosis or reincarnation until it had achieved purification, a claim that incidentally led to the vegetarianism of devotees of Pythagoreanism, who could not in conscience halt a soul on its itinerary toward perfection by eating its bodily form. Whatever the chain of custody of the ideas attributed to Pythagoras, it is chiefly on account of two propositions that Pythagoras was well-known in the Middle Ages: first, for his thinking on the fate of the soul after death—his hypothesis about the soul as a mathematical structure that could ascend to perfection by way of its intrinsic motility; and, second, for his reputation as a worker of wonders. This medieval characterization of Pythagoras as a sort of super-human figure, as close to mathematician as to *magus*, was driven by astonishing anecdotes about him that were inserted into, e.g., the Aristotelean corpus. Remarkable as examples of fabulation, these supplements to what would otherwise have been a slender biography of the Ionian thinker, attribute to Pythagoras, for example, a golden thigh, the ability to commune with a river as if speaking with a fellow creature, and the power of being in two places at the same time. As importantly, these attributions are part of a persistent nebula of qualities and ideas associated with Pythagoras and carrying all of the weight of intellectual truth. One of these ideas is about human aging.

A distinguishing aspect of Pythagorean speculation on aging may be found in the tetrad, a super-mathematical idea which links the progress of a human life through time to the course of a calendar year through the four seasons. The forging of that connection is a critical element in schemes of “old age” in the Middle Ages, for it couples in a symbolic relationship changes in a human

being's roles and abilities with the order of seasonal change in nature. Diodorus Siculus, the first-century B.C.E. compiler of a universal history, attributes to the Pythagoreans the division of man's life into a tetrad—four ages—in parallel with the four seasons of the year, an attribution repeated and amplified by the biographer Diogenes Laertius. And, yes: in this correlation, winter is paired with old age, as seems almost “natural” to us at this point in time. We change, argues this model, just as do the seasons in the world of nature, of which we are a part.

Arguably the richest example of the Pythagorean principle of the transformative properties of age is found in the somewhat obdurate fifteenth and final book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. There, Ovid imagines King Numa, the successor to Romulus, being told the story of Pythagoras's settlement or school of philosophers in Croton (now Crotone, Italy) and, in addition, to have told to him a lecture, purported to be “words such as those” which would have been spoken by Pythagoras (Book XV, lines 75ff.). Within the nested ventriloquism of these speeches, Ovid explores again and for a final time in his epic, as he had done in the first book of the *Metamorphoses*, the principle of change as fundamental to the universe, using Pythagoras as the figure scripted to speak and represent this philosophical point of view. As has often been remarked about this fantasy of a lecture by Pythagoras, Ovid proves himself to be more poet than philosopher in the *Metamorphoses*. Making that poetical power clear, Ovid adds a final ponderable about change by way of the *Epilogue* to the *Metamorphoses* (Book XV, lines 871–79): there, Ovid declares that his poem will survive the law of nature's mutability intact. The *Metamorphoses* will be indestructible, claims Ovid, perhaps recurring in a deeply ironic mode to the problem that even our inscriptions, our writings, are rubbed out though time or perhaps suggesting that his poem will become an entity like the Pythagorean soul, moving toward perfection, rather than being devoured by rapacious time: “... nec edax abolere vetustas” (“... nor by the gnawing tooth of time,” Book XV, line 872). For us embodied humans, whose footsteps slow while poetic feet continue their pace, the prognosis is for stages of change through time, rather than a place beyond that dial.

Broadly then, all paradigms for dividing human age into distinct, equal periods—whether of four, five, six, seven, or ten units of years—originate and are rationalized by way of number speculation such as that exemplified by Pythagoreanism, a theory which comprehends the world by way of numbers as signifiers of values that include order and beauty. In this case, the intellectual inheritance of Pythagoreanism became part of the medieval analysis of human life-stages by the numbers. It is those elements of the Pythagorean philosophy of numbers that were absorbed by Neoplatonic thought and thus into Christian philosophical and numerological schemes.

Just as the four ages of man were linked to the four seasons of the calendar year, creating a homology that pleased and informed by way of its proposed natural harmony, so too did the correlation of the seven ages of man with one of the seven planets then known, suggesting an order and, in an astrological context, a rationale for the changes in aging men and women. The seven heavenly bodies governed attitudes, temperament, and physical characteristics of each individual, and to each of these celestial spheres was assigned, for example, a specific part of the human body, each moral quality, every major class of disease, and the particular vocation over which the planet ruled. Human development, from the growth of the embryo in the womb, was understood to be controlled by the planet under whose influence one's life fell.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, principally in Italy and Spain, great numbers of works containing this kind of scientific knowledge were translated from Greek and Arabic into Latin. The earliest surviving account in which the seven ages of man are correlated with the seven planets is found in Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*, and this Ptolemaic system was combined with medical diagnosis and treatment of disorder and disease. Though the Greek original of *Tetrabiblos* has been lost, but the work was translated from Arabic into Latin by Plato of Tiburtinus, fl. twelfth century, as *Quadripartitum*; see Books III and IV, *passim*.

An example of this correlation of the seven ages of man with the seven planets was written by the celebrated Pietro d'Abano (Englished, Peter of Abano), ca. 1250–1316, who more broadly tried to harmonize the medical and philosophical treatises of Averroës and Avicenna with the “problemata literature” of Greek natural philosophy (Tsoucalas et al. 2011; Thorndike 1944). Noted for his *Expositio Problematum*, a work completed in 1310 that commented upon the great and complex treatises known as *Problemata Aristotelis*, Peter was a star of the university at Padua whose opinion on many medical matters held sway until the sixteenth century—but he was also committed to astrological determinism, from the influence of heavenly bodies on the minutest of human activities through the stars' control of even Galen's lauded principles of the four humors. So deep was Peter's belief in astrological control over every aspect of human life as against that of human free will or of divine providence that he was summoned by the Inquisition twice, apparently dying in prison before his second trial could begin. In *Particulata 14* of the *Expositio*, Peter takes up the question of age's relation to influences on the body like hot and cold at great length, discussing the problem that while Aristotle thought that the inhabitants of hot climates lived longer, Avicenna was convinced that such conditions made one old at thirty. Peter's *Conciliator differentiarum quae inter philosophos et medicos versantur* (Venice 1565) contains an examination of the human life-span, in which he explores the differences between terms like “length” and “shortness” in medicine and philoso-

phy. (Peter's work is largely known from reference to it in the profuse commentaries on the *Corpus Aristotelicum* written during the Renaissance and also because of a treatise by Peter entitled *Heptameron*, which is quoted as an authority on the magical elements in, e.g., Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim's work on ritual magic, *Henrici Cornelii Agrippae liber quartus De occulta philosophia, seu de cerimonijs magicis* [Marburg?] 1565).

The connections between the stages of one's life and each stage's ruling planet, so deeply imbricated in Peter's subtle studies, reach beyond the learned schools of Paris and Padua, though. Though Frenchman Jean Froissart (ca. 1333–1410) is perhaps more widely known nowadays for his *Chroniques* (= *Chronicles*), covering the period from about 1326–1400, a searing account of the so-called Hundred Years' War between England and France and a probing witness to book production, art history, literature, and language in this period, he also wrote clever and deeply erotic courtly poems. Of these, "Le Joli Buisson de Jeunesse" (= "The Sweet Bush of Youth") explores the effects of each celestial body that governs each stage of life, as Peter of Abano had believed was the case, imagined in this poem as seven branches. Without surprise, we note that Venus rules the ten years from fourteen to twenty-four, but that by fifty-eight, humans were under Saturn's hegemony until their deaths. Too old for the pleasurable arts of love-making at twenty-five, one still might live on past fifty-eight, however enfeebled. With the topic of Venusian arts having been introduced, what of the older woman and the representation of old age in the Middle Ages?

E The Old Woman

A good deal of this discussion of old age, while it has been styled grammatically to apply to humans universally, in fact is derived from representations and accounts of old men. Here, we turn to the topic of the old woman in the Middle Ages and her special problems, particularly as they differ from the "human" and reveal something of the distinctness of woman from man in the Middle Ages.

Whatever the many differences depicted in the varied speculations about the "ages of man" through the two thousand years in which they are the traceable, these treatments are all anchored to man's troubled ties to time. Because of its link to time, old age can be comprehended as a chilling *memento mori*. This construction of old age as a set of change so thorough-going that it is a death-in-life is illustrated quite literally by the Venetian artist known as Giorgione. Born Giorgio Barbarelli da Castelfranco, ca. 1477/78–1510, what little is known of Giorgino's life is drawn from *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori da Cimabue insino a' tempi nostri* (= *Lives of the Most Excellent Italian Painters,*

Sculptors, and Architects, from Cimabue to Our Times, by Giorgio Vasari, printed in 1550 and enlarged in 1568). Giorgino's portrait entitled *La Vecchia* (= *The Old Woman*; ca. 1508; oil on canvas, 68 x 59 cm, Accademia, Venice) writes our troubled end-times as aging bodies by way of the scroll held in the right hand of this worn, dull-eyed woman, with fallen and mouth gaping in an unnerving grimace: "Col tempo" (Italian, "With time"), the caption on the scroll warns the viewer, and this rich phrase carries within it the senses of "with passing time," "as time goes on," and "as things turn out," among others.

The subject of Giorgino's picture—an old woman—introduces the problem of how old age is gendered, and of how gender produces variations in the ways in which the process of human aging is described and perceived (cf. Campbell, ed., 2006, 1–4). The sidelong gaze with which this old woman regards the onlooker presents us with the powerful ways in which images of aging reflect the social realities of aging, or what we imagine them to be at any rate—for this old woman looks exactly as we might expect her to look in the historical period of the late Middle Ages, showing us as much about the persistence of the stereotype of the "old woman" as it does about anything else, including the possibility that this oil pictures what it says it does. *La Vecchia's* gaze, realizing, as it does, a kind of realism, also plays an important role in embedding within a culture its strategies for fashioning a subjectivity of old age and for representing the cultural anxieties about old age in women. Finally, *La Vecchia* is the granddaughter in a long line of crones, and her picture introduces them to us. The rich and varied tradition to which Giorgino's portrait of age belongs is that of the *vetula* (here, "old woman"; derived from Latin [adj.], "elderly," "aging," from *vetus* [n.], "old," ultimately derived from Proto-Indo-European *wetos-, "year").

The *vetula*, as is suggested by my reading of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* below, is an outstanding phenomenon in medieval art and letters, one that arcs across many of the most important genres of the Middle Ages, inseminating, with her perverse potency, an enormous diversity of works. From sermons and treatises sourced from the anti-feminist bookshelf, the crone is more productive than her biology might indicate, inspiring an immensely popular tale attributed falsely, but interestingly to Ovid, entitled *De vetula*, but also known—of course—as *De mutatione vitae*, a tale of a trick in which the old woman is found just where the young swain does not want her: in bed next to him. Surfacing in the mid-thirteenth century as a part of an encyclopedic poem composed in Latin by a Frenchman, this Pseudo-Ovidian work was also copied in England and in Italy. By the middle of the fourteenth century, another Frenchman, Jean Lefèvre, rewrote the poem in French verse and expanded the section concerning the old woman as a mediatrix between the young lovers (Mieszkowski 2007, 300; Robathan, ed., 1968). The *vetula* is found as the miserable and dismaying option a

love-struck lad must kiss and hug for a year's time if he wishes the same pleasures from a beautiful young lady in Boccaccio's *Filocolo* (ca. 1336–1338). The old woman once again appears as a procurer in Boccaccio's poem, aiding an eager bride who finds herself married to a young man without interest in the female gender in his *Decameron* (ca. 1348–1353).

An example of the crone with a particularly deep afterlife is found in the character "La Vieille" (= "the old lady"), a figure who enters literature in the West in the later part of the influential thirteenth-century *Le Roman de la rose*, an Old French poem begun by Guillaume de Lorris, ca. 1230 and completed by Jean de Meun, ca. 1270–1280, though "completed" hardly does justice to the massive swelling contributed to Guillaume's 4,058 lines by Jean's 17,724 line conclusion (the unsurpassed critical edition of the *Roman* in its original Old French is Lorris and Meun 1914–1924; an excellent Modern English translation with notes, based on the 1914–1924 edition, is Lorris and Meun 1995). The popularity and probable influence of this poem may be inferred from the 320 manuscripts or manuscripts fragments in which the French poem has been copied, many of which manuscripts are sumptuously illustrated with elaborate programs of decoration from the poem (Huot 1993; path-breaking general studies of the *Roman* include Minnis 2001; Brownlee and Huot, ed., 1992; Hult 1986).

An anonymous Middle English translation of the Old French *Roman* exists in three fragments, and Geoffrey Chaucer translates a part of the French poem into English as well, as Eustache Deschamps, who had a cultural stake in seeing "grand translateur, noble Geffrey Chaucier" as a transmitter of French works to English audiences, is pleased to tell us in his ballad addressed to Chaucer (1385 ?). The influence of the *Roman de la rose* on Chaucer's poetic projects may be seen outside his direct translation of the work, too: Chaucer's dream poems and love visions—*The Book of the Duchess*, *The House of Fame*, and, especially, *The Parliament of Foules*—owe much to the *Roman de la rose*. Chaucer's poetic labors in the garden as a trope are enriched by way of the full symbolic settings Chaucer discovered in the *Roman de la rose*: from Januarie's garden, in the *Merchant's Tale*, lines 2029–41, to the *locus amoenus* where Aurelius courts Dorigen in the *Franklin's Tale*, through the antithesis of such lovely gardens in Chauntecleer's drab farmyard of the *Nun's Priest's Tale*.

Jean de Meun's overgrown coda to *Le Roman de la rose* draws its version of the *vetula* from a well-established medieval cultural library of misogyny and, for our tastes, a horrifyingly well-represented anti-feminist tradition scorned by Geoffrey Chaucer, as voiced by, e.g., the voluble Wife of Bath in her prologue and tale, found in the so-called "marriage group" of the *Canterbury Tales* (as noted by Helen Cooper, 1983, 125, the "marriage group" was not written by Chaucer as a "group"], and by Christine de Pizan in *L'Epistre au Dieu D'Amours* (= The God of

Love's Letter, written 1399), Christine's first critical reaction to the *Roman de la rose*. Further epistolary reactions by Christine to the *Roman* are collected as *Les epistres sur le Rommant de la rose* (=Letters about the Roman of the rose) (for the first epistle and the epistle collection, see Christine de Pizan 1997, 15–29 and 41–45). The claims made in the *Roman de la rose* are jaw-dropping, both now and then, for in this poem, it is men who have ownership of the “hammers” and “plows,” so to speak, while women, as this symbolic logic continues, are the “anvils” and the “fallow fields.” Indeed, the medieval debate about how to read the *Roman de la rose* is so substantial a topic as to have sponsored its own subject-heading – the *Querelle de la rose* (= the debate about “the rose”): the positions sketched out about how to comprehend this intricate *Roman*, in respect to its representation of the Church, women, and art, to name a few topics, form a full literature of its own (on the *Querelle*, see McWebb, ed. and trans., 2007; Huot 1993; Badel 1980; Hicks, ed. and trans., 1977). As contemporary readers might read it, we see that the old woman, represented by phallogocentric culture of the *Roman de la rose*, is empty of sexual attractiveness and procreative utility, is an embodied vacuity, a nullity in the poem's sexual economy. So when La Vieille voices her desire for erotic sport, the reaction of the poem's pedagogical voice is disgust and revulsion at the dry labor of attempting to till the hardpan of an old woman's body. But the old woman here is much more than physically abhorrent: she is also dangerous and maybe even wicked, a tricky bodily bog of contaminating corruption and moral ruin (Mieszkowski 2007; Pratt 2007; Matthews 1974; Beltrán 1972; Fleming 1969; Morawski 1917).

Against such a dismaying review of one of the offspring of the *vetula* in the Middle Ages, it is bracing to find that the study of old age in the medieval period has re-drawn the crone's family tree. In older commentaries on the “old woman” type, La Vieille has been too loosely affiliated with another bawd who has her own deep literary history: Dipsas, found in Ovid's *Amores* Book I, viii (Ovid 1988). Ovid's Dipsas, whom the speaker of the poem believes “flits about at night” in plumage, “knows the way of magic,” understands herbs, poisons, and the power of the spinning wheel (here, a reference to the Latin Parcae, who, like the Greek equivalents, were the female representations of destiny: spinning, measuring, and cutting the fortune of each man), and she can call forth the dead from the earth that she herself opens by way of incantations. While La Vieille or her sisters may have been hired by a man to inveigle a desirable young woman into having sex, the thirsty Dipsas is a great deal more than a procuress. As her name announces, Dipsas is a drinker who is never satisfied, an embodiment of appetite, of unsatisfied thirst, and one who teaches women how to delude, seduce, and fleece men by way of semblances of love and desire. But she is in collusion with darker powers too, the grand dame to the so-called witches, executed beginning

in the fourteenth century and into the Early Modern period, when the “witch finder general,” Matthew Hopkins, put to death several hundred accused witches during the early part of the English Civil War (1640–1660). Throughout the long history of the witch hunts in what we now call Europe, it is estimated that some 60,000 people were executed, though less reliable sources suggest that the number was ten times that. By and large, the executed witches were old women, heirs to the Dipsas tradition begun in Ovid’s self-conscious and ironizing *Amores* (see Mieszkowski 2007, esp. 302–03 and n17, for this important correction of La Vieille’s genealogy).

It is not without interest that the Latin noun *dipsas*, “viper,” comes from the name given a fabled asp whose bite causes intense thirst, as recorded by Pliny the Elder in his natural history (in circulation by 79 C.E.) and others. Through this etymological history, *dipsas* comes by its association with thirst and thirstiness, a history carried by the character named “Dipsas,” too. The notion of *dipsas* the snake is borrowed into Latin accounts from a Greek tale in which Zeus rewards an informant who tells him that it has been Prometheus who stole fire from him by bestowing on the informant an antidote for old age. Zeus sends a donkey off with this remedy for old age on its back. But after something of a trek, the thirsty donkey behaves like a jackass at a spring of water guarded by a snake, exchanging the antidote with the snake for a drink of water. The donkey slakes his thirst, and the snake sheds its skin. This tale is known from a fragment by the Greek dramatist Sophocles and by other poets whose works are now lost, and it is repeated by the third-century writer [Claudius] Aelian in his work on natural history, *De natura animalium*, Book 6, section 51, which, though Aelian was a Roman, was written by him in Greek. It was later translated into Latin by the Swiss scientist and expert on Renaissance natural history Conrad Gessner (1516–1565). When one follows the genealogy of Dipsas then, one ends by contemplating a literal and figurative snake-skin, by way of which the reader confronts crucial questions about old age in the Middle Ages, questions passed down to the period in a kind of *translatio* from Greek and Roman sources: is the stage of “old age” primarily located in bodily form? Can age’s transformative effects on the body be symbolized by a snake shedding its skin? Is there a remedy for old age? Is old age then, by way of the history of one of its famous brood, the character Dipsas, as dynamic a state as that skin-shedding snake suggests? In what ways can the condition called old age be changed?

F Changing Bodies: Ovid and Old Age

But age, allas, that al wole envenyme,
Hath me biraft my beautee and my pith.
Lat go. Farewel! The devel go therwith!

[But age—alas—that will poison us all, has bereft me of my beauty and my vigor. Let it go.
Farewell! The devil go with it!]

From Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Wife of Bath's Prologue*, lines 474–76

The Wife of Bath's irritated, pained, and fearful outburst about the changes to her body as she ages force us to regard her—once again!—and to develop the connections between the theme of aging body in the Middle Ages and the precedents of medieval theories of aging. The Wife imagines herself as ugly and as unsexed, as changed unsettlingly, into someone or something else. The *locus classicus* for the problem of transformation in the Middle Ages may be sought in that poet of change, Ovid, whose best known work the *Metamorphoses*, both epic and encyclopedic, falls just behind Scripture in terms of its pre-eminence as an “authority” (= Latin, *auctoritas*) in the Middle Ages in the West. In Ovid's startling Latin poem, whose fifteen books were probably composed between 2–8 C.E., aging is usually described as a physiological process, and one that affects the bodies of men and women alike, dissolving even that biological binary in its exploration of change. It has been argued that aging is not, strictly speaking, a “metamorphosis” (Nikolopoulos 2003, 48). Yet, aging is a process that affects the shape of the body, and bodies transformed are Ovid's great subject in his *Metamorphoses*, as the poet declares in the famous conundrum offered by the opening lines of his epic: “Changes of shape, new forms, are the theme which my / spirit impels me / now to recite.” Aging in the *Metamorphoses* is, as we will discover it continues to be in medieval literature, a problem of the mysterious human form and a problem of the formal, for age stands as the sign for the change that is metaphor, functioning in varied and often surprising ways in the discourses of art, literature, political and philosophical thought—that is, in the poesis of representation.

With a terrible specificity, Ovid deploys the bodily changes that result from aging in description after the description throughout the *Metamorphoses*: here are the emblems that “beautee” and “pith” have deserted us in the trembling limbs, wrinkled skin, white hair, and sloped spine of Ovidian characters. In the tale of Baucis and Philemon (Book VIII, lines 611–724), for instance, the humble, impoverished old couple, quickly sketched with recourse to bodily stereotypes of aging, offer hospitality to two guests, unaware that it is two gods, Jupiter and his son Mercury, whom they entertain. A theme of this episode is surely that of piety (it is paired with the tale of Erysichthon, in which impiety receives its awful

punishment), but it is Ovid's addition of homely detail about the physical effects of age on the elderly couple that is both charming and wickedly funny. For instance, when the two peasants begin to suspect that they are serving gods as the mixing-bowl of wine never needs to be re-filled, Baucis and Philemon try to catch and kill the one goose that guards their minute farm, hoping to provide a proper repast for Jupiter and Mercury. But the goose is fleetier than the two elderly crofters. When the fluttering bird seeks refuge with the gods, the two reveal themselves, granting the old couple's shared wish that neither one should have to see the grave of the other. Thus, by way of deific transformation, their hut becomes a temple, and Baucis and Philemon, rather than dying, remain the sanctuary's arboreal guardians. Here, as in the tale of Medea's love for Jason, in which Jason's father, Aeson, is described as a tired old man (Book VII, lines 158–62), old age is very close to death, and thus the signs of corporal aging inspire varied reactions—the tenderness of Baucis and Philemon toward each other, as well as the curses of the Wife of Bath of the envenoming old age that will change, and then kill her. Like the Wife of Bath, one can rail at age, observe its difficult comedy, object and try to correct it. But, perhaps because that final stage of human life following old age—life's cessation—is irresistible, it is against the aging of our bodies that we make a last complaint.

These Ovidian experiments with old age portray physical appearance, on the one hand, as a wardrobe full of props: the make-up of wrinkles and white hair that can be rubbed away, leaving one's skin smooth and youthful once again. As Ovid observes that snakes can slough off their skins (e.g., *Metamorphoses*, Book VII, line 237 or Book IX, line 266) in the natural process of rejuvenation, so does he suggest, with ironical disjunction, that humans cannot do so at all as they age: for us humans, age is more than a catalogue of physical signs after all. And old age is one of the trappings that can be assumed by divinity, as if it were a costume: both gods and goddesses disguise themselves as old women in order to advise humans. The narrator of the *Metamorphoses*, who takes on the personae of characters like Orpheus, Daedalus, and even Medea within these tales, assumes the appearance of an elderly man in an act of poetic transformation.

Like the surgical knife, the supernatural rejuvenation as occurs in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is double-edged: it may achieve the desired result (e.g., as with Aeson, father of Jason) or end up a disaster (e.g., the example of Pelias). In Book VII of the *Metamorphoses*, where these good and the horrible examples both occur, Medea has to perform a very elaborate and lengthy ritual—including the sacrifice of a black-fleeced ram, the brewing of a boiling, bubbling, frothing elixir, and the gathering of magically charged objects from the natural world (like the guts of a werewolf and the liver of a long-lived stag)—to effect change in the aging body. She then slits Aeson's throat, allows the blood to drain from him, and re-

fills his circulatory system with the above-mentioned potion. Sure enough (Book VII, lines 287 ff.), “when Aeson had fully absorbed this / either by mouth or by way of the wound, his hair and his beard / lost all of their whiteness and quickly returned to a lustrous black. / His leanness, pallor and withered features had all disappeared; / those wrinkled and creased old cheeks filled out with their firm new flesh / his limbs grew supple and strong. / In utter amazement and wonder, Aeson remembered himself in his young days forty years earlier.”

Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* was read and known from one end of the Middle Ages in the West to the other—for Ovid was also accounted an authority in moral philosophy and in natural science, besides being a most important resource for students of classical mythology, a very productive source for characters and plots in medieval vernacular works. Ovid is also the unchallenged expert on love and sex. Finally, because Ovid’s perspective on Virgil and on the Rome of the Emperor Augustus is already a retrospective report, Ovid becomes the model for all future efforts to recapture and reinvent the central authority and image of Rome (by the way, Rome herself will be represented in the Middle Ages as an elderly woman in distress). Old age never leaves man indifferent, and that is certainly true in the *Metamorphoses*, even though reactions to getting older in this poem vary from pity mixed with tenderness, to sincere attention, to irritation, and even to rough laughter. Ovid, so interested in the problem of change in this poem, imagines growing old both as a real change and as a temporary change.

A vivid interest in change—real, magical, divine, internal—is offered by the anonymous Middle English *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, in which will glimpse the careful delineation of distinctions in what might be otherwise regarded as synonyms for “old age.”

G Old Age in Action: Sir Gawain and the Green Knight

Simone de Beauvoir begins her tonic treatment of old age by relating a tale of Siddhārtha Gautama, the man who will become the Buddha. Driving in the countryside around his father’s palace, the first sight that Prince Siddhārtha sees is “a tottering, wrinkled, toothless, white-hair man, bowed, mumbling and trembling as he propped himself along [the way] on his stick.” The prince, astonished by this awful spectacle, exclaims, “What is the use of pleasures and delights, since I myself am the future dwelling-place of old age” (Beauvoir 1972, 7). As pedagogy, this anecdote from Siddhārtha’s biography exemplifies the crucial

qualities of pity, empathy, and action that one human should have for another, which Beauvoir wants to galvanize in her readers. As politics, Beauvoir uses this scene to expose and to change our reflexive reactions to all aspects of mankind that distress us: we evade them. And especially, she continues, we evade old age; indeed, old age is a forbidden subject: “Society looks upon old age as a kind of shameful secret that it is unseemly to mention. ... And that indeed is the very reason why I am writing this book. I mean to break the conspiracy of silence” (Beauvoir 1972, 7–8).

Part of the truth that Beauvoir speaks about the unseemly subject of old age is by way of the collection and analyses she offers of historical and literary texts, a precedent begun in her introduction. Within her chapter “Old Age in Historical Societies (Beauvoir 1972, 99–242), Beauvoir reviews mythological, legal, and literary texts from the “Dark Ages” through the Renaissance, and her reach and terse commentary can be bracing. Of the old woman in medieval literature, Beauvoir writes, “The misogyny of the middle ages [sic] is expressed in all the old woman characters to be met with in their literature—the literature of the fabliaux, particularly in *La Male Femme qui conchia la prude femme* and the Old Woman [i.e., *La Vielle*] in the *Roman de la Rose*” (Beauvoir 1972, 153).

It is to be regretted that Beauvoir could not have reviewed the topic “loathly lady” in medieval English romances, especially after the political and analytical openness offered us by way of the critical work of feminism and gender studies. The crone in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, for example, is quite a different old woman than she once was. Scholarly interests in the “loathly lady” have broadened and deepened. For several decade the subject of folklore research (Brown 1971; Dalton 1971), the “loathly lady” has more recently been examined for insight into the effects of female longevity (Feinstein 2011), as a prophetess (Malay 2010), in popular literature (Carter 2007), in respect to the English laws of primogeniture (Forste-Grupp 2002), for reading of woman’s self-identity (Caldwell 2007), for her powers and effects in medieval literature concerning sex and marriage (McTaggart 2012; Shuffleton 2012; Donnelly 1997; Kelly 1973; Harwood 1972). And, as much as the “loathly lady” has become the patron of more specialized studies of medieval literature, this character-type has also been viewed as typical of some of the interpretative clinches in reading medieval literature. The connection of the “loathly lady,” whose very loathliness comes from a point of view of the female body that associates age with ugly, amounts to a paradigm for the study of old age in the medieval period. Thus, Classen includes, in his authoritative survey of old age in the Middle Ages, a reading of the “loathly lady” in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (Classen, ed., 2007, 25–29).

Sir Gawain and the Green Knight (henceforth, SGGK), an anonymous late fourteenth-century alliterative verse romance, is one of the most poetically ele-

gant and eminently teachable poems from the Middle Ages (for editions of the Middle English text of SGGK and Modern English translations of it, see: Boroff and Howes, ed., 2010; Andrew and Waldron, ed., 2007; Burrow, ed., 1972; Gollancz, ed., 1940; Tolkien, Gordon, and Davis, ed., 1967). In this poem of one hundred and one stanzas, extant in a single manuscript copy, Arthur's nephew Gawain assays the truth of the familiar romance virtues of chivalry and courtesy as the key chivalric test in this poem. Like nearly all of the well-known protagonists in medieval romances who are members of the court of Arthur, Gawain has a backstory or *curriculum vitae*, and his narrative history begins very early: what survives of early Celtic material suggests that, well before the blossoming of romance that follows the verse-romances of Chrétien de Troyes (fl. 1160–1191), Gawain was “well-established in in oral narrative as the nephew, companion, and defender of the great king [Arthur]” (Hahn 2000, 218).

Gawain's appeal stretched far beyond the British Isles and must have done so quite early, even before the great Latin source of Arthuriana found in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* (= *The History of the Kings of Britain*), ca. 1135. Dramatic evidence of Gawain's reach is found in an ecclesiastical setting in northern Italy. Gawain is certainly the knight captioned “Galvagnus” in a depiction the abduction of Queen Guinevere, found on the archivolt above the façade of the northern side doorway, the Porta della Pescheria, at the Cathedral of Modena, Italy. Other than Gawain, the sculpture shows Arthur of Britain and his knights Yder, Gauvaren, Burmald, and Kay attempting to rescue Guinevere, who is held captive by Mardoc in a tower. Roger Sherman Loomis had argued that the sculpture be dated before 1109 (Loomis 1938). Further investigation, though, suggests that the sculpture dates to ca. 1120–1130 (Lejeune and Stiennon 1963). A crucial point made by Loomis still stands, however: that the sculpted scene including Arthur's nephew Gawain predates Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* [= *History of the Kings of Britain*], thus suggesting the circulation of tales of Gawain by way of an ongoing vernacular oral tradition before Geoffrey's Latin compendium (Fox-Friedman 2009).

Of all the knights of Arthur, who ride up and down through the medieval English romances of Gawain (most of which are read only by specialists), Gawain is the one exceptional performer of the precepts that endorse the rightness of things as they are. The social slot Gawain occupies amongst Arthur's men as the king's nephew is one that he shares with his brothers Mordred and Agravain, but Gawain is the good exemplar of the “law of the Father,” the “son” who, despite his own considerable powers, acts as an agent of Arthur, rather than a challenger of him. Gawain is the commendable “young man” (Hahn 2000, 223), and this quality of Gawain is certainly part of what is being probed in SGGK, especially when the poem is read as a text of age studies.

The dangers for Gawain are much different in SGGK than those presented by his customary adventures. SGGK places Gawain in the space of the domestic, a realm of intimacy and discourse, rather than facing off against the odd and alien, as does Gawain in the dozen and more medieval romances that feature this knight as the protagonist of other sorts of adventures: for instance, as the civilizer of a weird “carl” and his wild companions (*Sir Gawain and the Carle of Carlisle*, ca. 1400) or as the challenger of a Turk (*The Turke and Sir Gawain*, ca. 1500). After the famous framing stanzas of SGGK, we are cozily placed at Camelot at Christmas, where the revels are the merriest, the knights’ jousts “ful jolilé” (line 42, all quotations from SGGK are taken from *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* 2010), the ladies the “louelokkest” (line 52) that ever had been, the king “the hy est mon of wylle” (line 57). This scene of romance superlatives declares its singularity against the continuing historical narrative, which the first two stanzas of SGGK lay out by way of the trope of *translatio imperii*. We learn immediately that temporality—its measurement and division and assessment—is a thematic problem in SGGK.

A closely related problem of temporality is the *Gawain*-poet’s introduction and development of the theme of the “ages of man” (Burrow 1986), and it is by way of the elaboration of the theme of “age and youth” that old age in SGGK acquires its richness. The *Gawain*-poet is alert to the shifting temporalities to which the genre of romance lays claim, particularly here to the transmogrifications of beginnings and endings, whether played out as “age and youth,” or as Troy and Britain. Most spectacularly in this romance, the conflict between what seems to be a final judgment or an act with finality—like the initial beheading of the Green Knight—and the changing of the terms upon which judgment is based—like the “exchange of blows” game morphing into the “exchange of winnings” game by way of the bedroom chess match between Gawain and Bertilak’s wife—are transmogrified within SGGK. And as the poem concludes, its audience learns that none of the contests, none of the terms of engagement had motivated the actions in the poem.

In SGGK, the audience encounters familiar conventions and characters, but each one of these is re-thought and re-imagined. Many poems of the so-called alliterative revival in medieval England begin with the “first ages” of their characters and settings, and SGGK conforms to such an expectation. Yet this poet is alert ways in which such expectations can be used to develop a poem-long theme about “age and youth.” “For alwatz þis fayre folk in her first age” (line 54) declares the *Gawain*-poet, hearkening back to the theme of the rise and fall of kingdoms, while suggesting too that there is a darker reckoning for the Round Table’s company. This suggestion deepens as the poem continues. By way of a line-long periphrasis for “New Year’s Day,” the *Gawain*-poet tells us that the year is “ep” (line 60), that is, the new year is young, also untested, undeveloped. This rhetorical figure, so elegantly decorative that one can almost forget its emphasis

on the perils of youthfulness, opens up the unsettling possibility that Camelot is untested, and thus young. Perhaps, then, these most beautiful people in the court of Camelot may also be young, untested, and thus, foolish.

The description of Arthur strengthens this case. The *Gawain*-poet gives us an Arthur “so joly of his joyfnes, and sumquat childgered” (line 86). Is the “somewhat childish” Arthur just too much of a boy to win through the “blysse and blunder” (line 18) for Britain? King Arthur, whom the poem reports cannot sit still, has an ever-busy brain (lines 88–89), also “wolde never ete”—his custom on holidays, not a “one of” at the moment of the poem—until a story be told him (line 91). And his choice of genres is similarly boyish—something adventurous, action-packed, and full of special effects (lines 93–95). One’s wait for adventure at Camelot is brief.

When the Green Knight and his green horse burst into the hall, the *Gawain*-poet recurs to the problem of the youthful Camelot again, and from the perspective of the Green Knight. It is not at all apparent to the Green Knight, whose mature and comely masculinity is elaborated in several stanzas in SGGK, who is in charge: “Wher is, he sayd, / The governour of this gyng?” (“Where is, he said, the governor of this gang?,” lines 224–25) Even after the Green Knight has looked each of the knights up and down (lines 228–31), the group looks ungoverned to him. Though Arthur declares himself to the Green Knight, host to guest, the Green Knight declares that he is not there to fight with “the berdles chylder” (“the beardless children,” line 280) of Camelot. The “game” the Green Knight is granted by Arthur will at least turn a “green” Arthur red “for scham” (“for shame,” line 317) and give Gawain a decorative notch on his neck. As this evidence makes clear, the plot of SGGK establishes at once the problem of the temporal and theme of youth and age.

The *Gawain*-poet expatiates upon youth and age by way of experimenting with the character known as *vetula*, a crone familiar in the vernacular literatures of the Middle Ages, where vituperation of women seems a literary sport at which men excelled (see, e.g., Mieszkowski 2007; Pratt 2007). And, if a well-known author didn’t write something, it might still be attributed to him. Such is the case with the thirteenth-century Latin comedy entitled *De vetula*, attributed by way of a pseudo-epigraphic signature to Ovid (Robathan, ed., 1968). In this drama, a farcical bed-trick puts a character named Ovid in the arms of a rapacious *vetula*, rather than the comely women he had arranged to sleep with, a metamorphosis that the poet of the *Metamorphoses* discovers by tracing the *vetula*’s figure in the dark bedroom. When Ovid meets the young lady again, now a widow, they repeat the assignation. This time, however, she has herself become the *vetula*. “I have sung of forms changed into new bodies,” laments the poet, re-forming the famed first lines of the *Metamorphoses*, “but no more miraculous a change can be found than this one.” Her changed life results in

changes in Ovid's: as a result of the experience, Ovid renounces poetry and women, takes up sterner pursuits like philosophy, and converts to Christianity (Heyworth 2009, 1–3). We may expect a similarly comical, if somewhat rueful bed-trick to be played upon Gawain, but our desire is frustrated by this particular old woman in SGGK, who both recalls the extraordinary fixity of the stereotyped depiction of “the ugly old woman” found in the Middle Ages and turns us in the direction of the womanly power of Morgan Le Fay, in some ways an equally stereotyped figure of woman, but one from whose formidable witchy strength a knight shrinks, at least after the courtly greeting.

The contract between Gawain, as the representative of Arthur, calls for him to seek the “aghlich mayster” (“terrible master,” line 136) on his own territory and to receive a return blow from the Green Knight. Weary and chilled by rain under his armor, Gawain prays for comfort somatic and spiritual—and a castle so perfect that it seems “pared out of paper” (“pared out of paper,” line 822) appears. Soon, Gawain is dry, warm, and richly clad in Bertilak's realm. After dinner, Gawain accompanies his host to evensong in the castle's chapel, where they sit in apparent comradeship through the service (lines 928–40).

The young lady, who will prove to be Bertilak's wife, wants to gaze at, perhaps to speculate upon, the well-known Gawain:

941 Penne lyst þe lady to loke on þe knyȝt,
 Penne com ho of hir closet with mony cler burdez.
 Ho watz þe fayrest in felle, of flesche and of lyre,
 And of compas and colour and costes, of alle oþer,
 945 And wener þen Wenore, as þe wyȝe þoȝt.
 Ho ches þurȝ þe chaunsel to cheryche þat hende.
 An oþer lady hir lad bi þe lyft honde,
 Þat watz alder þen ho, an auncian hit semed,
 And heȝly honowred with hapelez aboute.
 950 Bot vnlyke on to loke þo ladyes were,
 For if þe ȝonge watz ȝep, ȝolȝe watz þat oþer;
 Riche red on þat on rayled ayquere,
 Rugħ ronkled chekez þat oþer on rolled;
 Kerhofes of þat on, wyth mony cler perlez,
 955 Hir brest and hir bryȝt prote bare displayed,
 Schon schyrer þen snawe þat schedez on hilleȝ;
 Þat oþer wyth a gorger watz gered ouer þe swyre,
 Chymbled ouer hir blake chyn with chalkquyte vayles,
 Hir frount folden in sylk, enfoubled ayquere,
 960 Toretet and treletet with tryflez aboute,
 Þat noȝt watz bare of þat burde bot þe blake broȝes,
 Þe tweyne yȝen and þe nase, þe naked lypeȝ,
 And þose were soure to se and sellyly blered;
 A mensk lady on molde mon may hir calle,

965 for Gode!
 Hir body watz schort and pik,
 Hir buttokez balȝ and brode,
 More lykkerwys on to lyk
 969 Watz þat scho hade on lode.

[(941) Then the lady wished to look at the knight and left her pew with many fair women. She was the loveliest on earth in complexion and in features, in figure, in coloring, and in comportment above all others (945) and more beautiful than Guinevere, so it seemed to the knight. She came through the chancel to greet him courteously, another lady leading her by the left hand, one who was older than she, an “ancient” it seemed, and honored highly by the knights thereabout. (950) But very different in looks were those two ladies, for where the young one was fresh, the other was withered; every part of that one was spread with rich reddening; on that other, rough wrinkled checks hung in folds. Many bright pearls adorned the kerchiefs of one, (955) whose breast and white throat, uncovered and bare, shone more dazzling than new-fallen snow on the hills; the other wore a gorget gathered around her neck, her swarthy chin wrapped in chalk-white veils, her forehead enfolded by silk, wrapped up everywhere, (960) with embroidered hems and fretwork stitches, so that nothing was exposed of her but her black brows, her two eyes and her nose, her naked lips, which were sick-making to see and shockingly bleared. A noble lady indeed one may call her, (965) by God! Her body was short and thick, her buttocks bulging and broad, more delicious in looks (969) was the lady whom she led.]

The expected superlatives of youthful female beauty are rehearsed in this stanza. Yet, the initial description is compressed into two lines (lines 943–44), and these two lines come from Gawain’s perspective. It is revealed in the next line that Gawain thinks the lady “fairer” (line 945, “wener”) than Guinevere, and by way of this comparative adjective, the *Gawain*-poet has us recall that comparing one woman’s beauty to another’s is that “apple of discord,” that contest at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis that will fuel a flare-up among the goddesses Hera, Aphrodite, and Athena—and will eventuate in the Trojan War, the point in time in fictional history from which SGGK begins.

Another effect of this young woman, however stereotyped her looks as the poem represents them, is to distract Gawain from the old woman. Gawain, well-known as this poem explains, as a talker in the tradition of the amatory court, makes a visual judgment of the pair of women, and by turning his attention to the conventionally beautiful young woman, the old woman becomes, for Gawain and for us and for the poem itself—or so it seems—the “other” woman (line 947). The old woman is “highly honored” (line 949) by the knights in Bertilak’s castle, but that fact is not one that Gawain investigates. Except for the exchange of conventional courtesy, Gawain finds this old woman almost literally unremarkable, by contrast to her young companion. Gawain sees only the convention of an old woman’s body (lines 952–69), and his young flesh is—quite conventionally—uninterested.

Even beauty itself can become stale and flattened, when bounded about by the same rhetorical formulations of *descriptio*. By the Renaissance, the stereotyped ugliness in a woman would eventuate in an ironic praise of models who do not conform to this dominant female portrait. William Shakespeare's "Sonnet 130," one of the so-called "dark lady" sonnets, turns the formulized "forehead downward" description of a beautiful woman topsy-turvy, explaining that his "mistress' eyes are nothing like the sun," that "coral is more red, than her lips red," that of the expected pillow of her bosom can say but that "If snow be white, why then her breasts are dun." Shakespeare's concluding couplet makes clear his preference: "And yet by heaven I think my love is rare, / As any she belied with false compare." In the Middle Ages, too, artists depart from the expected platitudes of female description and exhibit, as well, a keenness for the monstrous and ugly. Parodies and mischievous rearranging of descriptions of optimal womanly beauty began as early as the twelfth centuries—adjectives are transferred from one body part to another, yielding, for instance, "snowy teeth," "flaming lips," and a "milky brow."

Such howlers can be detached from their contexts, ascending above the social and political down-and-dirty. But the ugly woman, however comical the exaggerated body and features, she is also a product of a vicious medieval anti-feminism. Beneath the description of the ugly woman in medieval literature, there is a revulsion about a woman sexually that is misattached to the aged body. For instance, in a love-debate in Giovanni Boccaccio's *Filocolo*, written ca. 1336–1338 and a source for Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale*, a young man sees a poor, shrunken, withered old woman begging at the house of the beautiful young woman whom he loves. He hires the old woman to carry messages between the maiden and himself, eventually arranges a meeting with his lover. Of course, it is the young woman's brothers who appear at the tryst. To punish the man for attempting to disgrace them by violating their sister, the brothers force the man to choose between death for the attempted seduction of their sister or a deal in which he can sleep for one year with the youthful beauty, but must also sleep for one year with the crone who has been his messenger. If he declines death for this arrangement, then the young man must kiss, caress, and make love to the one woman exactly as he does to the other—and exactly as much. The question posed by Boccaccio's love-debate is: which woman should the young man spend his nights with for the first year? Outside Boccaccio's narrative, consider the disgust shown by the doubled actions of this plot—and a beautiful young lad despoiled by congress with the withered crone. SGGK exploits the familiar plot of such "loathly lady" romances to turn things pear-shaped for Gawain.

The *Gawain*-poet has warned us in a tongue-twisting double maxim at the beginning of the second fitt that turns again toward the homology of the

seasons with the ages of man that “a yerre yernes ful yerne, and yeldes never lyke; / The forme to the fynisment foldes ful selden” (lines 498–99). The metamorphoses of scene and situation, of host into horror, and of dalliance into dangerous test force the reader to re-purpose and probe all the usual cultural and philosophical touchstones of the usual Yuletide at King Arthur’s court. The “auncian” lady (line 948) wears what is the well-known “costume” of age, and, though the *Gawain*-poet has delighted to linger upon her shriveled form, she is (mis)recognized by Gawain as merely a most loathly old lady. But that, of course, is not all she is: as Bertilak, now in good form, names her, she is Morgan le Fay (line 2446). Or, as he further explains (lines 2447–70), Morgan the goddess, the lover of the accomplished (though here unnamed) scholar Merlin, the power behind the plot of the poem, and perhaps, simplest and most explosive of all, Gawain’s aunt.

Gawain, for all his strengths, is not the best of readers. In this poem, “ancient” is not just elegant variation for “old” in an alliterative word-hoard. So well-whetted is this anonymous poet’s axe that, as the horror of this outcome—the disruption of all that had been expected and anticipated and, indeed, relied upon in the poem—falls like a blade through these two stanzas, we and our heads are divided. But, to re-live the conclusion, safely, as readers, one sees just how crucial have been the inherited features of old age in playing this game.

H The After-Life of Old Age in the Middle Ages

Let us end with William Shakespeare (1564–1616), another word-smith. His work is often tagged “timeless,” unless it is being captioned “timely.” Throughout Shakespeare’s plays, time “frets and struts [its] hour upon the stage” (*Macbeth*, Act V, scene v) as a theme, a topic, and a trope, drawn from many sources. It is a commonplace that Shakespeare’s plays are full of historical and literary matter that predate the dramatist himself, including re-fashioned medieval tropes, ideas, and character types (see, e.g., Morse et al., ed., 2013). The common features and sources regarding how old age is depicted and understood stretch back from Shakespeare through the earliest reaches of the classical period. Yet, for all the models of the old man or woman that share common elements or descend from a familiar paradigm, what is striking is the protean quality of old age, as though Proteus himself stretched out a hand from his fluid domain and rocked the boat. Old age is an unsettling problem, an elusive category, and it is the richness of its mutability that has attracted master artists and thinkers like Shakespeare. For our purposes, his testimony in a way summarizes what we know about old age as perceived and discussed in the Middle Ages.

The taut and electric “all the world’s a stage” speech made by Jaques, a character in *As You Like It* by William Shakespeare, is often cited for its concise catalogue of the “seven ages of man”: from the infant “mewling and puking in the nurse’s arms” to man’s “[l]ast scene of all”—old age—that “second childishness and mere oblivion, / sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything” (*As You Like It*, Act II, scene vii, lines 138 ff.). The state of being old is a scene of lack for Jaques. Though Shakespeare’s lines characterizing the seven stages of human life remain well-known for their terse pungency, many other schemes for man’s life cycle have been proposed, of which Jaques’s list is only one, if one of the most important and long-lived of these analyses, still vigorous in the early modern period after centuries of circulation. Composed about 1598, the date of the first performance of Shakespeare’s *As You Like It* is probably 1599/1600, a short time before it was entered into the Stationers’ register in London on August 4, 1600. The play is likely to have been one of the dramas put on by the Lord Chamberlain’s Men in the new Globe theater, which opened in 1599. *As You Like It* was published posthumously in the First Folio, London, 1623, which contains thirty-six of Shakespeare’s plays. But this early modern play’s development of “old age,” though treated with Shakespearean dash, rests upon bases formed much earlier. Jaques’s “sevens” have a lineage some two millennia in the making (please see, in this article, the subsection “Old Age By the Numbers”).

As You Like It emphasizes another problem with “old age” by way of the character “Old Adam”: how does one understand the force with which the adjective “old” alters nouns it modifies? What is the lexical field of “old”? “Adam” has a long dramatic history, and his employment in the theater commences with the Adam plays of the Middle Ages, like the twelfth-century French *Mystère d’Adam*, which ends with some satisfyingly wicked devils manacled Adam and Eve and dragging the pair off with what one hopes was the clatter of every villagers’ pats and pans. This mystery play is ultimately derived from the apocryphal Latin *Vita Adae et Euae* (= Life of Adam and Eve), composed in its extant version in the eighth century. The apocryphal *vita* had a robust medieval afterlife: in Middle English alone, there are five “Adam books,” which, though they concern only the Scriptural text of *Genesis* 4, elaborate their material with the verve of what has been named “medieval realism” and are adapted into several genres of Middle English literature (for the “Adam books” read as portraying “medieval realism,” see, e.g., Dean 2010). This one chapter of *Genesis* has material and then some to suggest such ramification as is found in narratives of the Adamic family: the occupations of Cain and Abel can be compared; there is envy; there is murder; and there is exile. And, as Northrop Frye observes of the Adam tale, “The archetype of the inevitably ironic is Adam, human nature under sentence of death” (Frye 1957, 42).

Within the character of Old Adam are merged not just the theological problem of “old Adam,” but also textual and contextual traditions that revolve around the hoary figure of Old Adam. According to a stage tradition recorded in the mid-eighteenth century by the antiquarian William Oldys, Shakespeare himself, then in his mid-thirties, played the role of “Old Adam” in *As You Like It* in this manner: “... wherein being to impersonate a decrepit old man, he wore a long beard, and appeared so weak and drooping and unable to walk that he was forced to be supported and carried by another person to a table, at which he was seated among some company, who were eating, and one of them sung a song.” In addition, as has been argued (Schleiner 1999), the scene in *As You Like It* (Act II, scene vii) in which Orlando carries in upon his shoulders the starving Old Adam—that character who has given up his home and his savings for his young master and who will now be honored by the first meats at a banquet table set in a forest place of exile and repair—balances Jaques’s grim summary of man’s seven ages which it immediately follows. The good works and inherent virtue in the character Old Adam are redemptive here, continuing the play’s dialectic between the body-centered model of old age as diminishment, articulated by Jaques within this scene, and an ironic use of the emblems of old age and of the theological concept of the “old man” by way of a character named Old Adam, who transcends his bodily failure, inspires charity from his fellow man, and—in Shakespeare’s ironized reading—requires the support of food and shelter every bit as much as this old man does a future redemption to be embodied in the coming of the “New Adam,” Jesus as messiah.

The theological concept of “old” to which the name of Shakespeare’s character “Old Adam” points is that expressed, e.g., by *The Book of Common Prayer* (London 1584, P1^v), as found in the sixteenth-century “Service for Public Baptism” and still read today: “O Merciful God, grant that the old Adam in these children may be so buried that the new man may be raised up in them.” Rooted in Paul’s injunction in the Epistle to the Colossians 3:9–10 that Christians put off the old man for the new, this “old man” or “old Adam,” refers to the unregenerate part of human nature and to its natural disposition to evil, a fact that may only be changed by the regeneration offered through the sacrament of baptism (for baptism as constituting this regenerative act, see further, e.g., Galatians 3:26; Ephesians 4:23, 24). From the time of the Fathers of the Roman Catholic Church, commentators have agreed that the skins with which God clothes Adam and Eve after the Fall (i.e., in Genesis 3:21) symbolize the fallen condition of the “old man” (see, e.g., Augustine, *Patrologia Latina*, [ed. Migne], XXXVII, cols. 1341, 1352–53).

That Shakespeare was aware of the tradition of the “old man” as signaled by means of an Adamic costume fashioned from animal hide is witnessed by another First Folio play, *The Comedy of Errors*. There, in Act IV, scene iii, “the picture of an old Adam,” as the character is described by Dromio of Syracuse, must refer to the

sergeant in the play, who, clad in a coat of “calf’s skin,” had previously arrested Antipholus of Ephesus. The sergeant’s leathern clothing, then, links patristic commentary on animal skins with the play’s picture of “an old Adam” (for a detailed discussion of this line, see Weld 1956). Thus, the character of Old Adam in *As You Like It*, perhaps with Shakespeare costumed to mimic the complicated references embedded in this character’s name, and the miserable forecast of Jaques are both indexicals that demonstrate how persistent and ever-morphing are the sources behind and the uses to which old age as a topic may be put.

I Conclusion: Time to Go

In Shakespeare’s *As You Like It*, Jaques traces further the troubling links between the passage of time and our embattled bodies. Jaques says that the fool:

... drew a dial from his poke.
 And looking on it with lack-lustre eye,
 Says very wisely, ‘It is ten o’clock:
 Thus we may see’, quoth he, ‘how the world wags:
 ‘Tis but an hour ago since it was nine,
 And after one hour more ‘twill be eleven;
 And so, from hour to hour, we ripe and ripe,
 And then, from hour to hour, we rot and rot,
 And thereby hangs a tale.’
 (*As You Like It*, Act II, scene vii, lines 20 ff.)

The “dial” scrutinized by Shakespeare’s “motley fool” signifies, among other things, the topics of temporal man and of historical man, and one of the “hours” on the particolored fool’s dial is the hour of human old age. How will the tale of old age be told by twenty-first-century scholars who may be, as it has been argued, writing after the tick-tocks of time have ceased?

Time itself can grow old, as some of the medieval tropes for old age have suggested. This problem of time’s cessation, of writing out of a postmodern spot in which there are no more beginnings, also has a history. Speaking of “time” as a topic that has expired, a theme in the works of novelists and poets like Marcel Proust, Virginia Woolf, and T. S. Eliot, Frederic Jameson wonders if indeed “space” has or will replace “time” in the “general ontological scheme of things” (Jameson 2003, 695). Jameson continues:

So the dictum that time was the dominant of the modern (or of modernism) and space of the postmodern means something thematic and empirical all at once: what we do, according to the newspapers and the Amazon statistics, and what we call what we are doing. I don’t see

how we can avoid identifying an epochal change here, and it affects investments (art galleries, building commissions) as much as the more ethereal things also called values (Jameson 2003, 696).

Certainly, the paradigms by way of which human age has been theorized in the Middle Ages will have an autonomy of aesthetic viewpoint from which we will have been sundered. The bracing alterity of the Middle Ages, the intellectual detachment from it that has been so salutary in post-modern discussions of the era, stimulates us to claim what is accessible and present in this period, rather than to emphasize what it is, to re-purpose Jaques, “sans.”

Pace Jaques, the topic of old age in the Middle Ages is “sans” nothing in respect to its interest for the reader. Old age is one of the great themes of art and thought, for—like the themes of exile, injustice, mutability, and death—it threatens us with division from the senses of coherence of self and situation that enable one’s life. But, as any consideration of old age reminds us, there is so much to say—and so little time.

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John A. Dempsey

The Papacy and the Pan-European Culture

A The Role of the Papacy in the Formation of a Pan-European Culture and its Place Within It

I The Nature of the Papal Contribution

Of all the individual institutions of medieval Europe, the papacy played the most decisive role in the development of a pan-European culture in the pre-modern era. Like Christianity itself, the papacy, ironically enough, originated not on European soil but on the fringes of the Near East. The great contributor to the rise of the early West was, in fact, then, an immigrant: and until the reign of Constantine (r. 312–337 C.E.) an illegal one at that. The spiritual universalism of the papacy, which informed its pan-European perspective in the medieval period, stemmed from a centuries long interplay between the flow of historical events and Christian reflection, especially that of the Christian community of Rome, upon the relationship between two Asian Jews, the rabbi, Jesus of Nazareth, and his disciple, the Galilean fisherman, Shimon bar Jonah, as recorded in the four gospels of the New Testament. The exchange reported in *Matthew* 16:13–20 between rabbi and disciple at Caesarea Philippi constitutes, arguably, the most important words attributed to Jesus in papal history. In this scene, in all likelihood set down by a Palestinian Jewish Christian for other Jewish Christians, Jesus changes the name of his leading disciple (in the Hebrew Bible the changing of names is a divine prerogative) and bestows on him the keys of his messianic kingdom with the power to forgive sins (another divine prerogative according to the Hebrew scriptures). Although Christians of all times and places have interpreted the words of this New Testament passage variously, they, nevertheless, evolved by the European High Middle Ages into one of the chief ideological justifications for papal supervision of the affairs of all nations and peoples. Thus, the institution, which in its capacity as the teacher of nations contributed both directly and, much more often, indirectly to the production of so many early western cultural artifacts, owed much to a cultural artifact (i.e., the New Testament) of an ancient pre-western culture. Moreover, the cultural unity of the early West, the initial manifestation of which emerged in the cultural awakening of the age of Charlemagne (r. 768–814), was hardly the deliberate creation of the papacy. In the medieval period, the papacy's role in the building a pan-European culture was indispensable, but it never served as a center of cultural initiatives let alone of cultural

planning. The Roman Church provided inspiration, guidance, spiritual protection, and intellectual resources for independent cultural movements and thereby imparted something of its universal perspective to them. It is, for instance, impossible to imagine the Frankish warlord Charlemagne consciously re-establishing empire in the West at Christmas in Rome without the influence of the Roman Church. Yet, as scholars of the Carolingian period have clearly established, Charlemagne arrived at the decision to re-establish empire in the West on his own; and, while he borrowed heavily from the cultural and religious treasures of the Roman Church in establishing the Carolingian Re-Awakening, which all too briefly and superficially united culturally at least some segments of the former western Roman provinces, he had his own ideas about the ultimate source of spiritual power on earth (Collins 1998). The presence, nevertheless, of devoted servants of the Petrine ministry, like St. Boniface (672–754), in the Frankish kingdom in the decades prior to Charlemagne's birth surely influenced the Frankish society in to which he was born and its spiritual and cultural horizons. The spiritual universalism of the Roman Church, thus, often left an indelible impression on the cultural imagination of those peoples and movements with which it established contact.

This influence, in addition, was more symphonic in its effect than harmonizing. Local diversity and a plurality of institutional forms were hallmarks of medieval cultural life and papal authority could have never overturned this state of affairs in any fundamental way. Local culture and circumstances, in fact, profoundly shaped the papacy itself (Partner 1972). Despite its rise to international prominence, the medieval papacy, in many ways, remained a locally oriented institution. The typically medieval regard for local variation in all matters found expression in the popes' dealings with one of the most important cultural movements in world history, the higher education movement of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The popes, who often had participated in the movement themselves as students and masters, issued various pieces of legislation to strengthen the internal life of individual schools and universities and to ward off the encroachment of hostile local forces on their institutional independence. But, there was no attempt to impose a uniform way of life on these institutions. There was not even a uniform relationship between the Holy See and the various individual schools and universities of medieval Europe. Such an approach to institutional relations would have struck the medieval imagination as quite unnatural.

II The Evolution of The Papacy's Place In Medieval Society and The Chief Source of Its Authority

The place of the papacy in medieval culture, furthermore, was not uniform through time. As a practical matter, in the Early Middle Ages, the bishop of Rome was a significant figure only in Rome itself and in its suburban dioceses. The influence of the Roman pontiffs over the many dioceses beyond Italy was minimal and their jurisdictional authority over them was almost non-existent. To most of the Latin rite Christians of the provinces of the old Western Roman Empire, the pope was a very distant figure who was mainly known as the custodian of the relics of the ancient Roman martyrs, especially those of Saints Peter and Paul. It was not until the ecclesiastical reform movement of the eleventh century decisively took root in the Roman Church itself with the election of Pope Leo IX (1049–1054) that this state of affairs began to change. When it did change, the change was rapid. In historical terms, the rise of the Roman Church to prominence in European society was nothing less than meteoric. In the fifty or so years following Leo IX's election, the papacy evolved into an effective pan-European institution with the pope as the leading figure in the medieval church and a rival to the emperor in terms of political influence on the continent. By the early 1100s, the build up to the apogee of papal influence in medieval life in the thirteenth century during the classic age of the papal monarchy was well underway.

As the brief narrative above indicates, however, the papacy, most ironically, was not the chief protagonist in its own dramatic rise to religious, cultural, and political prominence in medieval Europe. The ecclesiastical reform movement over which the popes eventually assumed leadership and which propelled the papacy to international status was a broad historical force in the continent's religious life which originated not in mid eleventh century Rome but in several different monastic reform circles of the tenth century which were most active in France, Germany, and northern Italy and which eventually received popular support (Blumenthal 1988). While Leo IX and his successors, most notably Gregory VII (1073–1085), devised their own tactics on how to advance the reform agenda and offered their own diagnoses of the cause of ecclesiastical abuses, the main items of the reform agenda (e.g., bans on simony and married clergy) long pre-existed the age of the reform papacy. This reality was lost on many early scholars of the eleventh century reform movement to the extent that they came to refer to it as the Gregorian Reform as if it were principally the work of the most famous of the reform popes, Gregory VII (Fliche 1926).

Once placed upon a perch by the popular thirst for religious renewal and by the course of events in the reform drama (e.g., the encounter at Canossa between

Henry IV of Germany (r. 1056–1106) and Gregory VII), the popes attracted to themselves over the course of the next two centuries a mass of humanity. In the opening decades of the twelfth century, a flood of petitions and petitioners reached the papal court. Various local communities and individuals turned to Rome for “impartial” papal adjudication of their local disputes. Thus, the exponential growth in the size of papal government at this time, which certainly paved the way to the great age of the papal monarchy in the following century, was also not the deliberate act of the popes, but rather a response to the demand of medieval society. Papal government was, early on, then, largely rescript government (Morris 1989).

In terms of the continent’s cultural life, the popes and their collaborators functioned more like surfers riding the various waves which reached them than as the generators or authors of great movements. The papacy sponsored epochal undertakings, such as the university movement, and epochal individuals, such as Francis of Assisi (1182–1226), but it was not an immediate source of inspiration for them. This patronage, of course, further enhanced papal standing and brought new potential clients to itself. It also made the popes and the Roman curia more frequent subjects of cultural discourse. The aforementioned growth in papal government spawned an entire genre of anti-Roman polemic from the twelfth century onwards that denounced the alleged greed of the papal court. This medieval polemical line subsequently found its most vivid expression in the sixteenth century woodcuts of Protestant artisans and, in some sense it has endured to the present day.

The ultimate source of papal power in medieval Europe and the guarantee of the papacy’s privileged position in medieval culture, nonetheless, rested not on any coercive governmental power, canonical or temporal, but rather on the institution’s ability to be seen by a continental population, all too familiar with the deficiencies and dangers of their local worlds (whether political, cultural, or religious in nature), as the chief agent of a universal spiritual society whose purpose and values transcended the idiocy so to speak of local life, rural and otherwise, but which also did not pose a threat to “legitimate” customary local ways. Papal influence, in other words, flourished to the extent that individual popes and the papacy as an institution were able to be seen by others as an agent of their own aspirations who would not smother or fundamentally distort those aspirations by their embrace. In a very real sense, the papal monarchy required the consent of its spiritual subjects in order to function. This was true, to a degree, of all medieval governments as the primordial influence of the political values of the ancient Germanic tribal *Thing* strongly influenced medieval ideas about the nature of political authority. In order to be deemed legitimate and, hence, worthy of obedience, political leadership required a moral framework wherein power was

exercised for the advantage of the entire community and not simply out of the naked self-interest of the rulers (Geary 1988).

Indeed, even at the height of its prestige and influence, the papacy was a fragile institution highly vulnerable to manipulation and even to physical destruction from sundry hostile forces. The Romans themselves, especially the great families of the city proper and of the surrounding rural districts, perennially threatened the institutional integrity and independence of the medieval papacy. For these clans, the papal throne constituted the greatest prize in local politics and with it came the chance to enrich themselves and their allies through the manipulation of the Roman Church's land holdings and administrative offices. In their behavior, the Roman aristocracy exemplified the quintessential medieval cultural phenomenon of infeudation whereby aristocratic kin networks sought to channel the economic resources of every nearby entity, whether as grand as the papal throne or as prosaic as a water mill, to themselves.

While the Roman magnates' exploitation of the papacy fluctuated in its intensity over the course of the Middle Ages, the specter of a *putsch* by one aristocratic faction or another perpetually lurked on the horizon. The presence of a great power in Italy, such as the Carolingian emperors in the late eighth and early ninth centuries, could, on the one hand, restrain ambitious local clans and thereby boost papal institutional autonomy and expand the field of papal action; but, this presence, such as that of the Lombard kings of the sixth and seventh centuries or the German emperors of the High Middle Ages or the French monarchs of the Late Middle Ages, could also just as easily pose an existential threat itself to papal independence. Domination of papal affairs served the interests of foreign potentates just as well as those of the Roman barons and on numerous occasions a foreign power conspired with a Roman faction against the interests of a Roman pontiff.

As true as it may have been that the papacy's cultural place did not rest ultimately on military or economic power, this was understandably largely lost on the popes themselves. After all, it is hard to maintain confidence in one's over all influence in society when the imperial army has you on the run in the Roman countryside! The formal legal establishment of the Papal State by Innocent III (1198–1216) in the early thirteenth century was an attempt to guarantee the institutional autonomy of the papacy through the creation of an independent source of revenue, which would have theoretically reduced the Roman Church's reliance on allies both near and far (Partner 1972). The papal kingdom, nonetheless, was an odd political entity that never possessed enough secure revenue to procure a ready and independent source of what was most important for any pre-modern government: fighting men. The intricate legal measures and diplomatic maneuvering of Innocent III and of his successors of the thirteenth century

and beyond never corrected this basic weakness. Throughout its entire existence, the Papal State depended upon one ally or another for military protection. It fell definitively in 1870 to the Italian army precisely because the French emperor, Louis Napoleon (1808–1873), had withdrawn his forces protecting Pope Pius IX (1846–1878) in order to wage the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871).

Nonetheless, despite its institutional deficiencies and the limits on its ideological power, by the pontificate of Innocent III, the papacy exercised an unrivaled influence over the cultural life of a Western Civilization whose beginnings lay far into the future at the time of the alleged exchange at Caesarea Philippi between rabbi and disciple as recorded in *Matthew* 16. The popes of this new era were no longer simply the successors of the Galilean fisherman, Peter, but the Vicars of Christ, who according to Innocent ranked below God but above man. They held the keys not only to the future messianic kingdom but to a territorial principality (however vulnerable) that stretched from Rome across central Italy to the environs of Bologna. They, also, sat atop a pan-European ecclesiastical legal system and they and their representatives dispensed justice from the British Isles to the crusader states of the eastern Mediterranean. They held the keys to the treasury of the merits of Jesus, of his mother Mary and of all the saints. They could forgive any and all sins. They also possessed the keys to the different national treasuries of Europe through their management of an ecclesiastical tax system. They reserved to themselves the right to intervene in the workings of the new commercial economy and against immoral popular entertainment, such as knightly tournaments. They even possessed the right to intervene in the affairs of any kingdom endangered by the potential collapse of the moral order. They, in fact, exercised honorary lordships over several kingdoms. They acted as patrons and protectors to scholars and to their fledgling institutions of higher learning as well as to geniuses of the spiritual life. They even stood at the head of the armed hosts of Christendom as they marched on crusade to the East.

III Papal Decline In The Late Middle Ages

The perch, however, upon which the papal monarchs sat, was not only lofty, but, as noted, quite precarious. In less than a century after Innocent's death, the medieval papacy entered into a prolonged period of turbulence and of institutional instability that did not end until after the Middle Ages themselves had ended. By the dawn of the fourteenth century, centrifugal cultural forces, especially in the realms of politics, religion, and learning began to assail furiously the spiritual universalism of the papacy in particular and the cultural universalism that it had promoted in general (Dawson 1950). Indeed, in its conduct of its trans-

national affairs, the papacy found itself very much on the wrong side of the new cultural calculus and earned for itself a reputation as a hypocritical predatory power that endangered the dignity of the new national community. European civilization was embarking upon the very long and frequently bloody journey toward a world composed of modern sovereign nation states each with its own established national churches and national culture. It marked the origin, however distant, of the Europe that engendered the intellectual treason lamented by Julien Benda (1867–1956) in his classic critique of modern European culture (Benda 1969, originally published 1927).

In the realm of politics, the chief challenge to papal universalism sprang from the national monarchies, particularly from the French and English monarchies. These well organized and financed entities not only posed a diplomatic challenge to the foreign policy of the Holy See, but, more importantly, to the religious authority of the popes within the national kingdoms. The national monarchs, for one thing, loathed any sense of loyalty in their subjects other than that which was owed to them. They also, understandably, wished to control the rich source of patronage present within the clerical hierarchies of their national churches. They equally resented the outflow of precious bouillon from their territory in the form of tithes and clerical taxes to a foreign court in Rome. The successors of Peter may have possessed the keys to the eschatological kingdom of God and to their own principality in Italy, but they were no longer to possess the keys to either the spiritual or financial treasuries of any royal kingdom on the European continent.

Discontent with the spiritual leadership of the Roman Church, as noted above, appears in the cultural record of medieval Christendom as early as the twelfth century. This discontent not only took the form of the aforementioned satiric literature directed at the supposed greed and mendacity of the Roman curia, but, it also manifested itself in other literary forms, most notably in the form of apocalyptic literature. The twelfth century witnessed the activities and writing of Joachim of Fiore (died 1202), the most influential apocalyptic author of the Middle Ages. The abbot looked forward to an impending Age of the Holy Spirit that would bring about a second Pentecost and renew and cleanse the church and the Christian faithful. Even a thoroughly orthodox figure, such as Gerhoh of Reichersberg (1093–1169) looked forward to the Second Coming as a remedy for what he believed to be the corrupt practices of the papal court. The spiritual discontent in the twelfth century also took the form of a number of religious protest movements, such as the Waldensians, that also objected to the apparent worldliness of the institutional church. While the popes were not completely deaf to the various expressions of spiritual anxiety, they, nevertheless, failed to dispel them over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The numerous tragedies of the fourteenth century further frayed the fabric of the spiritual universalism of the pre-modern West. The cumulative effect of the Avignon Papacy (1305–1377), a full blown civil war within the Franciscan movement between Conventuals and Spirituals and in turn between the Spirituals and the papacy itself, the Great Schism (1378–1417) and even the Black Death severely tested the Roman Church's relationship with the faithful of the continent. By the Late Middle Ages, many of those most animated by a spirit of religious reform no longer looked to the Roman Church for patronage or counsel, but instead either avoided papal affairs as much as possible or denounced the papacy as an agent of the devil (Dawson 1965).

Fragmentation, in many ways, also characterized the intellectual culture of the Late Middle Ages. Prior to this age, the main assumption of Western intellectual culture had been that all knowledge was interconnected. Synthesis and reconciliation constituted the chief watchwords of intellectual activity and led to the creation of the scholastic method (Pieper 1960). This bias in favor of the reconciliation of seemingly disparate data accounts for the numerous highly elaborate epistemological systems produced by medieval thinkers that attempted to demonstrate the inter-connectedness of all reality. Those of Roger Bacon (ca. 1214–1294) and Ramon Llull (ca. 1232–ca. 1315) come immediately to mind.

Beginning as early as the thirteenth century, at the University of Paris in particular, the main assumption of medieval intellectual culture came under attack from the Latin Averroists, who under the influence of the thought of the Arabic philosopher and translator of Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.), Ibn Rushd (1126–1198 C.E.), held that philosophy and theology taught two different sets of truth. The full flowering of Nominalism and of the theology of Voluntarism, however, over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries struck further blows against the idea that the human mind could arrive at sure knowledge of God and of his cosmos. Each of these schools of theological thought contributed significantly to Martin Luther's (1483–1546) intellectual development (Ozment 1980).

Even the university system itself experienced great fragmentation in the later medieval centuries. The old ideal, which went back to the era of the Carolingian Re-Awakening, that the world of scholars and scholarship constituted an international society gradually eroded. Universities lost more and more of their pan-European character and sometimes devolved into organs of the interests of the various national monarchies (Nardi 1992). Princes, of course, had taken a tremendous interest in sponsoring local institutions of higher education from the beginning of the movement. The degree of royal interference in the internal life of the universities, nonetheless, increased markedly in the Late Middle Ages and no doubt reflected the aforementioned penchant of the national crowns to manage the affairs of their kingdoms more effectively.

No single European institution suffered as greatly as a result of the emergence of the centrifugal cultural forces briefly described above as the papacy. In many ways, the status of the fifteenth century papacy more closely resembled that of the papacy of the early medieval period than that of the age of Innocent III. It, once again, found itself enmeshed in local politics: this time in the form of the tumultuous political world of Renaissance Italy. The popes, largely, operated as Italian princes and were certainly viewed as such. While the Roman Church had conceded much of its jurisdictional authority over the local dioceses to kings and princes (e.g., the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges 1438), the vestiges of authority that it did retain beyond Italy often only intensified local resentment against it.

One, however, must note that the attachment of the European population to the papacy was remarkably tenacious in the face of all the institution's problems. The Protestant Reformation, after all, was long in the making; and, when it erupted in the early sixteenth century, it surprised everyone, including Martin Luther (Ozment 1980). This enduring attachment to the figure of the pope manifested itself in the medieval cultural record in a number of ways, but none more powerfully than in the figure of the "angelic pope" of later medieval apocalyptic literature (McGinn 1979). The belief was that God would eventually purify the papacy and by extension all of society through the election of a great saint as pope. This angelic pope would initiate a period of spiritual renewal for all of humanity. Even the Conciliar Movement (1400s), which attempted to restore good ecclesiastical order by reducing the papacy to the status of a constitutional monarchy subject to the authority of periodic pan-European councils, constituted an attempt to preserve the papacy's central place in European society. The novelty of the movement was not its fundamental solution to the Roman Church's problems, which was an expression of medieval parliamentary political culture, but its attempt to impose a formal pan-European parliamentary system on the Roman Church (Dawson 1965, 27). Conciliarism, in many ways, constituted a classic medieval approach to putting the papal Humpty Dumpty back together again (Tanner 2011).

With the Age of Discoveries and, especially with the so called Catholic Reformation of the sixteenth century, the spiritual universalism of the papacy, which never completely dissipated, revived. The confessional division of Europe, however, narrowed both the scope of the papacy's spiritual concerns and the geographical boundaries of its activity. It could no longer promote a genuinely pan-European cultural ideal. It is not an accident that after the horrors of the two world wars both the ecumenical movement between the Catholic and Protestant communions and the desire for European unity and integration appeared on to the scene. The movements, though, largely operated independently of one another as the bases of the integration of the various European states were to be

purely economic and political. As a legacy of the Enlightenment, most European integrationists of the post war period judged religion to be an obstacle to continental unity: though there were exceptions to this rule such as Robert Schuman (1886–1963). The increasingly secular tone of contemporary European culture suggests that this judgment remains in full effect. Meanwhile, the demographic shift of Catholicism (and of Christianity in general) to the global south and to Asia suggests that the papacy may shed some or most of its European cultural trappings and evolve into a more global institution. It is also true, of course, that given the demographic implosion of the native European populations, European culture will reflect increasingly the influence of the cultures of the many immigrants who have arrived on the continent in recent decades.

B The Age of Gregory The Great (590–604) and the Origins of Europe

Over the span of the sixth and seventh centuries C.E., both broad historical forces and the decisions of individual human beings wove together the three cultural strands that formed the basic fabric of early Western Civilization: namely, the Greco-Roman, Judeo-Christian, and Germanic cultural strands. In this process of cultural synthesis, one bishop of Rome in particular made a very valuable, but completely unintended contribution. The pontificate of Gregory I, to be sure, marked the beginning of the papacy's indispensable role in the formation of a pan-European culture related to but distinct from the culture of the Roman Empire.

In 590, however, the papacy was fundamentally a local Roman institution. By this point in the development of Latin Christian ecclesiology, the Roman Church technically constituted the head of all the local churches of the old western imperial provinces. It served as a final court of appeal for the most important local disputes and as a source for doctrinal guidance. The bishop of Rome, nevertheless, exercised no meaningful jurisdictional authority over other local churches beyond central Italy. The West, such as it existed in the sixth century, was a collection of local or regional communities only very loosely connected to one another. One could hardly yet call it Christendom as the number of pagans and partially Christianized peoples far exceeded the number of orthodox Latin Christians. Even among the Christian faithful, Rome was a distant reality and the pope not much more than a name.

At his papal election in 590, Gregory was personally convinced that the world was nearing its end. In a sense, he was right. When he was elected pope, the

Lombards were wreaking havoc on the Italian peninsula and the Byzantine Empire, of which Italy was still legally a part, could provide no real military support against the latest wave of Germanic invaders. Weakened already by Justinian the Great's (r. 527–565) very destructive "liberation" of the peninsula from the Ostrogoths earlier in the century, the Lombard Wars brought terrific suffering to the Italian population as famine, plague, and streams of refugees fleeing Lombard violence dominated the landscape. The geo-political unity between "old" and "new" Rome, which Justinian had fleetingly restored, was collapsing again, but in a more definitive fashion.

In cultural terms, Gregory personified the transition in the Mediterranean world from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages (Markus 1997). On the one side of the ledger, the pope was a patriotic Roman deeply attached to his city and to its history and steeped in classical and legal studies (Richards 1980). As his deft management of the papal patrimony bears witness, he also possessed the excellent administrative skills of a true Roman. In his politics, he was traditional. Despite some serious theological wrangling with the patriarchs and emperors in Constantinople, he remained scrupulously faithful to the empire politically.

At the same time, although he was sufficiently proficient in Greek to be able to read some Greek texts and to conduct diplomacy in Constantinople, Gregory, like so many other western subjects of the Byzantine emperor, was not well versed in Greek and even bragged about the fact. One can attribute his anti-Greek posture in part to his intense Roman patriotic spirit. The Roman elites were not at all pleased with Constantinople's condescending attitude toward them following Justinian's re-conquest of Italy. His attitude, nevertheless, also indicates the cultural estrangement between "old" and "new" Rome, which began centuries before the pope's birth. In so many different senses of the expression, the two Romes no longer spoke the same language. The Slavic invasions of the Balkans in the sixth and seventh centuries would all but eliminate the vital land bridge between East and West for centuries and thus intensify the cultural estrangement already so evident in Gregory's age.

Gregory, nonetheless, exercised his greatest influence over the new civilization developing around him in the regions of the defunct Western Roman Empire. One could make a strong argument that the title 'Father of Europe' should be associated with him rather with Charlemagne (Bullough 1970, 59–105). The pope, in the first place, stood out to succeeding generations as the arch-type of the good pastor, who provided for the spiritual and material needs of his children. His self-description as pope as the *servus servorum Dei* or the "servant of the servants of God" endeared him to posterity. So strong was the popular medieval attachment to this cultural image of the pope (a term which after all originally meant something akin to Big Daddy) as servant that no pope, not even during the height of

the papal monarchy, ever dared drop the designation “servant of the servants of God.”

Early on in his pontificate, moreover, he set down in writing his vision of the good pastor in his guidebook to episcopal governance entitled *The Pastoral Rule*. The book exerted a tremendous influence over subsequent thinking about the nature of the episcopal office and it remained a classic of clerical literature throughout the Middle Ages. Lay authors of the later medieval period, such as Chaucer (1343–1400), were also clearly familiar with its picture of the good shepherd as a conscientious man who assiduously prays, reads, preaches, and models charity. Gregory’s ideal pastor, undoubtedly, informed the desire of many clergy and laity alike during the worldly papal regime of later centuries for the election of the aforementioned angelic pope, who would restore the spiritual character of the Latin church. In his well chronicled assumption of so many temporal duties in Rome during the Lombard Wars and his masterful management of the papal patrimony, Gregory himself, most ironically, contributed mightily to the eventual formation of the Papal State whose maintenance drew later popes more and more into the less than angelic politics of Italy and beyond.

Gregory’s dispatch of a missionary team to Anglo-Saxon England under the leadership of St. Augustine of Canterbury (died 604) in 597, however, argues most strongly in favor of considering him for the title “Father of Europe.” This missionary enterprise engendered a spirit of religious *Romanitas*, i.e., an affinity for all things Roman, within Anglo-Saxon society that many generations later profoundly impacted the character of the Frankish world into which Charlemagne was born. The scholarly consensus holds that the reason for the pope’s gambit had little to do either with trying to out-manuever Celtic Christianity for ecclesiastical supremacy in the British Isles or with breaking away from the Byzantine political orbit (Markus 1997). He, most likely, simply wished to reach out to a distant people on the edge of the known world as the Last Judgment approached. Gregory’s bold stroke earned him a prominent place in one of the more notable historical works of the Middle Ages, *The Ecclesiastical History of The English Peoples* by the Venerable Bede (672/73–735). On the regional level, the papal mission ultimately resulted in the adoption of the Roman rite over that of Celtic Christianity in the British Isles. Bede’s own joint monastery of Wearmouth and Jarrow struggled long and hard for this result and in his historical account he presents Gregory as the spiritual father of the English people. Future generations, in fact, eventually bestowed the title of “apostle to the English” upon Gregory and claimed the pope as “our Gregory.”

In Books XXVII and XXX of his history, Bede includes a selection of the correspondence between Gregory and Augustine of Canterbury and between Gregory and others involved in the English mission. These letters open a window

onto that delicate process of enculturation by which Greco-Roman, Judeo-Christian, and Germanic cultural attitudes and forms came together to constitute the original basis of Western Civilization. In his responses to various queries, which touch upon numerous topics, Gregory displays the practical wisdom and intellectual flexibility characteristic of his Roman ancestors. He suggests that his missionaries present Christianity to their Germanic pagan audience as an enhancement of their pre-existing beliefs and practices. He advises that existing pagan shrines be transformed into shrines of the saints and to give a Christian twist to pagan holidays. Remarkably, he argues against the systematic imposition of the Roman rite on English Christians. He famously observes that things (i.e., liturgical practices) should not be loved on account of their place of origin, but rather places should be loved for their good things.

This process of cultural integration was, of course, a multi-polar event. Still, the creation of a sacred bond between ancient, Mediterranean Rome and a “new” northern Germanic society powerfully advanced the process. The religious *Romanitas* of Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History* pervaded the English church of the eighth century. As the century unfolded, more and more Anglo-Saxon pilgrims of all stations in life made their way to the threshold of the apostles Peter and Paul in Rome. This new sacred highway between the Germanic north and Rome brought one especially important pilgrim of the eighth century into the presence of the pope, *in coram papam*, the monk Winfrid of Nursling. Setting a precedent for the subsequent Roman pilgrimages of such figures as Francis of Assisi, Bridget of Sweden (1303–1373), and Inigo Lopez de Loyola (1491–1556), Winfrid traveled to Rome seeking Pope Gregory II’s (715–731) mandate to preach among the pagan Germans on the frontier of the Frankish kingdom. The pope likely imposed the name of the ancient Roman martyr, Boniface, upon him as well as a commission to preach to the German pagans. In turn, at his episcopal consecration in 719, Boniface took a special vow of obedience to the papacy (Ullmann 2003, 66–67).

The activity of Boniface (ca. 675–754), the “apostle to the Germans,” formed an important part of a broader continental mission emanating out of the Anglo-Saxon church. The missionary work of the monk Willibrord (ca. 658–739) among the Frisians, who dwelt in what is now the Netherlands, for instance, had first attracted Boniface to the continent. While one cannot reduce the motivation for this activity simply to a desire to advance papal claims, a spirit of Roman universalism, nonetheless, suffused the labors of monks like Willibrord, who eventually received the religious name of Clement from the pope and of nuns like Leoba (ca. 710–782).

The religious *Romanitas* of a missionary like Boniface, in addition, was hardly devoid of political content. Rome was not just the city of the apostles Peter and Paul, but also of Constantine and of Christian empire. Roman Christianity sug-

gested a model of political behavior for its Germanic audience hallowed by the names of both Christ and Caesar. The close working relationship, which arose between Boniface and the most powerful figure of the Frankish kingdom at the time, the mayor or *major domo* of the Merovingian palace, Charles Martel (died 741), led to a spiritual and political partnership between the Roman Church and Martel's own Carolingian clan, who in the person of Martel's son, Pepin the Short (r. 751–768), eventually seized the Frankish throne for itself with the blessing of the papacy. Without exaggeration, one can say that this so-called Franco-Papal Alliance led, in turn, to the first incarnation of a pan-European culture in the revival of learning and culture made possible by the political and military achievements of Martel's grandson and papal ally, Charlemagne. Ironically enough, then, in launching his Anglo-Saxon mission, Gregory the Great was not, as he probably thought, taking a last heroic measure in the final days of human history to bring a distant people to salvation, but, rather, he was taking a vitally important initial step in the making of a new civilization.

C The Papacy, Charlemagne, And The First Incarnation Of A Pan-European Culture

I The Purposes of The Franco-Papal Alliance

The multi-faceted relationship, which developed between the Roman Church and the Carolingian dynasty in the eighth and ninth centuries, formed the political foundation of the first incarnation of a pan-European culture clearly distinct from that of the Roman Empire. Neither party to the so-called Franco-Papal Alliance, however, entered into this understanding with any conscious intention of creating the cultural basis of Western Civilization. Each partner possessed practical, concrete reasons for seeking the support of the other.

In the Carolingian period, the papacy, and by extension the Roman aristocracy and people, found a powerful dynasty willing to help them realize their collective aspiration for their own state in central Italy and to be done permanently with the political and military incursions of both the Lombards and Byzantines (Noble 1986). The Romans, in the parlance of the day, desired a stable and secure republic of St. Peter or *res publica sancti Petri*. Pepin the Short's limited, but effective military campaigns against the Lombards in 754 and 756 established the basic geographical outline of this papal republic, which in the eighth century could be more accurately described as a collection of territories loosely bound to the Roman Church rather than as a fully integrated principality

(Partner 1972). It was this so called *Donation of Pepin* that inspired the clerks of the Lateran Palace administration (the Lateran basilica and palace complex and not the Vatican complex served as the seat of papal government prior to the departure for Avignon) to produce the most famous forgery in European cultural history, the *Donation of Constantine*. The Carolingians, for their part, desired a close relationship with the papacy as a means of bolstering their claim to rule over the Frankish nation in place of the moribund Merovingians and of validating their ecclesiastical arrangements in Francia and in their conquered territories.

II The Consequences of Charlemagne's Imperial Coronation for European Political Culture

This Franco-Papal Alliance reached its zenith in the reign of Pepin's son, Charles the Great, or Charlemagne. A close analysis of the Carolingian monk and scholar Einhard's biography of Charlemagne, the *Vita Karoli Magni* (composed ca. 817–836), reveals how well the three threads of early Western culture were woven together in his person. A fierce warrior, Charlemagne vigorously promoted Christianity both among his Frankish and non-Frankish subjects; he restored empire in the West and, like any dutiful Roman emperor he promoted learning within his empire. For the present purposes, the two most important aspects of his reign concern his restoration of empire and its consequences and his sponsorship of the Carolingian Re-Awakening, which scholars formerly referred to as the Carolingian Renaissance.

In the wake of Charlemagne's imperial coronation by Pope Leo III (795–816) on Christmas Day 800, two key questions arose: what would be the relationship between emperor and pope and how would the Byzantines in Constantinople react to the installation of a Germanic emperor of the Romans in the West? The short answer to the latter question is that Charlemagne's assumption of the imperial title further alienated the two halves of the former Roman Empire from one another. Charlemagne and his party justified his elevation to the imperial dignity partly on the basis of the fact that in 800 there was no emperor reigning in Constantinople. The empress, Irene (752–803), sat on the Byzantine throne alone (of course, her isolation was her own doing as she had had her son deposed, blinded, and cast into a dungeon). The Franks may have also justified their action on the basis of apocalyptic fears in East and West. In the contemporary *annus mundi* dating system (Bede's A.D. system had yet to catch on in a major way), 800 was the year 6000 AM, a date that some had predicted would see the end of the world. With a male on the imperial throne, St. Paul's very vague prediction in *Thessalonians* 2 that the Enemy, i.e., antichrist, would not appear until the end of

Roman rule, would be forestalled. In any event, the Byzantines, understandably, reacted coolly to Charlemagne's maneuver.

The imperial coronation also raised a question for the Latin West: with the empire restored, who ranked supreme, the successor of Caesar and of Constantine or the successor of Peter? The origin of the dilemma lies in something alluded to at the outset of this presentation. The dominant religion of the early West sprung not from the Greco-Roman roots of the southern tier of the continent or from the Germanic roots of its northern tier, but from Jewish Asiatic roots. The political culture and dominant religion of the early West did not grow together like two peas in a pod in the way that the political culture of the Indian sub-continent and Hinduism grew together or as ancient Egyptian political and religious cultures matured together. On various matters, the three strands of the Western cultural fabric did not mesh easily together. The Palestine of Jesus of Nazareth certainly toiled under the political domination of the Caesars, but the fundamental religious values of the Jews, which did not allow for divine monarchy, took shape long before the arrival of the Roman state and, as *Maccabees* I and II reveal, long before the arrival of the Hellenistic Seleucid state and its divine monarchy as well. Even with the conversion of Constantine centuries later and the gradual establishment of a Christian Roman Empire, tensions between religious and political authorities remained. The Byzantine East muted the inherent tension between Caesar and Christ by adopting what scholars used to term caesero-papism. The emperors of the Greek East, where a tradition of divine monarchy stretched back to the Hellenistic Age, imposed their will on the ecclesiastical authorities. While the theology of the Christian East denied the emperor divine status and the authority to formulate dogma, as a practical matter, the Christian Church functioned as an organ of the imperial state. It is a model for church-state relations that endured for centuries in the Orthodox Christian world.

At the time of Charlemagne's coronation, the ambiguous solution in the Latin West to the dilemma had been provided by Pope Gelasius I (492–496). The Two Sword Theory expounded by the pope in a letter to the Byzantine emperor, Anastatius I (491–518), held that God had bestowed the material sword on kings, which they were to use to establish justice and to protect God's church, and the spiritual sword on priests, which they were to use in leading everyone, including kings, to eternal life. Political and religious authorities were related, but distinct. While Gelasius asserted that the priestly sword or authority was superior to that of princes because spiritual matters superseded the necessary but mundane concerns of princes, he offered no specifics on how to arbitrate clashes between priestly and royal authorities.

Charlemagne, nonetheless, knew exactly how an emperor and pope should function together. The emperor should lead and the pope should follow. He was

thoroughly theocratic in his thinking. The emperor owed the pope, who interceded with God on behalf of the empire, honor and respect, but not his obedience. As emperor, Charlemagne assumed the responsibility for both the temporal and spiritual welfare of his subjects. The content of his many capitularies evince this dual concern for the material and spiritual well being of his territories. In the iconography of his church at Aachen, moreover, the Frankish warlord constitutes a second King David (1040–970 B.C.E.), an anointed of the Lord. It is a theme repeated in the literary productions of his court scholars (Fichtenau 1988). Charlemagne, noticeably, never styled himself a priest-king and never assumed priestly functions. Yet, he supervised the priesthood. Even prior to his imperial elevation, Charlemagne demonstrated independent authority in matters of faith. The canons of the Synod of Frankfurt (794) demonstrate this clearly enough. Summoned by Charlemagne, the synod took positions on several issues in contradistinction from those taken by Rome and Constantinople at Nicaea II (787).

By in large, the clergy of the Frankish Empire, including the popes, welcomed Charlemagne's strong hand as the Frankish David used his authority, on the whole, to establish good ecclesiastical order in his empire. To the great pleasure of the Roman Church, he established Roman liturgical principles and ecclesiastical customs among the northern peoples. The Roman rite, with an admixture of Gallic elements, and the *Rule of St. Benedict* were spread far and wide north of the Alps. Furthermore, Charlemagne's zealous execution of his plan to improve clerical education and morals and to protect religious institutions, such as monasteries and cathedral chapters, from both spiritual and material despoilment by local predatory noble clans, impressed upon clerical minds everywhere the lesson that strong imperial or royal authority in ecclesiastical life benefited all concerned (Blumenthal 1988). The clerical world certainly understood that Charlemagne's ecclesiastical arrangements were not always canonical, but, churchmen considered any irregularities a small price to pay for the overall peace of the church. This judgment fed a cult of sacral Christian kingship in the ninth, tenth, and early eleventh centuries that went largely unchallenged by churchmen and laity alike until the later stages of the eleventh century reform movement. While the imperial and royal panegyric of Latin clerics never quite reached the level of obsequiousness of that of their Byzantine counterparts, they came close to it: especially, that of the bishops of the Ottonian and Salian emperors of Germany.

III The Carolingian Re-Awakening

Clerical education also formed a central component of the Carolingian emperor's cultural project formerly known to history as the Carolingian Renaissance. Over the years, scholarly opinion has downgraded the intellectual quality of Carolingian scholarship to the level of a Re-Awakening rather than a full blown renaissance (Collins 1998). It is, admittedly, true that the cultural program launched by Charlemagne and sustained by his heirs through much of the ninth century produced little original scholarship and mainly concerned itself with the preservation and propagation of the learning of Christian and pagan antiquity. This labor, nevertheless, constituted no small achievement (Fichtenau 1988). The work of these scholars, for example, preserved for posterity a fair percentage of the ancient Roman literary corpus. A comparative analysis of the number of surviving manuscripts in the West from Late Antiquity to the eleventh century shows that the vast majority of surviving manuscripts from these centuries belong to the Carolingian era (Collins 1998). For a variety of reasons (not always best understood by contemporary Carolingian scholars!), concern for and interest in the written word swelled in the Carolingian period (McKitterick 1989). This period also witnessed a major advance in writing in the form of Carolingian miniscule.

Even though the scholars gathered at the palace at Aachen and at other centers of learning in the empire displayed a genuine interest in a number of Roman authors, especially in Cicero (106–43 B.C.E.) and in certain poets, religious concerns dominated their activities. Charlemagne, for both ideological and practical reasons, demanded the production of accurate editions of the Vulgate Bible, liturgical texts, and monastic and patristic literature. An educated clergy was important not only for the spiritual welfare of his empire and of its inhabitants, but also for the quality of its temporal administration. Under Charlemagne, the Carolingian church had evolved into a state church of a church state (Dawson 1950). While the emperor and his Carolingian successors sought to cultivate a well-educated core of lay advisors and magnates at the different court schools, they still depended in large measure on well trained clerical personnel.

The native places of the clerical personnel leading all of the activities of the Re-Awakening, moreover, reflect the pan-European character of this cultural project. A major consequence of Charlemagne's conquest of the Lombard Kingdom in 774, in fact, was his introduction to a number of scholars active then in northern Italy. Alcuin of York (730–804), a product of the Northumbria of the Venerable Bede, was the most important of these learned men as he became the chief architect of the Frankish ruler's cultural undertaking. Other figures from the British Isles, who made noteworthy contributions to the Re-Awakening at different points in its history, include Sedulius Scotus (died 860) and the very preco-

cious John Scot Eriugena (ca. 815–877), who was one of the few Westerners who knew Greek. Northern Italy produced Paul the Deacon (720–795), Peter of Pisa (744–799), and Paulinus of Aquileia (ca. 726–802/804). Visigothic Iberia produced the poet and theologian Theodulf (750–821). From the eastern frontiers of the Carolingian realm came the aforementioned Einhard (ca. 775–840) and Charlemagne's other great biographer, Notker the Stammerer (840–912), hailed from modern day Switzerland. The patronage of Charlemagne and of his successors, in particular that of his son Louis the Pious (814–840) and of his grandson Charles the Bald (840–877), created a centripetal force in early medieval culture that inspired the sentiment that the world of learning was, like the empire itself and the Christian Church as a whole, a universal society. John Scot Eriugena, interestingly enough, was the first scholar to articulate clearly the medieval epistemological dogma that all knowledge was inter-connected.

The direct papal role in the Carolingian Re-Awakening primarily involved provisioning Charlemagne with the model texts his enterprise required. More indirectly, the papacy and its representatives undoubtedly fed Charlemagne's centripetal ideological tendencies. Just as the faith of the Roman martyrs bound Charlemagne's new universal society together spiritually and his imperial regime bound it politically, so too, the revival of learning was geared toward bringing the new Christian *imperium* together intellectually.

The papacy, without question, benefited enormously from Charlemagne's restoration of empire as it elevated its position in the culture of a nascent Europe. In ideological terms, Charlemagne's dissemination of Roman liturgical and canonical material tied the churches beyond central Italy closer to the Holy See than ever before. The emperor, in some sense, was the most effective papal emissary to that point in medieval history. His son, Louis the Pious, was, as his name indicates, more deferential in his attitude toward religious authorities and, as a result, he greatly softened his father's strong theocratic policies. Louis left behind him a number of imperial documents (e.g., the treaty of 817 between himself and the papacy) that pledged the empire's defense of the liberty of the Roman Church in particular, which the eleventh century reform popes used to great effect against the Salian emperor, Henry IV.

Charlemagne's acceptance of the imperial crown from Leo III, whether or not the Frankish king approved of the method of coronation, also advantaged the papacy ideologically in a profound way and marked an important cultural difference between the Greek East and the Latin West. In the Byzantine Empire, the coronation of the emperor by an ecclesiastic was simply a declarative act, i.e., the emperor was already emperor by virtue of his birth and the coronation was only recognition of that pre-existing fact (Ullmann 2003). The coronation did not make him emperor. As a consequence of Charlemagne's coronation, the Western under-

standing of imperial coronation evolved along very different lines. In the West, conversely, the coronation, and by 816, the accompanying anointing of the imperial candidate by the pope were constitutive acts. In the West, one could not become emperor without coronation and anointment by the pope. Every aspirant to the imperial title, thus, was obligated to make the journey to Rome to receive their office from the pope. This necessity not only provided the popes with a degree of much needed political leverage with the imperial candidate, but it elevated the stature of the Roman pontiff in the political culture of the continent. Like all the other pilgrims, the man who would be emperor had to make his way to the tomb of the Galilean fisherman.

IV The End of the Carolingian Order

As impressive as Charlemagne's many achievements were, his empire proved to be a fragile entity. The combined stress from infighting between his Carolingian heirs and simultaneous military challenges from the Vikings, Magyars, and Arabs shattered the empire's political unity well less than a century after his death. The Carolingian era gave way to the Second Dark Age and the rise of the feudal order in much of tenth century Western Europe. While the political and military accomplishments of the Franks could not stand the test of time, the pan-European cultural vision of the Carolingian Re-Awakening endured in the various monastic centers of the old Frankish heartland and beyond (Dawson 1950, 71–72). The spiritual universalism, which undergirded this vision, also endured in the Roman Church. The turmoil of the Second Dark Age, nevertheless, came dangerously close to eclipsing the spiritual universalism of the papacy as the raucous feudal politics of the Eternal City severely compromised its institutional integrity and largely made it the play thing of the various Roman factions.

D The Papal Pornocracy (ca. 890–1046) and the Place of the Papacy in Second Dark Age Culture

I The Political and Religious Fallout from the Collapse of the Carolingian Order for the Papacy

Well before the collapse in the mid ninth century of Carolingian authority in the Italian Kingdom, the Roman population had earned a bad reputation for rowdiness and riotous behavior. This penchant for violent public protest led Alcuin of

York once to label the Romans a “disgraceful lot,” *iniquus populus* (Partner 1972, 46). Charlemagne, in fact, found himself in Rome in November of 800 in part because a Roman mob, led by the relatives of his predecessor, Hadrian (772–795), had attacked Leo III during a religious procession, imprisoned him (from which the pontiff escaped) and legally denounced him. Leo, although a long time member of the Lateran bureaucracy, was not an aristocrat and he had filled various posts with his own loyalists at the expense of Hadrian’s very prominent clan.

While the presence of a strong outside power could itself be the cause of mischief-making by the clans of Rome and of the city’s outlying districts, more often than not it kept local rivalries from spinning out of control. Charlemagne, after all, easily facilitated Leo’s safe return to the papal throne. The combination of dynastic in-fighting among the Carolingians and the appearance of Arab raiders along the western Italian coast around the mid ninth century spelled great trouble for all of central Italy. The Arabs, like the Vikings in the north, at first engaged in piracy and marauding. In August of 846, for example, an Arab force sacked Rome. Eventually, though, different local political players employed them as mercenaries in their armed disputes with neighboring principalities (Partner 1972). As occurred in large areas north of the Alps at roughly this same time period and under similar circumstances, many indigenous predatory powers emerged in central Italy that sought to grab control of the lands and resources of their weaker neighbors; they especially targeted the lands of ecclesiastical institutions. In an attempt to ward off these incursions and the Arab raiders, churches (including the Roman Church) and monasteries granted the control of much of their lands, and the castles and fortified villages built to guard these properties, to laymen. This activity, of course, marked the beginning of feudalism, which contrary to the impression of some, was not the cause of political chaos, but an attempt to blunt the consequences of the political upheaval caused by the Carolingian collapse and foreign invasion. Despite the fact that one cannot find classic feudal terminology in Italian documents until much later in the medieval period, the economic and political phenomenon known as feudalism emerged in various parts of the Italian peninsula roughly contemporarily to its emergence north of the Alps (Partner 1972, 92–93).

The violence of the Arab raiders and the predation of regional political powers, such as the Duchy of Spoleto, meant that the papacy lost control over its own patrimony (Partner 1972, 74). Far worse, however, by the late ninth century, the political machinations of the major Roman families had severely compromised the spiritual patrimony and institutional integrity of the Roman Church. The papacy of this Second Dark Age bears a striking resemblance to that of the infamous Renaissance papacy of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries:

dominated as it was by the major families in aristocratic politics. As one late ninth century moralist opined, “Roman morals were as ruined as Roman walls” (Partner 1972, 77). It was an age of violence and flagrant corruption in the Lateran Palace and all over Rome. In the tenth and early eleventh centuries, two branches of the Roman noble house of Theophylact (ca. 864–924/25), the Crescenti and the Tusculani, waged an intermittent war with one another for control of the papal throne. While the German Ottonian dynasty, which had taken up the vacant imperial title in the mid tenth century, was able to restrain somewhat the excesses of the Roman clans and their relatives and allies outside of the city proper, Ottonian policy, especially the policy of Otto III (r. 983–1002), often inflamed passions in the Eternal City. The Ottonian favorite and emissary, Bishop Luitprand of Cremona (922–972), has provided us with a vivid picture of the debauchery and political intrigues of tenth century Rome. Some scholars have questioned the veracity of this picture of a corrupt papal pornocracy from the late ninth through the early eleventh centuries (Cushing 2005); but, their arguments are largely rhetorical and unconvincing. It is telling that when the Roman reformers of the eleventh century denounced the old papal regime, none of their opponents came to the defense of the tenth and early eleventh century popes.

II The Cultural Impact of the Papal Pornocracy

The greatest difference between the papal pornocracy of the Early Middle Ages and the notorious Renaissance papacy concerns the reactions of the contemporary faithful in each era. Whereas the antics of the Renaissance popes and their kin generated cynicism and contempt for the Holy See among their contemporaries, particularly among the faithful north of the Alps, the escapades of the Crescenti, the Tusculani, and of their relatives and allies, inflicted little discernible damage on devotion to the Roman Church. Pilgrims continued to make the arduous and dangerous journey to the tombs of the apostles and martyrs. The discrepancy, in part, is attributable to the fact that in the earlier period, the pope was still a very distant figure to the vast majority of the population beyond Italy and information about individual popes was sketchy at best. In addition, medieval pilgrims, like modern visitors to Disney Land or Disney World, were not necessarily interested in the goings-on behind the scenes of the production or even in a position to discover them. As a fundamentally local or regional institution, the papacy also was not an important enough target for royal propaganda of any kind. The German kings, Ottonian and Salian alike, actually needed the papacy in order to secure the imperial title for themselves. By the late medieval/early modern era, a seemingly bloated papal monarchy, in contrast, made a very convenient target for

the invective of a host of political players, especially in the German speaking lands, who could score political points at home with their abuse of the “foreign” Roman Church (Strauss 1971).

E Eleventh Century Religious Reform and the Transformation of The Papacy

I The Monastic Origins of Religious Reform

The collapse of the Carolingian order had introduced turmoil not only into the life of the Roman Church, but into the internal lives of many churches and religious communities across Western Europe. The Proprietary Church is the term often employed by scholars of the period to describe the circumstances of many ecclesiastical communities, especially of the smaller ones (Wood 2009). Just as the leading families of Rome and of its outlying districts competed for control of the various elements of the Roman Church, including the papal throne, the kin networks of locally and regionally powerful clans elsewhere in large areas of Europe attempted to appropriate the prestige and material resources of their nearby church institutions for themselves. They, in other words, acted as the owners of churches and of monasteries. This state of affairs, in the case of many rural chapels and shrines, was literally true as many clans built their own religious structures on their lands. Charlemagne, as stated above, also had tampered with the internal lives of religious communities and exploited their resources. He, however, had enjoyed a monopoly on such behavior and his overall attitude towards his imperial church was decidedly responsible. The host of great and petty barons, who flourished in the age of the Proprietary Church, was frequently not very responsible in its management of ecclesiastical affairs. A number of ecclesiastical abuses, such as simony, nicolaitism (married clergy), and lay abbacies, flourished in the era of the Proprietary Church and assumed the aura of “tradition.” Revulsion for these and other irregularities were first acutely felt in the monastic world of the tenth century where ancient texts and rules played such an important part in religious life and which were so blatantly contradicted by contemporary practices. The later, so called Gregorian Reform of the eleventh century, really began in the tenth century with the various monastic reformers who set about to restore monastic life to the pristine state that they believed had once existed (Blumenthal 1988).

II The Peace of God Movement: The First European Counter-Culture

The political turmoil of the post Carolingian order, however, also produced another sort of dissonance not only among monks and clergy, but also among ordinary lay folk, particularly among the peasantry. The absence of strong central authority in many parts of the old Carolingian Empire also resulted in a tremendous rise in physical violence as the various potentates raided one another's lands in an attempt to carve out their own spheres of influence. Monasteries and their peasants endured the brunt of this violence. By the late tenth century, a popular protest movement, which united ordinary lay people with monastic reformers and bishops, arose in central and southern France against the violence of a seemingly lawless magnate class. This Peace of God movement was the first revolutionary movement in Western history and it set the stage for all the great revolutionary movements of modern European history. The basic message conveyed in the various open air peace councils organized by the bishops was that might does not make right. Just as the interference of the barons in the lives of monastic communities violated the law of God, so too the violence inflicted on unarmed peasants, clergy, pilgrims, and merchants by the powerful of this world offended almighty God and debarred the practitioners of this violence from the sanctuary of the Christian community. The Christian community was governed by law and the behavior of the violent placed them beyond the pale of the community of the saved. The renegade faced a choice: repent and use his military might to defend the faithful against injustice or suffer excommunication and face almost certain condemnation on Judgment Day.

The fairly rapid spread of the Peace of God beyond its center of origin and the emergence of an off-shoot movement, the Truce of God, which forbade fighting on certain holy days and for certain periods of time, testify to the popularity of the Peace's central ideas and the degree of popular cultural discontent. Some scholarship has indicated that the enthusiasm for spiritual reform among ordinary folk may have indeed reflected a deep dissatisfaction with the political *status quo* as the leading propertied families benefited the most from the exploitation of church institutions via simony and nicolaitism (Moore 1980, 49–69). People certainly seemed in search of “clean” religious leadership that would embody and enforce a reform of European society.

III The Reform Papacy (1049–1022)

The ecclesiastical reform movement was the cultural force that propelled the papacy to a pre-eminent leadership position in the medieval world. The papacy's assumption of the leadership of this enterprise in the pontificate of Leo IX led to its supplanting of the empire as the heir of Roman universalism and to the theoretical desacralization of the state in the West (Dawson 1950). The papacy, in the process, evolved into a genuinely pan-European institution. With its heightened status, the Roman Church, consequently, was able to promote a pan-European culture to an extent unimaginable in previous centuries. The reform drama definitively transformed the pope's primary roles as guardian of the ancient Roman shrines and judge of a distant court of appeals to the supreme spiritual governor of the Latin West who sat atop a sophisticated governmental structure whose administrative reach extended across the European continent. The moral prestige, which accrued to the papacy as a result of its embrace of the popular desire for spiritual renewal, made the bishop of Rome, in short, a king.

IV Leo IX (1049–1054)

Leo IX was the first pope to make the reform agenda the agenda of the papacy. The former bishop of Toul and cousin to the Salian emperor, Henry III (r. 1039–1056), Leo was third in a line of four German popes imposed by Henry on the Romans beginning in 1046. In that year, the German king had traveled to Rome for his imperial coronation only to find the Roman Church in a state of disarray with three claimants to the papal throne. At a synod held in Sutri (1046), Henry engineered the deposition of two of the claimants and forced the third candidate, Gregory VI (1045–1046), to resign.

In pursuit of the reform agenda, Leo took two significant steps, which internationalized the Roman Church. First, he began the process of making the college of the Roman cardinal clergy a distinct, pan-European body by drawing able and energetic reformers from north of the Alps to his side in Rome. Hugh Candidus or Hugh The White (ca. 1020–1099), Frederick of Lorraine, the future Pope Stephen IX (1057–1058), and Humbert of Moyenmoutier/Silva Candida (ca. 1015–1061), all took their place in the ranks of the Roman cardinal clergy during his pontificate. Leo also internationalized the papacy by traveling outside of central Italy. In medieval political culture, the *adventus* or “procession” of a great personage into a city was an event of tremendous significance as such public displays vividly communicated to the assembled crowd that the person who was

approaching their community was a truly significant individual (Fichtenau 1990). The pope surely knew that by staging such public processions in cities far beyond the boundary of the bishop of Rome's metropolitan authority for the purposes of holding reform councils, he was advertizing the authority of the successors of St. Peter in as powerful a fashion as possible and exercising the papal primacy over the Latin Church in a more concrete and immediate way than had ever been done before. Leo also regularly dispatched legates to act in his stead on important occasions in areas far from Rome as another means of extending the exercise of the papal primacy. The *adventus* of a papal legate would have been an affair for locals to remember too. One wonders if the pope was not simply following the lead of imperial governments back to the reign of Charlemagne on this score as the Carolingians had used the *missi dominici* or "messengers of the lord" to great effect for a long while.

F The "Investiture Contest" and its Cultural Consequences

I The Estrangement Between Papacy And Empire (1056–1073)

Following the death of Henry III in 1056 at the age of 39, the reform papacy and the German empire grew increasingly estranged from one another on both a political and an ideological level. This estrangement culminated in the epochal event in European history best known as the Investiture Contest. On the political level, the emperor's untimely death meant that the papal reform party in Rome had lost its accustomed source of military protection against the hostile Roman clans as the emperor's son, Henry IV, was only a child at his father's death. During the regency, which began at Henry III's death, the German court simply had too many problems at home to aid the reform popes effectively against their Roman adversaries. These adversaries, to be sure, were quite formidable. Leo IX had had to wage military operations against the Tusculani and their allies at the start of his pontificate and one of the reasons for his peripatetic conduct of the papacy was that he was physically safer away from Rome. Long after Leo's death, the reform papacy continued to face many dangerous enemies in and around the Eternal City. The Roman reformers eventually settled on two Italian powers as their chief political and military allies. The first new ally, the House of Canossa, proved quite reliable, especially in the person of Countess Matilda (died 1115), "the most faithful daughter of St. Peter," as she came to be known. The other major partner, the Norman princes of southern Italy, proved to be problematic

allies to say the least. Yet, the strategic interests of neither of the Roman Church's new political partners matched those of the German crown in Italy.

The hiatus in close papal-imperial relations also contributed to a crucial ideological development within Roman circles that meant that the interests of papacy and empire would come increasingly into conflict. The shift, stated in its most extreme form in Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida's *Three Books Against The Simoniacs* (1057), concerned the reformers' rejection of a decisive lay role in ecclesiastical governance, particularly in episcopal and abbatial elections. Humbert (the former monk of Moyaenmoutier mentioned above) not only rejected the time honored practice of lay investiture of churchmen with their offices through the bestowal of ring, staff, and regalia, but he insisted that as long as lay potentates exercised any kind of authority in the church or over the clergy, the trade in holy things was bound to continue. The complete removal of lay influence in ecclesiastical affairs, as advocated by Humbert, would have resulted in political chaos in many lands, but it would have spelled the end of strong central authority for sure in the German and Italian kingdoms of the empire. The Salians, like the Ottonians before them, had enriched the German and northern Italian churches and maneuvered loyal persons into the episcopates to serve as a political counterbalance to the fractious and independent minded German nobility. Without stalwart imperialists filling the German and Italian church hierarchies, the Salians would have been reduced to the status of figureheads.

As a whole, the Roman reformers stopped short of Humbert's radical conclusion in their thinking about the fundamental requirements for the freedom of the church or the *libertas ecclesiae*. The pope, most closely associated with the so called Investiture Contest, Gregory VII, was not himself opposed to all royal or imperial involvement in the election of prelates (Cowdrey 1998). Regardless, a consensus developed within papal circles about the necessity for free episcopal and abbatial elections, which meant by definition that no lay potentate should attempt to engineer or to unduly influence the election of prelates. This consensus took concrete form in the famous Papal Election Decree of 1059 issued by Pope Nicholas II (1059–1061). The decree bestowed the decisive role in papal elections on the college of Roman cardinal bishops and eliminated any meaningful role for the emperor in these proceedings (Cowdrey 1998, 44). While the papal reformers were probably more immediately concerned with the threat to papal independence posed by the Roman magnates rather than by a German emperor (Henry IV did not rule in his own right until 1062), the document signaled the beginning of a break with the dominant cultural assumption to that point in medieval history that temporal government and more specifically the imperial government possessed sacral powers. There were to be no more repeats of the events of 1046.

II The First Individual Pan-European Political Event and Propaganda War

The probably inevitable conflict between the reform papacy and the German crown erupted during the pontificate of Gregory VII and lasted many years after his death in 1085 until the sides agreed to a formal end to the dispute in 1122 with the Concordat of Worms. The origin of the disagreement between Gregory and Henry IV, ironically, did not at first directly concern the practice of royal or imperial investiture of prelates. Gregory's chastisement of the young German king for his continued close association with counselors, who had been excommunicated by Gregory's predecessor, Alexander II (1062–1073) because of their tampering with an episcopal election in Milan, set off the first round of conflict between pope and prince in 1076. The falling out gravitated around the issue of free elections not around lay investiture *per se*. Over the course of the dispute, lay investiture eventually became the focal point.

The impact of the protracted contest between papacy and empire, most especially in the stage featuring Gregory VII and Henry IV, on the development of medieval political and religious culture was tremendous. To begin with, the dispute, which arose between Gregory and Henry, constituted the first public individual pan-European political event. Previous political events that had greatly impacted the life of the continent, such as Charlemagne's imperial coronation, did not engage large segments of the European population. The great event that transpired on Christmas Day 800 involved very few actual participants even if its consequences impacted the lives of hundreds of thousands. The Peace of God too had changed the political and religious culture of many regions; but, it did not involve clearly identifiable antagonists and did not unfold simultaneously everywhere it reached and it was also subject to regional mutations. It was a phenomenon rather than an event or a clearly connected series of events within a single drama. The feud between pope and emperor, on the other hand, featured two distinct principals each with an identifiable cadre of allies and each reacting to the maneuvers of the other or of the other's confederates.

Most unique to this contest, each side directly engaged the hearts and minds of thousands of people from all social classes both clergy and laity across the continent through propaganda. The rift between pope and prince produced a rich and diverse body of polemical literature (Robinson 1978). A revival of literacy and the concomitant rise in the prestige of the written word made this propaganda war possible (Stock 1983). There would have been no point in producing so much material earlier in medieval history as there would not have been very many consumers of the information. It is likewise true that the Peace of God movement had already aroused popular interest in matters of faith and politics. The person

on the street so to speak had already been invited in on the conversation about how the world should function.

III The (Very) Beginning of the End of Sacral Christian Kingship

The Investiture Contest, also, ultimately undermined the notion of sacral Christian kingship and the sacralization of political authority. It provided, of course, perhaps the greatest iconographic scene in all of medieval history: a penitent Henry IV standing in the snow before the castle at Canossa seeking forgiveness from Gregory VII for his rebellion against the pope. At the time, Henry's maneuver (and it was a maneuver) paid strategic dividends for the king against his rebellious princes in Germany by making it far harder for them to defend the religious justification of their rebellion. In the short term, then, requesting and receiving the pope's absolution for his sin proved to be a clever stroke. Yet, Henry's action also vividly contradicted the rhetoric of two centuries of sacral Christian kingship. The terms of the final settlement of the decades' long dispute, which had divided papacy and empire, enshrined in the Concordat of Worms did provide the imperialists with a partial victory. The emperors would be allowed to invest churchmen with the insignia of the temporalities attached to their office (e.g., lands or political authority); but, they could not confer the insignia of the prelate's spiritual authority in the forms of ring and pastoral staff on him. Sacred authority could only be conferred on a man by another sacred authority. Granted, the golden age of divine right monarchy lay far in the future in the seventeenth century. The defeat of theocratic kingship in the period 1076–1022 was only a theoretical one. Eventually, however, the theoretical rejection of the notion became political fact.

IV The Religious Foundations of the Western Legal Tradition

From the tenth century onwards, religious reformers had engaged in an intense *ressourcement* in ancient Christian law and literature seeking justification for their critiques of the Proprietary Church, and eventually of sacral Christian kingship as well. These intellectual archaeologists held up the past as a mirror, so to speak, to the present state of affairs in order to change the future. The process exemplified the traditional Latin Christian notion, rooted ultimately in the ancient Hebrew idea of historical progress, of reform *ad melius* or "for the better" (Ladner 1967). This idea of reform viewed spiritual renewal as a progressive undertaking in that such renewal resulted in an improved spiritual condition for the individual or

society that engaged in it than that which pre-dated the moral lapse. The religious reformers' quest to provide a rational legal basis for the reform program not only led in the twelfth century to the novelty of canon law as a separate academic subject distinct from theology; it also, more importantly, provided the basis of the entire modern Western legal tradition (Berman 1983). The idea of the law as an autonomous, organic system of integrated principles and procedures presided over by a hierarchical court system staffed by professional lawyers trained in formal schools of law grew out of the canonistic research and analysis of the ecclesiastical reformers (Berman 1983, 119).

V The Papacy as a Pan-European Institution

As noted above, by taking up the mantle of religious renewal the papacy was catapulted by popular enthusiasm into a position of pan-European leadership. The cultural *tsunami* of religious reform transformed the principal role of the bishop of Rome from that as guardian of the sacred shrines of the most venerable local church in the West to the governor of the entire Western church. In the period 1073–1198, the papacy acquired all of the apparatus of a contemporary monarchy. First and foremost, the popes developed a sophisticated court or curia of their own modeled on that of the princely courts north of the Alps: complete with camera, chancery, and chapel (Robinson 1990). While retaining some of its ancient liturgical functions, the Roman cardinal clergy emerged as the principal source of the leading personnel in the papal curia (Robinson 1990). The figure of the Roman cardinal, in fact, first began to emerge in this period as something of a cultural icon. Whether serving as legates beyond Rome or as residential bishops or as functionaries in the curia, the cardinals personified the authority of the Petrine office in its various aspects: spiritual, legal, financial, and political. Throughout the twelfth century, the composition of the college of cardinals also underwent change as it evolved into a decidedly more pan-European institution with fewer native Romans and more members drawn from elsewhere, especially from France and northern Italy (Robinson 1990). The internationalization of the college reflected the basic fact that just as the papacy had grown more important to people beyond central Italy, so too the world beyond the boundaries of the Papal State had grown more important to the Roman Church. The popes required loyal servants knowledgeable about local conditions in the most important regions of the continent. For their part, many of the continent's rulers assigned their own representatives and agents to the Roman curia to keep track of its goings on and to gather political intelligence of their own.

One must, however, bear in mind that the transformation of the papacy into a pan-European monarchy was not wholly or even chiefly a deliberate policy of the popes and their collaborators. Undoubtedly, the Roman clans gladly used enhanced papal prestige and authority to wrest privileges for their native city from their neighbors in central Italy and to reap material benefits from their *patria's* augmented international status. But, it was not Gregory VII, the compiler of the highly hierocratic *Dictus Papae* or “Statements of the Pope,” who was responsible for Rome’s metamorphosis into a lawyer’s paradise. Without the continuous stream of petitions from townsmen, peasant communities, and religious groups that began to flow toward the Lateran in pursuit of legal protection and/or exemptions, the papacy would not have evolved as it did from the 1070s to 1200 (Morris 1989). Medieval society, in a very real sense, then, demanded the creation of a papal monarchy; and, the popes obliged.

G The Papacy and the Idea of Crusade – The Cultural Origins of The Idea of Crusade

The father of twentieth century Crusade Studies, Carl Erdmann, famously opined that holy war constituted the foreign policy of the reform papacy (Erdmann 1977, 119–47). Erdmann based his assertion on his twin observations that the Latin church in general had increasingly embraced the principle of righteous martial combat against perceived enemies of God from the age of Charlemagne forward in its liturgy, ritual, and prayer and that the reform popes of the eleventh century were particularly active in organizing and/or sponsoring uses of the material sword against alleged internal and external threats in a manner and to a degree unknown in Christian history. Regardless, the implication that crusading emerged out of a conscious policy of the papal reformers strains credulity. In the case of the rise of the crusade movement, the popes and their collaborators once again were riding a cultural wave rather than creating one. The heightened prestige which had accrued to the papacy over the course of the reform era, without question, allowed the Roman pontiffs to assume nominal control over a cultural impulse that with a great deal of effort by the papacy and its allies eventually developed into a signature institution of the European Middle Ages. The ultimate cultural origins of crusading, however, lay not in the ideology of Gregory VII or of any of his confederates, but in the crucible of the Second Dark Age.

Erdmann correctly noted that the Second Dark Age initiated by the Viking, Magyar, and Muslim Arab assaults on Western Europe influenced the course of subsequent medieval culture and of ecclesiastical thinking about the morality of

warfare. The heathen invasions and the concomitant political violence greatly intensified the warrior ethos already present in nascent Western culture (Dawson 1950, 95–116). The idea that martial combat against violent heathens was meritorious gained broad acceptance in many circles of tenth and early eleventh century society. Prior to this, the military campaigns of Charlemagne had enjoyed wide acceptance as morally licit activity. The aforementioned Peace of God movement ironically advanced the sacralization of violence (Flori 2001). The social compact of the movement extolled the use of the material sword in defense of the poor, the unarmed, and God's church in contradistinction from the violence of castellans who terrorized their fellow Christians, and thus, spilled the blood of Jesus anew, in pursuit of their own selfish gain. The Peace movement's ideology of righteous warfare undergirded the much later appeal of Pope Urban II (1088–1099) at the Council of Clermont (1095) to western knights to accept the inherent burdens of a campaign in the East as an act of sacrificial love (Reilly-Smith 1980, 177–92). By risking life and limb for the liberation of the Christian East (and by extension the liberation of holy places in the East), Europe's knights were responding to Jesus's invitation to his disciples in Luke 14:27 to take up their cross and to follow him. Not coincidentally, Urban II, the former Odo of Chatillon, hailed from the minor aristocracy of a region which had experienced much Peace related activity and the legislation of Clermont re-proclaimed the establishment of the Peace of God. While some scholars have downplayed the link between the Peace of God phenomenon and Urban's summons to what became the First Crusade, the argument is not convincing (Bull 1993). Many of those who responded positively to the papal call, in fact, also hailed from areas deeply influenced by the ideology of the Peace.

Over the course of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the popes gave greater juridical and administrative structure to the cultural impulse of holy violence that animated the crusading movement. Some have gone so far as to assert that there were no crusades in the full sense of the term until the pontificate of Innocent III in the thirteenth century (Tyerman 1998). Without a doubt, Innocent contributed more to the construction of the institutional structures of crusading than any other single individual. He, more than any other previous pope, also saw crusading as a valuable tool in the promotion of papal supremacy. Indeed, his successors turned crusading into an instrument of their European political policy, especially in Italy itself (Housley 1982).

Although the figure and sacramental power of the pope were indispensable to crusading, papal management of the individual crusades to the East themselves was, with the exception of the initial expedition of 1095–1099, largely ineffectual. The medieval popes, nevertheless, continuously championed the idea of crusade to the East and poured a great deal of effort and bouillon into the

development and refinement of the movement. Setting aside the inherent weakness of the command and control capabilities of all pre-modern governments, the main reason why the popes could not, on the whole, manage crusades very well was due to the aforementioned charismatic nature of papal authority in medieval society. The Roman Church proved skillful at galvanizing pre-existing sentiment and leading people to action; but, it never was very good at compelling people to act on their sentiments in exclusively specific ways.

Crusading in the East, furthermore, continually failed to accomplish the overarching strategic goal for which the popes supported it: the reunion of the Latin and Greek churches under the authority of the Roman pontiff. Ironically, the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), Innocent III's first attempt at crusading, technically succeeded in achieving that grand strategic goal: but, in the disastrous fashion of the conquest of Constantinople and at the point of a conqueror's sword! This temporary, forced reunion poisoned Roman Catholic and Orthodox relations for centuries. Yet, despite the fact that crusading time and again proved to be an ineffectual instrument of papal authority, the popes refused to abandon it. Then again, medieval society itself never abandoned the idea of crusade in principle (Siberry 1985). The so-called political crusades, nevertheless, provided a rhetorical cudgel for late medieval imperialist polemicists, such as Marsilius of Padua (1275–1342) with which to attack papal supremacy within the West.

H The Papal Monarchy as an Expression of Medieval Political Culture

By the end of the twelfth century, the main components of medieval papal government were in place. On the one hand, the breadth of the theoretical judicial, legislative, and fiscal powers of the successors of the Galilean fisherman creates the impression that the Roman Church had successfully subjected the continent to its authority. Like all medieval princes, the popes assiduously asserted their right to dispense justice. In the case of the papal monarchy, this right was principally exercised on the appellate level. The consensus developed over the 1100s that the Roman Church alone served as the one, final court of appeal in the pan-European ecclesiastical judicial system. In certain important cases such as the deposition of a bishop or in a case involving a religious house that enjoyed a papal exemption from episcopal authority, the papal court could also function as a court of the first instance (Robinson 1990). The judicial machinery of the papal monarchy, moreover, expanded over the course of the same century to include special judge delegates appointed by the pope to hear cases in

local areas (Robinson 1990). This innovation relieved the case load of the personnel of the papal court itself without surrendering any of the pope's jealously guarded legal authority to hear appeals.

In the legislative field, popes had been granting various kinds and levels of exemptions to religious communities from local authorities since at least the Early Middle Ages. The great development of the high medieval period involved the emergence of the concept of papal discretion (Robinson 1990). Working from the ancient Latin ecclesiastical law (the so called *Gelasian Decree*) that no council or its canons could be deemed legitimate without the approval of the Roman pontiff, papal canonists from the eleventh century onwards made the argument that only the Roman Church possessed the authority to interpret contradictory canons, to suspend ancient canons due to new circumstances, and to issue new ones (Robinson 1990). Some scholars have argued that the principle of papal discretion was a revolutionary concept in Western canonical history (Cushing 1998); but, this argument is one of those true observations that is highly deceiving in that the notion of the discretionary powers of a sovereign authority was an axiom of Roman law that was newly applied to a Roman Church that had enjoyed special standing in the Christian world since the late first century C.E. With this principle established, the popes began to promulgate decretals or opinions on the application of canonical concepts to specific cases brought before the Holy See (Robinson 1990). Initially, twelfth century canonists gathered these papal pronouncements in their own private collections; but over time, papal decretals attained the status of official papal legislation (Robinson 1990).

In the fiscal realm, the papacy of the High Middle Ages developed a number of sources for the much needed revenue to finance the apparatuses of its government. Compared to the rising national monarchies of the period, the papal monarchy possessed far fewer sure and certain sources of income. Religious communities who enjoyed some type of papal protection or exemption from local episcopal authority owed a yearly census or payment. Newly elevated archbishops paid an honorarium to the pope for the bestowal of the pallium. From the late ninth century onwards, the English kings forwarded the Peter's Pence collection from their dioceses to Rome and the honorific royal vassals of the continent likewise paid a yearly census. Two expedient measures taken by Alexander III (1159–1181) during the schism of 1159–1164, the papal provision of benefices in local cathedral chapters for curial personnel and emergency subsidies from temporal and ecclesiastical sources, eventually, formed the main sources of revenue for the papacy for the rest of the Middle Ages (Robinson 1990). Those emergency subsidies became the very controversial papal clerical tax (Robinson 1990).

In terms of ideological developments, scholars have long pointed to the pontificate of Innocent III as the high watermark of the medieval period. Inno-

cent, unquestionably, contributed more to the building up of the papacy's ideological position in medieval Europe than any other individual pope. To a far greater degree than any of his predecessors, he asserted and exercised in a far more ambitious manner the ancient theological principle that the pope enjoyed the *plenitudo potestatis*, or "the fullness of power" within the church. The pope, in other words, possessed the authority to intervene in the internal affairs of any diocese or religious institution. The pope, as the Vicar of Christ (a term not of Innocent's invention), was below God but above man. Innocent even reserved for himself and for his successors the right to intervene in temporal kingdoms if a government proved wholly ineffective in preserving public order. No medieval pope, in fact, involved himself more energetically in the great political questions of his day than Innocent. He was a power broker of the first order. As proof of his diplomatic prowess, he symbolically received several kingdoms as papal fiefs over the course of his pontificate. His personal prestige made two of his own pre-papal writings, *On The Misery of the Human Condition* and *On the Mysteries of the Altar*, widely popular. The former survives in six hundred manuscript copies and made its way into the Prologue of *The Man of Law's Tale* in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. In November of 1215, he realized his great ambition for the convocation of a grand council in Rome. Lateran Council IV constituted the largest and most important pan-European assembly of any kind to that point in the continent's history. The council issued legislation over a wide range of issues that impacted the lives of everyone, Christian, Muslim, pagan, or Jew, on the continent for centuries.

Yet, the surface appearance of the papal monarchy in general and of Innocent III's pontificate in particular, creates a false impression. A slew of practical and theoretical realities considerably restricted all of the papal monarchs, including Innocent III. While the medieval papal monarchy constituted something of an outlier among other medieval crowns (Morris 1989), it was not wholly unique. Most significantly, the thrust of traditional medieval political culture militated against any attempt to establish an absolute sovereign power of whatever kind. A famous maxim of canon law captures quite well the spirit of this aspect of medieval political culture: *Quod omnes tangit ab omnibus approbari debet* or "that which affects all must be approved by all" (Pennington 1984, 194). The medieval church, naturally, was not a democracy and this maxim was not a call for a one man one vote approach to ecclesiastical doctrine and governance; still, like most medieval people, churchmen took very seriously the *libertas*, or liberty of individual communities of persons, such as monasteries and cathedral chapters, as well as the body of bishops as a whole (Pennington 1984, 194). While most people at most times in the Middle Ages accepted hierarchy as a natural and divinely ordained principle, no one, especially not monks, cathedral canons,

or even the cardinal clergy of the Roman Church, believed hierarchical authority could be legitimately exercised in a capricious or unrestrained manner. At the height of the papal monarchy in the thirteenth century, the general consensus of the canonists held that papal authority was itself restrained not only by the canons of the ancient ecumenical councils and the fundamental articles of the faith, but also by a regard for the *status ecclesiae* or “the status of the church” (Pennington 1984, 68–69). The law of God forbade any pope from treating the local dioceses or any religious institution or community in a capricious and self-interested manner. The pope as Vicar of Christ was bound by virtue of his office to preserve the dignity of every ecclesiastical body. Consequently, although Innocent III made many grand-eloquent assertions of papal supremacy within and outside the universal Church, his actual conduct of the papal office was usually restrained as he clearly preferred the exercise of careful diplomacy and negotiation with temporal and ecclesiastical powers over bold assertions of divine authority (Pennington 1984).

In the High and Late Middle Ages, the college of cardinals insisted that the papal responsibility to deal reasonably with the local churches extended to the Roman Church itself. Divine law preserved the papacy as well from the caprice of individual popes. The college of cardinals, in many ways, operated like a parliament of the Latin church with the pope as a *quasi* prime minister who needed to lobby and to win over the cardinals in order to achieve his ends. The practice even arose whereby potential candidates for the Petrine throne would make certain promises during a conclave to the cardinals about the conduct of their office ahead of their potential election (Ullmann 2003).

A number of practical realities also curtailed papal power. First and foremost, the absence of a significant, independent papal army and the sheer geographical extent of the continent combined to place tremendous limits on the papacy’s powers of coercion. In order to accomplish much of anything beyond central Italy, the popes had to rely on the assistance of local actors and agents. Even the collection of vital revenues from beyond papal territory depended upon the cooperation of local rulers. Enforcement of papal law often equally depended upon the good will of foreign authorities. Time and time again, moreover, the papacy was poorly served by self-interested local allies who refused to sacrifice their own needs or well-being in favor of those of the Holy See (Morris 1989). Even the physical defense of the Papal State against its own frequently rebellious subjects required the help of foreign powers. These tactical weaknesses impeded the policies of Innocent III in particular as they often produced circular patterns in his diplomatic gambits (Morris 1989). For example, he fought a tough diplomatic war with King John of England (r. 1199–1216) in order to get Stephen Langton (ca. 1150–1228) installed as archbishop of Canterbury only to suspend

the archbishop subsequently for his support of the English barons against John because the pope had reconciled with the king.

I The Papacy and the Pan-European Culture of the High Middle Ages (1100–1300)

I The Papacy and the Higher Education Movement

The emergence of centers of higher learning outside of the monastic setting constitutes one of the most important elements of the Twelfth Century Renaissance. Charlemagne, admittedly, previously had encouraged the formation and maintenance of quality cathedral schools. Still, it was in the twelfth century that cathedral schools emerged as the principle seat of the new learning that was sweeping across Western Europe. Moreover, from its beginning, this higher education movement possessed a strong international character that far exceeded that of the Carolingian Re-Awakening (Morris 1989). As Peter Abelard's (1079–1142) *Historia Calamitatum* or "*History of My Calamities*" demonstrates, the twelfth century began as an era of wandering scholars and students. The pan-European character of this intellectual revival eventually found its fullest expression in the rise of the universities at the end of the century.

As was the case with the Carolingian Re-Awakening, the papacy did not play a direct role in the origin of the cultural springtime of the High Middle Ages. It was not at all the product of a deliberate papal plan or initiative. As this multi-dimensional phenomenon unfolded, many ecclesiastical authorities, including the popes, opposed significant elements of it, such as the concept of courtly love and the knightly tournament. The popes, in contradistinction, embraced the higher learning enterprise from fairly early on in its existence. As noted above, the reform papacy had strongly linked ecclesiastical life with the life of learning: particularly, in the forms of theological and canonical *ressourcement*. So, while none of the reform popes themselves were legal scholars, least of all Gregory VII, their collective efforts paved the way for the great era of lawyer popes in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Pope Alexander III, the former papal chancellor, Orlando Bandinelli, was really the first significant patron of higher education to sit on the papal throne (Nardi 1992, 77–107). As papal chancellor and as perhaps a former master of law at Bologna, the future pontiff promoted contact between the papal curia and the major schools of the day (Nardi 1992, 77–107). As evidence of the esteem in which he held school men, Alexander once explained to his legate in France that any

potential Roman cardinal should possess three specific qualities: morality, and knowledge of letters and of religion (Robinson 1990, 56). At Lateran Council III (1179), Alexander initiated the stream of legal acts in support of higher education that would flow consistently from the papal court well into the future.

As attested to by the contemporary witness, the theologian Boncompagno da Signa (died after 1240), many high churchmen of the early thirteenth century belonged to the *ordo scholasticus* or to the rank of scholars (Nardi 1992, 77–107). The most famous of these churchmen was the former Lothario de Segni, Pope Innocent III. Innocent had studied theology at Paris and likely canon law at Bologna. As pope, he, not surprisingly, displayed a keen interest in deepening the relationship between the Roman Church and the universities. His decree, *Tuae fraternitatis* (1207), “Of Your Fraternity,” allowed clerics to continue to receive their benefices (i.e., the stipends clerics received for providing pastoral services to a designated community) even while absent from their pastoral assignments at school (Nardi 1992, 77–107). Equally important, beginning with Innocent’s pontificate, the Holy See frequently offered its services to help mediate disputes within university communities and to solidify the internal organization of schools. The papacy, also, offered its political support to schools in disputes with temporal authorities, whether local or royal (Nardi 1992, 77–107). Probably the single most important legal contribution of the papacy to the university movement came in the form of Pope Gregory IX’s (1227–1241) bull, *Parens scientiarum* (1233), “The Parent of Learning.” Many have come to view the document as a kind of *Magna Carta* for the university movement (Nardi 1992, 97). In the bull, Gregory IX recalled all teachers and students to the University of Paris, who in a dispute with King Louis IX (r. 1226–1270) had fled the city, petitioned the king to reconfirm the original royal privileges granted to the university by Philip Augustus (r. 1180–1223), and reaffirmed a set of regulations for the university that the papal legate and former Parisian master Robert Kedleston had composed (Nardi 1992, 83).

Beyond any historical factors that may have made the papacy and the first universities natural allies, the charism of universalism also united the two institutions. From inception, the spirit of the higher education movement and of the first universities was transnational. While it is true that the native population seems to have accounted for the majority of the students at any given university, the entire university enterprise embodied the notion that there was one, universal world of learning that recognized no meaningful national or regional boundaries. The papacy too embodied the pan-national principle; and, therefore, it is not hard to understand why the popes and their collaborators encouraged an undertaking that diminished parochialism on the continent.

II The Papacy and its Engagement with its Pan-European Flock

In the period after the papacy and the German empire agreed to a rather inconclusive conclusion to the "Investiture Contest" with the signing of the Concordat of Worms (1122), the focus of the Holy See shifted away from concerns about cultic purity toward the more thorough spiritual formation of clergy and laity alike (Robinson 1990). In this endeavor, the new international religious orders of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries proved to be indispensable papal allies (Robinson 1990). The transnational character of these orders was itself likely a reflection of the influence of the papacy's own universalism. The emergence of the Dominicans and Franciscans in the early thirteenth century proved especially beneficial for the Roman Church. In different (but not totally different) ways, each of these mendicant orders manifested the ideal of spiritual universalism. It is no accident that the same early thirteenth century popes who enthusiastically endorsed the intellectual transnationalism represented by the universities also heartily approved of the transnational mission of the Dominicans and the Franciscans. In the friars, the papacy found ready and able collaborators in the mission of elevating and intensifying the spiritual life of the continent and a source of personnel for religious missions beyond Europe. In keeping with their universalist charism, the friars eventually entered the university scene (quite controversially) and also finally the ranks of the popes themselves. Once again, the papacy did not initiate the movement that proved so beneficial to its institutional interests. But, one has to believe that the labors of the papal reformers contributed to the fact that more than half a century later, when a son of Assisi felt called by God to do something great, he believed it necessary to trod all the way down to Rome from Umbria to seek the approval of the Roman pontiff for his new way of life. Prior to the age of the reform papacy, a Francis Bernardone/St. Francis would not have believed it necessary to receive anyone's permission to proceed with his plans other than that of his own diocesan bishop or perhaps that of a local abbot. The tireless campaigning of the servants of the Roman Church had worked its effect on the popular imagination.

Concurrent with the high medieval papacy's desire to inculcate a more refined moral sense in clergy and laity, there arose the related, but distinct phenomenon of the "new pastoralism." Also a product of the eleventh century spirit of reform, the main idea animating the new pastoralism was that the bishop had a solemn obligation to be in regular contact with all the religious and lay communities in his charge. The bishop's chief tasks extended beyond his cultic and ceremonial duties to include the close supervision of the moral and spiritual lives of all within his diocese. The episcopal inquisition or regional court became a more regular feature of ecclesiastical life beginning in the twelfth century. One can see this vision of episcopal life on display as early as Bonizo of Sutri's (ca.

1042–ca. 1094) the *Liber de vita christiana* (ca. 1090) or “Book of the Christian Life.” Ultimately, of course, the roots of the new pastoralism go back even further to the vision set forth by Gregory the Great in his aforementioned *Pastoral Rule*. The principles of this renewed pastoral sense find clear expression in the canons of Lateran Council IV (1215). Prelates, clerics, and prominent laity from across Europe descended upon Rome in response to a papal summons. Although Pope Innocent III carefully planned for the event, the council was not at all a papal rubber stamp as it was almost certainly preceded by intense negotiations between the pope and the major participants. It was a genuine parliament of the Western church. Chief among the council’s numerous canons, were those designed to improve clerical discipline and to increase lay participation in the sacramental life of the church. While it is certainly true that the ecclesiastical authorities of the High and Late Middle Ages, including the bishops of Rome, offered ever finer definitions of the articles of the faith and required more and more of ordinary lay folk and clergy alike, it is equally true that the avenues for popular participation in ecclesiastical life, such as eucharistic processions, also proliferated in the wake of the great council (Dawson 1965).

III Cultural Indications of Tension Between The Papacy and The Pan-European World (1100–1300)

The desire for simplicity in religious life and the exaltation of evangelical poverty, which both the Franciscan and Dominican orders represented, also constituted something of an indictment not only of a high medieval society that had grown increasingly wealthy and materialistic as a result of the economic boom initiated by the preceding Agricultural and Commercial Revolutions, but also of the institutional church in general, and of the papacy in particular. The burgeoning of the Roman curia in the early decades of the twelfth century and the ensuing creation of pan-European systems of papal taxation and justice undoubtedly disappointed the expectations of many who had responded enthusiastically to the lofty ecclesiastical vision of the reform era. This disappointment soon produced howls of protest in various forms. One early manifestation of discontent with the post reform era ecclesiastical *status quo* appeared in the form of popular anti-clerical preachers (Moore 1985). Henry of Lausanne (died 1148) and Peter of Bruys (died ca. 1131), for instance, both traversed southern France in the first half of the twelfth century denouncing clerical avarice (especially that of the Roman clergy) and ecclesiastical wealth (Moore 1985).

The preaching of Henry of Lausanne may well have contributed to the rise of the first and most enduring popular heretical movement of the Middle Ages: the

Waldensians. This sect, which eventually spread across southern France and into Italy and central Europe (and endures to the present day), likely emerged out of the preaching ministry of the late twelfth century merchant turned street minister, Waldes of Lyons (ca. 1140–ca. 1218). An advocate of apostolic poverty, public preaching by laymen, and vernacular translations of the bible, Waldes initially sought the approval of Pope Alexander III for his ministry. Although the pope seems to have responded somewhat favorably at first to Waldes's enterprise, in the end, he and his followers were banned from public preaching and later condemned for their refusal to desist from their activities.

The agenda of the sect associated with Waldes (and that of Waldes himself for that matter) clearly reflects the cultural trends of the high medieval period. Mirroring the growing concern in religious thought about the negative consequences of ecclesiastical wealth and the simultaneous exaltation of apostolic poverty, the Waldensians insisted that the church shed its accumulated wealth in money and property and that the clergy live simply in imitation of the apostles. In imitation of the demands of the communal movement, which insisted on greater political freedom for the urban classes, the sect further insisted on the right of the laity to preach in public and, as an indication of the flowering of vernacular literature in the period, the Waldensians called for vernacular translations of the bible.

Dissatisfaction with the institutional transformation of the papacy and a perceived betrayal of the high ideals of the eleventh century reform program produced a considerable literary body of anti-Roman satire as well. In an ironic twist, the theme of venality, which papal reform polemicists like Peter Damian (1007–1072) and Humbert of Silva Candida had employed effectively against the representatives of the pre-reform church, became a standard theme of the anti-Roman satirists of subsequent centuries (Bourgain 2002, 750). Over the course of the High Middle Ages, the satirists came to use the term “Rome” metonymously for papal authority (especially for the papal powers of taxation) regardless of whether a particular pope was resident in Rome at a particular time (Bourgain 2002, 750). The so called *Gospel of Saint Mark Silver* or *The Silver Mark* was a popular parody of the papal attitude toward wealth and the poor, which existed in a number of different variations in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Bourgain 2002, 750). In the parody, an avaricious pope at one point offers his own take on the *Beatitudes*, which includes the line: “Blessed are those who possess for the Roman curia shall be theirs” (Bourgain 2002, 750). Anonymous authors composed a veritable *cornucopia* of etymologically based witticisms that mocked the worldliness of papal government.

Maybe the most famous barb directed at “Rome” was the acronym created out of the biblical maxim that money is the root of all evil or *Radix Omnium Malorum*

Avaritia (Bourgain 2002, 750). The troubadour poets seem to have taken special exception to the papacy's involvement in crusading (Siberry 1985). Given the papacy's unleashing of the Albigensian Crusade in Languedoc and its environs in the early thirteenth century, the focal point of the troubadours' anti-papal complaint is not surprising. On the whole, however, vernacular anti-Roman texts, intended mainly for lay audiences, largely directed their anger more at the papal court than at the person of the pope himself (Bourgain 2002, 750).

Thoroughly orthodox figures, such as Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), who also engaged in a war of words with the aforementioned Henry of Lausanne, also voiced criticisms of the worldliness of the papal court. In his *De consideratione* (ca. 1148) or "On Consideration," which he composed for his protégé, Pope Eugenius III (1145–1153), Bernard warns Eugenius to guard himself against the secular atmosphere of the papal curia. The moral failings of the papal court also bothered the staunch Gregorian, Gerhoh of Reichersberg, who believed the avarice of the Romans had turned the Eternal City into a modern day Babylon (Dawson 1950, 248).

Gerhoh, in fact, stands apart as the first major medieval apocalyptic writer to ascribe a special role to the papacy in the End Times (McGinn 1979, 104). Prior to the papal reform era, the pope had not been a significant figure in apocalyptic literature. On the contrary, the figure of the emperor, of the Last Emperor before the appearance of antichrist, was the dominant protagonist in apocalyptic thinking: especially in that of the Byzantine East (McGinn 1979, 94). From the time of Gerhoh's apocalyptic masterwork, *The Fourth Watch of The Night* forward, however, the pope assumed a prominent place in various apocalyptic schemes. According to Gerhoh, his age of the late twelfth century constituted the Fourth Watch or period of human history in which the unrestrained power of Avarice had enslaved the popes to the insatiable appetite for gold and silver of the Roman clergy and people. None would stand to be corrected by wholesome admonitions. Gerhoh, instead, prays for the deliverance of St. Peter's successors by the arrival of modern day Maccabees, who will cleanse the Roman Church and prepare the way for the Second Coming. Joachim of Fiore, the most influential medieval apocalyptic author, also ascribed an important role to the pope in his paradigm (McGinn 1979). He foresaw that at the end of the spiritually dark Second *Status* or Age of the Church, a holy pope would appear who would preach the gospel to the pagans, and together with two new orders of spiritual supermen, would help defeat antichrist (McGinn 1979). Not coincidentally, in the thirteenth century, the figure of a future angelic or holy pope became a stock character in apocalyptic literature. From the late twelfth century onwards, the popes of history were largely competent and sometimes even highly skilled lawyers and diplomats, but none of them enjoyed reputations for sanctity (McGinn 1979, 186). It is revealing,

for instance, that Innocent III, who possessed enormous human talent and left such an imprint on his age, never attained the status of a “Great” pope like Leo I (440–461), Gregory I, or Nicholas I (858–867). One certainly can interpret this literary expectation of an angelic pope as a strong, implicit criticism of the contemporary occupants of the chair of St. Peter (McGinn 1979, 186). The emperor, Frederick II (r. 1215–1250), the nemesis of Popes Gregory IX and Innocent IV (1243–1254), made no secret of his hatred for the papal monarchy. In the course of the protracted and highly emotional polemical war between himself and Gregory IX that led to open warfare, the emperor denounced Gregory IX as an antichrist who deserved to be brought to trial before a general council (Ullmann 2003, 256). The great English churchman and scholar, Robert Grosseteste (ca. 1168–1253) also employed the strongest apocalyptic rhetoric possible against the thirteenth century papal monarchy. In a speech before Innocent IV and his chief counselors, the bishop of Lincoln denounced the venality of the papal court (then in temporary residence at Lyons for fear of Frederick II) and the failures of the pope himself. He suggested that the time of antichrist’s appearance may not be far off (Southern 1992, 276–85)! Three later thirteenth century popes, Clement IV (1265–1268), Gregory X (1271–1276), and Celestine V (1294), managed to excite some of their contemporaries into believing that they were the much anticipated holy pope. The existence of such an expectation speaks volumes about the deterioration in the relationship between the Roman Church and medieval society over the course of the 1200s.

IV The Papal Responses to Dissent

The multifarious cultural expressions of dissatisfaction with papal leadership did not go unnoticed by the popes and their collaborators. Two of the popes most readily associated with the worldly preoccupations of the papal monarchy, the cousins, Innocent III and Gregory IX, were, ironically, keenly aware of the new challenges posed to the Roman Church by the many economic and cultural changes in European life. Despite his many forays into the high politics of his age, Innocent III, for example, was not at all indifferent to the spiritual aspirations of those who wished to imitate the poverty and simplicity, which they believed had characterized the life of the early Christian Church. Given his aristocratic lineage, his immersion as a young cleric in the elaborate liturgical customs of the Roman Church, and his extensive learning, Innocent’s acceptance of Francis of Assisi and of his companions demonstrates that he was far more than a practitioner of *Realpolitik*. Innocent also exhibited a genuine desire to reconcile those, who had broken with the institutional church over issues relating to apostolic poverty and

lay preaching, with the Holy See. Durandus of Huesca's (ca. 1160–1224) faction of the Waldensians, who accepted terms for reconciliation with the church and subsequently formed the *Poor Catholics*, is the best example of the papal monarch's solicitude for dissenters. For his part, Cardinal Ugolino of Ostia, the future Pope Gregory IX, was a strong ally of Francis of Assisi in the Roman curia as well as an enthusiastic supporter of the nascent university movement: an enthusiasm he shared with his papal cousin.

It is also true, nonetheless, that these same two pontiffs were willing to employ coercion against incorrigible opponents. Innocent launched the notorious Albigensian Crusade in 1209 against the Cathar heretics of Languedoc, and their protector, Count Raymond VI of Toulouse (1156–1222), partly on the basis of the pope's application of the Roman legal definition of treason to heresy. While Innocent's legislation against heresy did not take the primary responsibility for combating heresy from the diocesan bishops, it definitely sharpened the tone against religious dissent. His successor, Honorius III (1216–1227), pressed temporal princes to incorporate provisions for the forceful suppression of heretics in their law codes (Lambert 1992, 100). The actual founder of the papal inquisition of the Middle Ages was the great friend of Francis of Assisi and successor of Honorius, Gregory IX. In 1231, he took the step of granting a general papal commission to the Dominican prior of Regensburg to seek out and prosecute heretics (Lambert 1992, 100). The first papal commission to discover and prosecute heretics in a specific region was issued a couple of years later when the pope empowered a group of Dominicans to root out heresy in Languedoc (Lambert 1992, 100). Unlike the subsequent Roman Inquisition of the Reformation era, the medieval papal inquisition was not a single institution, but rather a series of extended commissions in designated regions. It is probably more accurate to speak of inquisitions in the plural than to employ the term inquisition to designate what Gregory IX created and his medieval successors modified. While certain princes, like the kings of England, refused to cooperate with the papal judicial mechanism for putting down heresy, there is no clear indication that popular sentiment opposed the Roman Church's use of coercion against religious dissent. On the other hand, Gregory IX's call for a crusade against his political opponent in Italy, Frederick II, and subsequent papal summonses to crusade against political enemies, almost certainly created the impression in many minds that the successors of St. Peter had become self-interested temporal princes.

V The Popes and the Jews

The concern of the high medieval papacy to evangelize European society more thoroughly not only exposed dissenters to punitive measures, but it also highlighted the anomalous situation of the continent's Jewish population. What place was there for the children of Israel in a vigorously Christian Christendom? Relations between Christians and Jews had been troubled, of course, long before the advent of the papal monarchy. The antagonism originated in the negative reaction of the Jewish religious establishment to the Jesus movement of first century Palestine. The Sanhedrin's negative judgment of the rabbi of Nazareth is quite understandable. Contrary to the tremendous softening of his image by a late nineteenth century piety that still exercises a considerable influence on popular culture today, the Jesus of the *New Testament* frequently employs the harshest rhetoric against the Jewish authorities. In this regard, he was in line with the ancient Hebrew prophets, like Jeremiah (pre 626–ca. 587 B.C.E.), who often subjected Israel's religious establishment to the severest criticism.

While the Roman emperors, both pagan and Christian, tolerated Judaism, it is true that the Christian emperors curtailed Jewish liberties more severely than their pagan predecessors (Synan 1965, 19). The Christian emperors disbarred Jews from holding public offices, largely outlawed the construction of new synagogues, forbade Jewish proselytism as well as intermarriage with Christians, and protected Jewish converts to the church from slander (Synan 1965). These same emperors, nonetheless, acknowledged in their legislation the providential role of Israel in sacred history and preserved the Jews' rights with regard to freedom of worship and of conscience. The popes of the early medieval period were the heirs of this imperial legal tradition and none more so than Gregory the Great. His words, in turn, cast a giant shadow his successors' relations with Judaism (Synan 1965). The parameters laid down in his correspondence of the legal position of the Jews in a Christian society remained largely unchanged throughout the medieval period (Synan 1965, 35). In setting down his judgments about the place of the Jews in a nominally Christian land, Gregory, however, was not deliberately attempting to establish future papal policy toward Judaism. He was reacting to individual episodes involving Jews and Christians without any concern for the future (Synan 1965, 35). Gregory's judgments served as the basis for the medieval "Constitution on the Jews" designated by the opening words of one of his letters, *Sicut Judaeis non*, "Just as not for the Jews." In the course of his correspondence, the pope reasoned that Jews should enjoy freedom of worship, freedom of conscience (i.e., no forced conversions to Christianity were permitted), and freedom from unreasonable or non-traditional impositions of any kind. Jews, however, were not allowed to own Christian slaves or enjoy any dominion over Christians.

The papal summons to crusade in 1095 occasioned the first wide scale pogroms against the Jews in the medieval period. In the spring and summer of 1096, massacres of Jews and forced conversions to Christianity occurred in France and Germany. In the popular mind, the call to arms against Muslims in the East had underscored the anomalous situation of the non-Christians dwelling within Europe (Synan 1965, 66–82). Why spare the infidels already in one's midst? These pogroms as well as those associated with subsequent crusading activity were the unintended consequences of papal policy. This policy remained quite uniform through the twelfth century. The decrees of Lateran Council III (1179) commanded that Jews were not to own Christian slaves or servants or to receive the feudal homage of a Christian. Jews were allowed to worship freely and were to be protected against involuntary conversions. They were also not to suffer the loss of property outside of the judicial process. Those Jews, who did however convert to Christianity, were to be defended against any slander directed their way by anyone (Synan 1965, 79). Even though his thinking about the Christian Church's relationship with the children of Israel was fundamentally in sync with earlier papal pronouncements, Innocent III offered a certain twist to the traditional papal attitude toward the Jews. As was the case with all of his medieval predecessors, Innocent's problem with the Jews was theological not racial. Because they had rejected the true messiah, Jesus of Nazareth, God in the flesh, the Jewish people had suffered the fate of permanent exile from their homeland of Israel. As predicted by St. Paul in *Romans* 11:25–31, a remnant of Israel would convert to the true religion at the close of human history. This is the reason why forced conversion of the Jews, let alone the murder of Jews, was reprehensible for the popes of the Middle Ages. Conversion of the Jews was to be the direct work of the Spirit at the end of the ages. The killing of the Jews was, therefore, heretical, even diabolical. Innocent III maintained in his legislation the traditional protection of Jewish worship and of freedom of conscience as well as the ban on extra-judicial punishments of Jews and of the imposition of novel burdens. He even specified that Jewish cemeteries were not to be disturbed. But, he also qualified these protections with a *caveat*: they only applied to those Jews who refrained from plotting against the Christian faith (Synan 1965, 98). With this qualification, he clearly set the papacy against Jewish proselytism of any kind. Four of the canons of his great council, Lateran IV, deal specifically with the non-believers in Christendom's midst. Canon 67 forbids the imposition of immoderate usury by Jews on Christians and requires Jews who purchase the property of Christians to continue to pay the tithe (Synan 1965, 234). Canon 69 prohibited both Jews and Muslims from serving in public office (Synan 1965, 234). Canon 70 forbade Jewish converts to Christianity from continuing to practice any aspect of their former religion (Synan 1965, 235). In the post Shoah era, canon 68, which in part imposed

the wearing of distinctive garb on Jews and Muslims, has acquired an especially ominous connotation as it seems to anticipate the Nazi imposition of the Star of David on Jewish clothing and property. In a very remote sense, this canon did indeed foreshadow the Nazi isolation of European Jewry from the rest of their subject population. Though, it is equally true that the canon's stipulation that a certain segment of a population wear distinct clothing was not unprecedented in the pre-modern era (Synan 1965, 104). Sumptuary laws even existed within medieval Judaism. The prevention of sexual contact and inter-marriage between Christians and non-Christians constituted the primary goal of the Lateran legislation (Synan 1965, 104). The medieval popes often intervened on behalf of the continent's Jews against the predations of their Christian neighbors and rulers. Innocent IV, for example, defended the Jews against the charge of ritual child murder in his letter *Lacrymabilem Iudaeorum Alemaniae*, "The Tears of the Jews of Germany (1247)." During the initial outbreak of the Black Death, Clement VI (1342–1352) denounced the popular myth that the Jews were spreading the plague by poisoning the wells of Christians. But, the Roman pontiffs, combined an abiding concern for the basic religious rights of Jews with often the most harshly worded theological and canonical denunciations of the "errors" of Judaism (Synan 1965, 111). Their theological contempt for the descendants of Jesus (and yes, the popes were well aware that the savior was a Jew) undoubtedly augmented the laity's resentment of the Jews. Thus, in a sense, the medieval popes worked to restrain a violent impulse that their own rhetoric helped inflame.

J The Medieval Papacy's Fundamental Problem In The Pan-European World

Behind the plethora of criticisms of the alleged avarice and dishonesty of the papal court and of the worldliness of papal conduct, there lay the fundamental critical judgment of the papal monarchy that it was not what it claimed to be. The key to the papacy's privileged place in medieval society from the mid eleventh century onwards had been the belief that the Roman Church represented a supra-regional source of spiritual unity whose authority was exercised for the common good and whose justice was disinterested. The construction of elaborate pan-European systems of justice and taxation in addition to the employment of crusading against intramural political opponents created the impression that crass ulterior motives lay behind papal conduct. In other words, in some eyes, the papal monarchy was a fraud. It is no accident that Dante Alighieri (ca. 1265–1321) placed the quintessential papal monarch, Boniface VIII (1295–1303), in the Eighth Circle of Hell, the

realm of Frauds (Dante). More than two centuries after the composition of the *Divine Comedy*, the early Protestant woodcuts visually leveled this very same charge at the papacy. From Gerhoh of Reichersberg in the twelfth century to Petrarch (1304–1374) in the fourteenth century to Martin Luther in the sixteenth century, the charge remains eerily the same: the Roman Church is not the Bride of Christ, but rather the Whore of Babylon. She is not who she pretends to be.

Ironically, the choice that the popes and their collaborators made to go down the road of monarchy and bureaucracy was in a remote sense forced upon them by the very pan-European constituency that subsequently grew disenchanted with the consequences of that decision. Given the cultural and material realities of the medieval period, the institutional independence of the Roman Church required the creation of governmental structures, most especially financial structures, to defend it against sundry predatory powers. While the modern Western mindset, which benefits from the wide adherence to the rule of law both within individual nation-states and between them, believes that temporal concerns poison a religious institution's spiritual mission and that public authorities should have no spiritual concerns, the medieval situation did not allow for such a separation of the spiritual from the temporal. In order to meet the popular demands for leadership and justice, the medieval papacy had to develop the apparatuses of a medieval government. Otherwise, the early medieval pattern of domination by one hostile power after another could have never been broken. In the end, the effort to break that cycle failed. The fifteenth-century papacy was, in many ways, more akin to that of the tenth century than that of the age of Innocent III. It is equally ironic that the seemingly sterile and completely self-interested juridical activities of the later medieval lawyer popes contributed mightily to the foundations of the same modern ideology of the rule of law that ultimately enabled the Holy See to disentangle itself from the temporal concerns that had aroused the hostility of its medieval critics. The determined opposition of the anti-clerical Italian republicans of the nineteenth century, admittedly, had a hand in this disentanglement as well!

K Shifts in the Pan-European Culture of the Late Middle Ages (1300–1500)

I The Nationalist Spirit of the Late Middle Ages

The formation of comparatively strong, centralized national monarchies in France and England stands out as the key development in late medieval political life. The

achievement of the Capetian dynasty in France is especially impressive. In the tenth century, the Capetian kings directly governed a mere postage stamp of a kingdom that consisted of not much more than the Ile de France. Like the popes, the Capetian monarchs adeptly rode the various cultural waves that swept over Europe in the period 1000–1200. The agricultural, commercial, and intellectual expansions of the period all (literally) profited their kingdom. Through the shrewd use of military force and advantageous marriage alliances, the Capetians had expanded the geographical extent of their kingdom to encompass most of modern day France by 1300. By this date, Capetian France had achieved a *quasi* hegemonic status on the continent, far more formidable than the ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous empire.

A centrifugal nationalist spirit pervaded the intellectual life of the continent as well. Throughout the Late Middle Ages, the vernacular steadily replaced Latin as the language of literary expression. One can see this phenomenon on display in any well edited undergraduate anthology of medieval primary sources. As one advances through such a volume, the number of pieces originally composed in a vernacular language surely would rise considerably. After 1300, aside from perhaps a sample of the literary endeavors of Trecento humanists, vernacular compositions would almost certainly account for the preponderance of the entries. This nationalist spirit, in addition, affected the great bastion of pan-European cultural universalism, the university. While universities had always possessed distinctly local characteristics and student bodies, the jealously guarded designation *studium generale* or general school, the first term used to designate a university, which either a pope or (much less often) an emperor had bestowed on an institution, embodied the essentially trans-national character of higher education. The *studium generale* was an institution of advanced learning either founded or confirmed in its status by a universal authority, usually the papacy, whose members possessed certain universal rights, which transcended all local divisions or boundaries (Verger 1992, 37). With the eruption of the Great Schism in 1378, however, when a dispute between an Italian and a French claimant to the papal throne arose, the universities began their devolution to nationalist institutions of higher learning in earnest (Nardi 1992, 101).

II The Vindication of the Rational and of the Temporal

One exceedingly important development in medieval intellectual life that contradicted papal universalism and, more directly, the scholastic credo of *fides quarens intellectum* or “faith seeking understanding,” concerns the rise in the thirteenth century of Latin Averroism and its doctrine of the double truth. Rooted in the

interpretation of Aristotelian philosophy of the twelfth-century Arabic scholar Ibn Rushid whose name was Latinized into Averroes, the Latin Averroists seemingly taught that faith and reason exist entirely independent of one another. No common ground exists between these two different ways of perceiving reality. The rule of faith may require one to accept as true a proposition that rational thought rejects as manifestly false: hence the doctrine of the double truth. Despite the condemnations of ecclesiastical authorities, the most fulsome issued in 1277 by the former Parisian master and bishop of Paris, Stephen Tempier (died 1279), Latin Averroism won many adherents in university circles. As indicated by the presence of the leading Latin Averroist, Siger of Brabant (ca. 1240–1280s) in the Fourth Sphere of Paradise in Dante's *Paradiso*, the doctrine of the double truth also won a sympathetic audience outside of the academic world. Averroism also fed the flames of conflict between temporal authorities and the papal monarchy. The French and English crowns as well as the emperors had grown tired of the machinations of Innocent III's thirteenth century successors and their apparently insatiable thirst for revenues. An ideology that asserted the independence of the natural from the supernatural and of reason from faith provided the opponents of papal temporal power with a powerful intellectual basis for their own anti-papal polemic. Both Dante's *De monarchia* (1312–1313?) or "Concerning Monarchy" and Marsilius of Padua's *Defensor pacis* (1324) or "Defender of the Peace," which each bitterly assail papal temporal power and extol the independent authority of lay rulers, are unimaginable without the influence of Latin Averroism. Their existence demonstrates, furthermore, that the vindications of the temporal sphere and of the vocation of the non-clerical classes began long before the age of Luther.

Two other intellectual phenomena of the Late Middle Ages that prepared the way for the great revolt against papal universalism in the sixteenth century were Nominalism and Voluntarism. The Nominalism of the fourteenth century had its origins in the work of twelfth century scholars like Peter Abelard. The Nominalism of a William of Ockham O.F.M. (ca. 1287–1347), however, was far more potent than that of his forbearers. Later Nominalism held that given the fact that the human mind cannot know any universal realities (e.g., human nature), but, only individual realities (e.g., individual human beings), all human knowledge is contingent and quite limited in scope. It held, moreover, that whatever one knows by faith, one only knows it by faith or *sola fide*. Nominalist epistemology, therefore, undercut the basis of the scholastic enterprise of *fides quarens intellectum*. Theology and rational inquiry cannot inform one another's perspectives. Ockham, in addition, stressed even the contingency of the articles of faith. By stressing God's absolute sovereignty, this Franciscan assailed any assertion that the structure of the Christian Church or the nature of its sacraments had to be in the forms that the men and women of the fourteenth century knew them (Ozment 1980).

God could have saved humanity and offered his grace to human beings in an infinite variety of manners. Thus, the existence of the papacy itself was in some sense contingent. God did not have to act in history through a Galilean fisherman and his successors. In a somewhat similar fashion, another Franciscan, John Duns Scotus (ca. 1266–1308), had emphasized the absolute sovereignty of God prior to Ockham. The theological school of Voluntarism, with which Scotus has been associated, also emphasized human free will. Perhaps, not surprisingly, Ockham took a far more radical political line than his confrere. When one of the more controversial of the Avignon popes, John XXII (1316–1334), rejected the Spiritual Franciscan interpretation of the *Rule of St. Francis* that the friars could not even own property in common, Ockham denounced the papal decision. From the safety of the imperial court of Louis IV of Bavaria (1314–1347), Ockham, who had been excommunicated by the pope, composed several tracts asserting the superiority of imperial authority over that of the popes. He was yet another leading intellectual light of the late medieval period, who rejected papal monarchy.

L The Medieval Papacy in Twilight: Avignon and Beyond

I The Road to Avignon: Philip IV (r. 1285–1314) and Boniface VIII

Philip IV of France's victory over Pope Boniface VIII in their prolonged dispute (1296–1303), which had gravitated around the issue of papal authority in the national kingdoms, constituted the proximate cause of the papacy's flight to Avignon. Two specific issues had turned king and pope against one another. First, a money-strapped Philip had attempted to tax the French clergy without papal consent. The king of France simply did not see why he needed the permission of the bishop of Rome to tax his own subjects. Boniface, however, strongly objected to Philip's maneuver in his bull *Clericis Laicos* (1296). The former cardinal-priest and renowned canon lawyer Benedict Gaetani was a thoroughly hierocratic churchman, who evinced very little diplomatic skill as pope. In a sense, like Bismarck (1815–1898) after him, Innocent III had set up a system that only someone as talented as himself could manage successfully. Boniface was living with his own financial pressures too. His Gaetani clan was not terribly wealthy and his relatives expected the elderly pontiff (Boniface was probably in his late seventies at his election) to funnel as much papal business their way as fast as possible (Partner 1972, 287). In the end, Philip's threat to cut off the flow of French bullion

to Rome forced the pope to drop his objection to royal taxation of the French clergy. Shortly, thereafter, the king renewed the dispute when he attempted to remove a French bishop from office, who was a papal protégé. To a great extent, the confrontation between king and pope was a lopsided contest. Philip understood the importance of framing disputes in a language and manner comprehensible to public opinion far better than his adversary. Whereas Boniface issued pompous declarations in Latin, *Clericis Laicos* and *Unam Sanctam* (1302), the response to Philip's second provocation, the French monarch issued vernacular pamphlets filled with titillating and completely false accusations against the pontiff as well as forged papal documents worded in ways designed to offend his subjects' patriotic sensibilities. The French crown also possessed far greater material resources than the papacy. Philip, most importantly, had ready access to an armed host. He also had valuable allies in Rome in the powerful Colonna clan, whom Boniface had alienated in pursuit of his own family's interests (Partner 1972). It was a classic case of one local Roman faction making common cause with a foreign power to topple a rival faction's pope. The eighty-five year old Boniface died of complications from shock shortly after a detachment of French troops, led by Philip's counselor Guillaume de Nogaret (1260–1313), had raided the papal palace at Anagni and captured an unsuspecting pope in his night garments. Though the cardinals were able to elect a successor to Boniface, Benedict XI (1303–1304), the violence between the Gaetani and their enemies was so bad in and around the Eternal City that his successor, the Frenchman Clement V (1304–1314), moved his court to southern France and to the military protection of Philip IV.

II The Avignon Papacy (1305–1378)

The migration of the papacy from Rome to southern France exacerbated the rift between the successors of St. Peter and their pan-European flock. Except for perhaps outside of France itself, the series of French popes living in the shadow of the French crown with a court dominated by French cardinals created the impression in many minds that the French monarchy had reduced the Holy See to an appendage to itself. Many scholars long have recognized that the Avignon popes themselves were not a bad lot (Renouard 1970). Urban V (1362–1370), for instance, was eventually beatified in 1870. The Avignon popes, nevertheless, enhanced the financial mechanisms of papal government without effectively fighting the corruption of their court personnel, which reached new heights of infamy during the Avignon period.

Disaffection with the papacy among English elites can be traced at least as far back as the time of Stephen Langton, who could not abide by Innocent III's

defense of King John against the English barons. The English may have once considered Gregory the Great their apostle, but as the thirteenth century unfolded, the English elites, at least, grew more and more suspicious of the motives of the papal monarchs. The religious *Romanitas* of an earlier time dissipated dramatically among the leading figures of the English kingdom. Recall from above that the great bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste arrived at the conclusion that the papal monarchy had turned into the enemy of the English nation. When the Frenchman Clement V withdrew from Italy to Avignon (which technically was imperial territory) in close proximity to the territory of their national rival the French king, one imagines that many English laid aside any vestige of a serious attachment to the papal throne. In this regard, it is well worth noting that the author of the magnificent late fourteenth century English narrative poem, *Piers Plowman*, who almost certainly was William Langland (ca. 1332–ca. 1386), held on to the principle of Catholic unity in his text, but no longer looked to the papacy as the focal point of that unity (Dawson 1965, 34).

Voices were naturally raised in protest in Italy as well against the transfer of the papacy to Avignon. Three Italian authors, in particular, took up their pens in protest of what Clement V and his successor John XXII had thought would be a brief relocation of the Roman curia along the Rhone. In different ways and for different reasons, Dante, Petrarch, and Catherine of Siena (1347–1380), registered their disapproval of the flight of the popes from Rome in the cultural record (Coogan 1983). But, on one important matter all three authors more or less agreed, the papal flight to Avignon had contributed mightily to the violence and political chaos that had engulfed their beloved *patria* in the Trecento. The Avignon popes, to be sure, spent a tremendous amount of energy and money waging war in Italy in a desperate attempt to recapture the Papal State and its revenues. Although he personally profited from the rampant pluralism (i.e., the holding of more than one salaried clerical post by an individual) tolerated by the Avignon popes, Petrarch's scathing critique of the "Babylonian Captivity" of the papacy along the Rhone contained in his *Liber sine nomine* or "The Book without a Name" most especially reverberated down through the centuries as the early Protestants saw its contents as a foreshadow of the rationale for their own movement (Coogan 1983, 12).

III The Great Schism (1378–1417)

In a darkly comedic manner, Gregory XI's (1370–1378) return of the papacy to Rome (partly at the behest of Catherine of Siena) in 1378 led to an even worse disaster than the interlude in Avignon. Upon his death shortly after his arrival in Rome, nationalist divisions within the college of cardinals reared their ugly head

and resulted in a contested papal election and The Great Schism. At one point in this dispute, three men claimed to be the legitimate bishop of Rome. This debacle struck a terrible blow against the idea of a spiritually and culturally united Christendom. The contest divided the continent's political powers into hostile camps almost in Cold War era fashion. Of course, by this point, England and France had been waging the Hundred Years' War (1337–1453) against one another intermittently for nearly fifty years. Conciliarism, which aimed to heal the rift of The Great Schism through the convocation of a general church council, embodied the very traditional medieval approach of resolving political crises through the summoning of a parliament. It was the application of a parliamentary approach to the problems of the papacy that represented the real innovation (Dawson 1965, 27). The idea of holding a purportedly rogue pope accountable to an ecumenical council, admittedly, was not a novel idea in itself. Frederick II much earlier had suggested that Gregory IX be brought before a general council. Philip IV suggested the same treatment for Boniface VIII and William of Ockham likewise wanted John XXII arraigned before a general council. But, those proposals had been made by papal antagonists and were not seriously considered by third parties. In contrast, many of the leading intellectuals of Europe, such as Jean Gerson (1363–1429), Pierre d'Ailly (1351–1420), and Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464), subscribed to some form of Conciliarism and hoped that an ecumenical council could end The Great Schism and create a permanent parliamentary structure for the Latin church within which a pope could be held accountable to the church as a whole for his actions. It is not surprising that these university men would have favored a federal constitution for the church that bestowed ultimate authority on the assembly of the faculty!

With the assistance of the emperor, a general council was convoked ultimately in Constance in 1414. True to the tenor of the contemporary culture, the voting at the Council of Constance (1414–1418) was conducted on the basis of national blocks and not on an individual basis. Among other actions, the council convinced one of the three contending popes to resign for the good of the church, deposed the other two claimants, and eventually, elected the Roman cardinal-deacon, Odo Colonna, as Pope Martin V (1417–1431) and thereby ended The Great Schism. Once safely established in Rome, Martin dismissed most of Constance's legislation: especially, the canon from an early session that asserted the authority of a general council over that of a pope. He was, after all, a Colonna.

The cumulative effect of the many disastrous episodes in the history of the late medieval papacy can be seen in the fact that many of those individuals most animated by a spirit of religious reform in this era deserted the papacy. The Englishman John Wycliffe (ca. 1328–1384) and the Czech Jan Hus (ca. 1369–1415), whose own religious views were greatly influenced by Wycliffe's writings and was

burned at the stake by judgment of the Council of Constance, exemplify the type of late medieval reformer, who spurned the Roman Church. Both clerics drew on the themes of the twelfth-century religious protesters and added a nationalist tinge to their messages. Each came to see the Roman Church as a corrupt foreign power that took advantage of the innocent souls of their respective lands. Some scholars, hence, have portrayed the pair as precursors of the Protestant Reformation (Ozment 1980). While the Renaissance popes of the fifteenth century supported the humanist movement and made Rome an important center for humanist learning, they took little positive action to reconcile the spiritually disaffected with the Roman Church, and thereby left the door open to far more radical solutions to the continent's religious crisis than Conciliarism.

M Conclusion

Even though its historical origins stretch back into the first century C.E., the popular imagination probably most closely associates the papacy with the Middle Ages. This is understandable. For, during the medieval period, the papacy experienced its greatest institutional development and the height of its cultural influence in Europe. The papacy indirectly influenced nearly every realm of cultural endeavor in medieval Europe. No single entity, indeed, contributed more to the formation of a pan-European cultural identity in the pre-modern period than the Roman Church. This papal contribution, most importantly, was not the product of deliberate design. The papacy never functioned as a center of cultural planning for the continent as a whole. The imparting of its universal perspective on the various independent cultural movements and charismatic figures with which it came into contact constituted the principle element in the Holy See's contribution to the formation of a pan-European cultural perspective. The papacy came to serve as an axis for centripetal cultural and spiritual movements. Its privileged position in medieval European society, furthermore, was not primarily the product of its own effort. One independent movement in particular launched the papacy into a position of continental leadership: namely, the ecclesiastical reform movement of the tenth and eleventh centuries. To be sure, without the intervention of the Salian emperor, Henry III, in the internal affairs of the Roman Church in 1046, this movement by itself would not have altered the papacy's standing in medieval society. As the twelfth century unfolded, the medieval papal monarchy gradually took form very much in imitation of the other rising principalities of the age: for it is equally true that other cultural agents worked their effect on the papacy as well. At the height of the papal monarchy in the first third of the thirteenth century, the successor of the fisherman Peter, then more commonly

hailed as the Vicar of Christ, seemed to sit above the European continent as its father and spiritual ruler. The legal and fiscal apparatuses of papal government extended their reach across the entire continent and beyond. The pope even governed his own terrestrial kingdom. In council, he and his collaborators in Rome and in the episcopacy issued opinions on almost every major matter and weighed in on almost every cultural debate.

Nonetheless, the appearance of almost unlimited papal power is deceptive. In numerous ways, as discussed above, the medieval papacy was a fragile entity and a host of potential predators inside and outside of the Eternal City continually threatened its institutional integrity. In material terms, the Papal State itself was a minor principality. The real source of papal power lay not in any coercive spiritual or legal powers, but in its charismatic appeal to spiritual universalism. In a world filled with petty and frequently violent local and regional squabbles, the chair of Peter represented a source of order and community that seemingly transcended the *libido dominandi* or “the desire for power” which characterized the regimes of so many lay territorial princes. Fundamentally, then, medieval Europe voluntarily placed itself under papal over-lordship. As events bore out so often, the papal monarchs possessed few if any independent means of bending medieval society to its will. The popes and many other churchmen, for instance, repeatedly condemned the knightly tournament (Carlson 1988, 141–71). Between the years 1130–1215, five papal councils, including Lateran Councils III and IV, condemned the tournaments (Carlson 1988, 148–49). Not only did the tournaments continue despite papal disapprobation, they grew in popularity and became a signature institution of medieval culture. A similar point could be made about the ineffectiveness of papal judgments against usury (Noonan 1957) and the ethos of courtly love. The real fissure in the relationship between the papacy and medieval society, however, emerged slowly over the span of the thirteenth and mid-fourteenth centuries and involved a growing skepticism about the disinterested nature of papal authority. The growth of the papal bureaucracy and the overtly political behavior of the papal monarchy in this time frame contributed greatly to this impression. Hypocrisy is the most serious charge that can be leveled against any regime, spiritual or temporal, and this is precisely the charge directed at the papacy by so many critics from the Late Middle Ages to the outbreak of the Protestant Reformation. Nevertheless, despite the number of harbingers of the Protestant revolt that scholars can detect in late medieval religious history, the Reformation storm brewed for a very long time and its eruption was not necessarily inevitable. The popular expectation of the aforementioned “angelic pope” serves as one poignant reminder that European society gave up on the papacy as the center of its spiritual unity very slowly and reluctantly. Carried along by the centrifugal cultural tides of a nascent nationalism, theological subjectivism, and

philosophical skepticism, the national monarchy eclipsed the papal monarchy in political and cultural significance; and, as the influence of the traditional chief standard bearer of pan-European culture waned so did the ideal of cultural unity wane in Europe (Dawson 1965).

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Cristian Bratu

Patrons, Arts, and Audiences

A patron is a powerful and resourceful person who commissions, supports, and occasionally purchases the work of an artist. In general, patrons are either individuals (kings, princes, aristocrats) or corporate entities (churches, abbeys, political and social groups, cities, and universities).

Patronage was an essential institution for arts and sciences in the Middle Ages. As Diane Tyson points out, “[s]ince in the Middle Ages there was no book-buying public in the way which we know it today, medieval literary production depended on patronage for its very existence” (Tyson 1979, 216–17). In fact, Tyson’s remark applies to all arts in the Middle Ages, since very few artists could have afforded to paint, sculpt or create music without the moral and financial support of various donors.

As I have suggested elsewhere (Bratu 2010a), the medieval patronage system became extremely successful due in large part to the mutual benefits for all those involved. Artists looked to a patron for material support, encouragement, publicity, and fame by association with a public figure. Moreover, by gravitating around a patron, artists were able to meet other powerful persons and thus become connected to a whole network of potentates (who could potentially become future patrons). Patrons, on the other hand, were eager to be seen as generous benefactors and expected works of art produced under their aegis to immortalize their glory and importance (Tyson 1979, 104). These factors explain why patronage, which emerged in the ancient world, became so popular in the Middle Ages and continued to be practiced thereafter until today.

A The History of Patronage: From Antiquity to the Middle Ages

The origins of patronage are to be found in antiquity (Holzknecht 1966, 6–20). Although far less frequent and less developed than in Rome, the institution of patronage did exist in ancient Greece (Gold 1982; Millett 1989). In Greek literature, there is an abundance of references to various types of people who earn their living by attempting to please more powerful folk. The terms used to describe these clients are often pejorative: *parasitos* (parasites) and *kolax* (flatterers). In the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle explains that “[o]f those who try to give plea-

sure, he who does this with no ulterior motive aims at being pleasant and is anxious to please (*areskos*); but he who does so in order that some advantage may fall to him in respect of money (or anything else that money procures), is a *kolax*" (1127a 7). Criticism of patronage degenerating into mere flattery in exchange for money can be found in Latin and medieval literature as well. However, such criticism should not blind us to the importance of patronage in ancient Greece (Roberts 1983, 148–208; Gold 1987, 15–38). For instance, Webster's analysis (Webster 1972) of pottery production shows just how important large commissions by resourceful patrons really were in the ancient world, and also how much clients appreciated such commissions.

The word "patronage" comes from the Latin *patrocinium*, which designated the relationship between a *patronus* and his *cliens*. According to Saller (1982), several elements define the *patrocinium*: a) an exchange of goods/services that is mutual; b) the relationship was personal and of some duration; c) the relationship was asymmetrical, as the two parties offered each other different types of services. The *patronus* was the sponsor, supporter, protector, benefactor, and sometimes counselor of his client. The word *patronus* is related to the word father (*pater*), which suggests that the patron was supposed to act as a father figure for his protégé. The *patronus* could have several *clientes*, which formed his *clientela* (Badian 1958). In theory, a *cliens* could have several *patroni* as well. The nature of the *patrocinium* could be political (Rouland 1979; Eisenstadt and Lemarchand, ed., 1981; Eisenstadt and Roniger 1984), social, legal, financial or artistic (White 1978; Gold 1982), and very often patrons provided several types of *patrocinium* to their clients. Thus, a *patronus* could both fund an artist's projects and protect him politically, socially or, if need be, in court. In some cases, patronage and corruption went hand in hand, as patrons could promote their favorites in positions of power (Veyne 1981). Obviously, the patron was usually from a higher social class (a patrician) than his client or, in case of social equality, the *patronus* was clearly more influential than the *cliens*. Some critics, such as Millett (1989, 16), believe that patronage was one of the methods by which the rich sought "to control the poor, and the poor to protect themselves in a potentially hostile environment" (Gellner and Waterbury, ed., 1977; Davis 1977, 132–50). However, although the *patronus* was clearly more influential than the *cliens*, the very existence of the *patrocinium* proves that clients had something valuable to offer. In the case of artists, patrons valued the reputation that they could earn from being the protectors of important writers who could immortalize their fame. The issue of services provided by the *clientes* for their benefactors is extremely important, and we will have the opportunity to examine it in depth in this essay.

In some cases, the *clientes* could be institutions, corporations, or whole communities, while *patroni* could be individuals or entire families. Thus, it was

customary for various guilds, clubs, *collegia*, or *sodalitates* to have (and officially recognize someone as) a *patronus* or *pater patratus*. Exceptionally, individuals or families could become *patroni* for larger communities, such as Pompeius Strabo (ca. 130–87 B.C.E.) for the inhabitants of Cisalpine Gaul or the Marcelli family for the inhabitants of Sicily. Thus, patronage was a multifaceted institution in the ancient world and Wallace-Hadrill is right to point out that “patronage was not a sharply defined relationship with a predictable set of services exchanged between men of a given social distance. Rather, we are dealing with a varied, ill-defined and unpredictable set of exchanges” (Wallace-Hadrill 1989, 9–10). The defining elements of the *patrocinium* listed by Saller (1982) do indeed give a broad idea of what ancient patronage was but they do not exhaust the phenomenon’s tremendous complexity.

The more appropriate term for the relationship between a patron and an artist specifically would be *maecenate* or *mecenate*. The word comes from the name of the resourceful Roman politician Gaius Cilnius Maecenas (70–8 B.C.E.), the patron of the new “Augustan” poets. It is in Maecenas’s honor that Virgil wrote the *Georgics*, and it is again Virgil who introduced Horace to the Roman potentate. In fact, Maecenas later provided a stately house for Horace in the Sabine mountains. In return, Horace mentioned Maecenas as his patron in the very first poem of the *Odes*. Maecenas also extended his generosity to writers such as Propertius, Plotius Tucca, Domitius Marsus, Varius Rufus, and others. Conversely, writers such as Juvenal and Martial (*Epigrams* XII, 3) regretted not having a Maecenas to support their literary endeavors. It should also be mentioned that unlike most medieval patrons, Maecenas composed literary works of his own (*Prometheus*, *Symposium*, a poem titled *In Octaviam*, and *De cultu suo*). Maecenas’s name is also celebrated in a line in *Gaudeamus igitur*, as well as in the *Elegiae in Maecenatem*, as part of the *Appendix Virgiliana* (a collection of poems believed to have been composed by the young Virgil). Finally, the words *maecenas* and *mecenate* can be found in many European languages as a synonym for artistic patronage (*mece-naat* in Dutch, *mécénat* in French, *Mäzen* in German, *mecenate* in Italian, *mecenat* in Romanian, *mecenas* in Spanish, etc.).

Unfortunately, the institution of *mecenate* declined after Augustus’s death, in particular during the reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius (Salles 1992/2010, 133–34). However, Nero’s reign brought about a revival of artistic patronage. The *Laus Pisonis*, for instance, is a panegyric in Latin verse which extols the merits of a certain Piso, presented as a generous man who opened his house to talented (and poor) people. However, we are not entirely sure who exactly this Piso was. Was it the same Piso who had participated in the so-called Pisonian conspiracy from 65 C.E. and whose generosity Tacitus praised? But then the *Laus Pisonis* mentions that “Piso” was a consul, which Gaius Calpurnius Piso was not. Most

probably, the *Laus* was dedicated to Lucius Calpurnius Piso, Nero's colleague during the consulate in 57 C.E. This poem has been attributed to many poets, most notably to Lucan and Titus Calpurnius Siculus. The latter had also praised in his bucolic poems a certain "Meliboeus" (a nickname of Virgilian origin), who apparently came to the poet's aid when Calpurnius Siculus was about to emigrate to Spain. Thanks to the mentioned "Meliboeus," Calpurnius secured a position that allowed him to continue his life in Rome. Several people have been suggested regarding the real "Meliboeus": M. Valerius Messala Corvinus, Columella, Calpurnius Piso, and Seneca. According to Catherine Salles (1992/2010, 134), Seneca is the most probable candidate for this position. As a matter of fact, Seneca (4 B.C.E.–65 C.E.) was also the patron of the historian Fabius Rusticus and of Martial, who was, like Seneca himself, from Hispania. Over the years, Martial (40–102 C.E.) had numerous patrons, some (Flaccus, Caecilianus, and Gallus) more commendable than others (Arruntius Stella and Terentius Priscus) (Salles 1992/2010, 136).

A few centuries later, the Roman Empire gradually dissolved and its former provinces slowly morphed into new kingdoms, duchies, and principalities. Like the ancient world from which it emerged, patronage changed as well during the Middle Ages.

B Medieval Patronage

One of the defining features of ancient patronage was its fundamentally secular nature. The emergence of Christianity as a religious and cultural force brought about major changes in the artistic and literary landscape of Europe. Not only did the arts become more Christianized, but the Church became more and more involved in the artistic production of the continent. Thus, the first centuries of the Christian era witnessed the rise of a new type of patronage that was virtually inexistent in the classical world: ecclesiastical patronage. Although the Church played a major role as patron of the arts, one should not underestimate the importance of secular patronage. Moreover, as we suggested elsewhere (Bratu 2010a), the borders between ecclesiastical and secular patronage were not always clear-cut. Very often, medieval scribes and monks, illuminators, sculptors, musicians, and other artists often worked for both religious and secular patrons. In addition, secular politics and religious matters were often intertwined during the Middle Ages (for a case study, see Costambeys 2007).

I Ecclesiastical Patronage

The reversal of the situation of early Christian communities, from the persecutions in Judea and Rome, most notably under Nero, Domitian, Trajan, Diocletian, up to the Edict of Milan in 313, followed by the rise of Christianity to a privileged status under Constantine I and its eventual status as state religion in 380, was nothing short of spectacular. This turnaround was paralleled by an about-face in the relationship between Church and art. Naturally, the early Church had very little time and resources for art, let alone patronage. For example, the frescoes that can be found in the Roman catacombs (sixty burial chambers in total) built along various *viae* (Via Appia, Via Tiburtina, Via Nomentana) were probably painted in great haste by early Christians. Some of these frescoes, such as the ones depicting the good shepherd and the agape feast in the catacomb of Priscilla or the picture representing Adam and Eve in the catacombs of saints Marcellinus and Peter, are indeed remarkable but very little is known about the commissioners of these works (Jensen 2000). Early churches were actually dependent on individual benefactors, as is obvious from the large mosaic in the church from Tel Megiddo (today in Israel, mentioned in the Book of Revelation as Armageddon), which states that the “God-loving Akeptous has offered the table to God Jesus Christ” (Tepper and Di Segni, 2006). Another inscription mentions a certain Gaianus, a Roman officer who had a mosaic made with “his own money.” Such inscriptions are proof that the early Church did not have the means to be a patron in its own right.

In contrast, centuries later, the Church will grow into one of the most important and resourceful patrons of the arts. Especially after 380, mass was no longer to be celebrated in the secrecy of catacombs or of individual houses and, as a result, the number of churches increased dramatically in the Roman Empire. Basilicas, which were traditionally Roman buildings reserved to matters of justice and administration, were soon transformed into religious buildings. The new basilicas, which had a central nave with one or several aisles on each side and a rounded apse at the end, could be decorated with mosaics, paintings, sculptures, and so on. Such was the beginning of a long history of architectural, sculptural, and pictorial patronage for the Church—and the papacy.

In the fifth century, Pope Sixtus III (432–440) commissioned several major projects across Rome, including the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, known for its remarkable mosaics (see Cecchelli 1956). The basilica was built to commemorate the proclamation of Mary as Mother of God by the Council of Ephesus in 431. An inscription attests to the involvement of the Pope—named “Sixtus episcopus plebi Dei” (“Sixtus, bishop of God’s people”) on the triumphal arch—in the construction of the basilica. A century later, the bishops of Ravenna drew an

ambitious plan to provide the city with several basilicas. One such church is the Basilica of San Vitale, which was built in Byzantine style with an octagonal shape by bishop Ecclesius in 527 (Simson 1987). At that time, Ravenna was under Ostrogoth rule. The church was completely renovated almost two decades later during the Byzantine exarchate by archbishop Maximianus (499–556, consecrated archbishop in 546), who is represented next to the emperor Justinian I on a mosaic from 548. The bald and bearded Maximianus is dressed in white and gold and, interestingly enough, his name appears on the mosaic while the emperor's name does not. Although the impetus for the construction of the basilica came from ecclesiastical authorities, it should be noted that the actual construction of the church was partly financed through donations made by private individuals such as Julius Argentarius, a Greek banker who also gave money to the Basilica Sant'Apollinare in Classe. The latter basilica, built under the aegis of bishop Ursicinus (served as bishop between 533 and 536) and dedicated to the first (alleged) bishop of Ravenna, Saint Apollinaris, is contemporary with the Basilica of San Vitale.

At the end of the sixth century, Pope Pelagius II (served between 579 and 590) was the main promoter of the construction of the Basilica of Saint Lawrence (also known as Basilica di San Lorenzo fuori le Mura) as a shrine for the remains of Saint Lawrence (a third-century deacon of Rome and martyr). Seven centuries later, it was another Pope, Honorius III (1216–1227), who ordered for a new church to be built in front of the old basilica. Pope Pelagius II's *apocrisarius* (the Pope's envoy to the Byzantine imperial court), Gregory—the future Gregory the Great (Pope from 590 to 604), is traditionally credited for having created what is now known as the Gregorian chant. However, whether or not Gregory the Great is the originator of this type of plainchant is still a matter of debate (Apel 1990).

Of course, not all popes initiated construction projects. Some, such as Boniface IV (608–615), were concerned with transforming Rome's extant pagan buildings into Christian places of worship. Boniface IV transformed the Roman Pantheon as well as Agrippa's temple dedicated to Jupiter, Venus, and Mars into churches. The latter church was also designated to house the bones of martyrs from the catacombs. Other popes, such as Benedict II (late seventh century), restored an important number of existing churches. Pope John VI (701–705) commissioned several restorations in the basilicas of Saint Andrew the Apostle, Saint Paul (Basilica Papale di San Paolo fuori le Mura), and Saint Mark. John VII (705–707) ordered for an oratory dedicated to the Virgin to be built in the old Basilica of Saint Peter. He is also known for restoring the monastery of Subiaco (Latium) and commissioning the large icon of Madonna della Clemenza, which is now located in the Basilica of Our Lady in Trastevere. Some popes restored civilian monuments, not just places of worship. Such is the case with Gregory II

(715–731), under whose patronage began the restoration of the Aurelian Walls of Rome. In terms of religious buildings, Gregory II helped restore the abbey of Monte Cassino. Pope Adrian I (772–795) restored several ancient aqueducts and rebuilt the basilicas of Saint Mary in Cosmedin and of Saint Mark. Under the aegis of Gregory IV (827–844), St. Mark’s was rebuilt and its walls were decorated with Byzantine-like mosaics, the atrium of St. Peter’s basilica was rebuilt, and the altar in Saint Mary of Trastevere was modified (Mann 1906, 218). As far as civilian buildings, he repaired an aqueduct built by Trajan and fortified sections of Ostia to protect the port against Saracen attacks. Gregory IV is also credited for creating a new settlement on the Tiber that was named Draco (Mann 1906, 216). Popes such as Leo VII (936–939), exerted their function as patrons by granting privileges to monasteries and churches—the Abbey of Cluny, for instance, was the recipient of various privileges through Leo VII’s bulls.

The architectural patronage of the Church remained strong after the year 1000 (on millennial fears and millennium-related issues within and outside the Church, see Duby 1967). Pope Paschal II (1099–1118), for instance, ordered the basilica of Santi Quattro Coronati in Rome to be rebuilt after the original fifth-century basilica had been destroyed by the Normans during the sack of Rome from 1084. Paschal II preserved the apse from the ancient basilica while redesigning other parts of the church. The pope also created a Benedictine monastery next to the newly rebuilt church. Restoration of old churches continued as well. The basilica of Saint Mary in Trastevere was rebuilt by Innocent II (1130–1143), who is actually depicted holding a model of the church on a mosaic in the basilica.

Naturally, popes were not the only ecclesiastical authorities who could commission the construction or reconstruction of churches. Monastic orders, bishops, priests, and devout local communities were also active patrons of new or rebuilt churches. Monastic orders needed convents somewhat secluded from the rest of the world, and that led them to build a considerable number of monasteries in which the arts flourished due to the very monastic lifestyle (Dunn 2000). A monk’s life would have been unimaginable without songs of praise, reading (often in the form of public recitation), writing, and illuminating manuscripts (Verdon and Dally, ed., 1984).

Monasteries had been built in Europe since the early Middle Ages. Such was the case with the abbey of Marmoutier, whose current name comes from the Latin *majus monasterium* (“great convent”) and which was founded in the fourth century by Martin of Tours (316–397). The construction of the abbey began a short while after Martin became bishop of Tours, in 371. Although pillaged by the Normans in the ninth century, the abbey became very rich and influential after the year 1000. As a matter of fact, the abbey even became the main patron of churches in post-conquest England (Martène and Chevalier 1874–1875). The

monastery of Lérins was founded in the fifth century in the south of France, off the coast of what is today Cannes, by Saint Honoratus, who was encouraged in his monastic resolve by Leontius, bishop of Fréjus (Bertrand et al. 2005). Other monasteries were founded in the area of Marseilles by John Cassian (360–435).

Of paramount importance for the Middle Ages was Irish monasticism (Ryan 1972). Columba and his disciples, for instance, founded monasteries in northern Ireland, at Bangor, as well as in north Scotland, at Iona. The monastery of Lindisfarne was founded in the seventh century by another Irishman, now known as Saint Aidan. Aidan came from the monastery of Iona and turned Lindisfarne into an important center for evangelizing missions in north England. It would be impossible to mention Lindisfarne without mentioning that a great many books came out of its scriptoria, including the beautifully illuminated Lindisfarne gospels (Backhouse 1981). It has been surmised that one of the artists involved in the material production of the manuscripts was Eadfrith, one of the later bishops of Lindisfarne (698–721).

One of the most important monks of the early Middle Ages was Benedict of Nursia (ca. 480–ca. 543), founder of Monte Cassino and author of the *Regula Benedicti*, which has served over the centuries as a quasi-textbook for European monasticism. The most important order which followed Saint Benedict's teachings were the Benedictines, who founded or repurposed an important number of abbeys, like the abbeys from Landévennec, Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Brantôme, Cluny, Saint-Maur in France; Prüm, Regensburg, Fulda, Reichenau, and Hirsau in Germany; Admont and Melk in Austria; York, Westminster, and Saint-Albans in England, to name only a few. Important thinkers and theologians belonged to the Benedictine order at some point in their lives. Among them were Bede the Venerable (672/3–735), Paul the Deacon (720–799), Alcuin (735–804), Rabanus Maurus (780–856), Walafriad Strabo (808–849), Hincmar of Rheims (806–882), Lanfranc (ca. 1005–1089), and Anselm of Canterbury (1033–1109). A former Benedictine, the monk Robert of Molesme (1029–1111), went on to create the order of the Cistercians, which in the twelfth century had several abbeys in Pontigny, Morimond, La Ferté, Preuilley, La Cour-Dieu, Bouras, Cadouin, Fontenay, and Clairvaux. Cistercian abbeys were later built in Wales (Tintern, to name the most important one among the thirteen abbeys), England (Rievaulx), and Ireland (Mellifont, Bective, Boltinglass, Kilbeggan, and others). From Western Europe, the Cistercians expanded to Norway, Sweden, Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Bohemia, Poland, and went as far east as Transylvania (the monasteries of Igrış and Cârța/Kerz). Without a doubt, Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) was the most influential Cistercian intellectual. The emergence of the Mendicant Orders (most notably the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Carmelites, the Servites, and the Augustinians) in the thirteenth century naturally led to an increase in the number

of abbeys and convents built to accommodate the monks and nuns who were involved with the orders.

As mentioned earlier, individual bishops could also be the patrons of new constructions. Such is the case, for instance, with Notre Dame de Paris, the construction of which began in 1163 under the aegis of bishop Maurice de Sully (served 1160–1196). Both the bishop and Pope Alexander III (1159–1181) were present at the ceremony for the beginning of construction. Maurice de Sully's patronage was continued by his successor Eudes de Sully and later by the successive bishops of Paris.

It is necessary to emphasize that ecclesiastical patronage extended well beyond architectural patronage, as the Church supported many other types of artistic endeavors. Church music, for instance, was an important component of medieval music (Wilson-Dickson 1996). Antiphonal music, that is to say music alternating with the chanted response of the congregation or the choir, has been used by the Church since antiquity. In the early Church, the monophonic chant, inherited from the Jewish tradition of psalm singing, was a popular form of sacred music. This type of chant, also known as plainsong, spread rapidly to the Christianized areas of the continent (Italy, Gaul, Hispania, and later Ireland) because it was an integral part of liturgy. Over time, chant diversified into Gallican, Celtic, Ambrosian, Beneventan, and other types of chant. In Byzantium, liturgical music developed from preexisting Greek models and flourished as well. Up to this day, music and chant have been an integral part of the Byzantine liturgy, which is rich in hymns or troparions. Early troparions such as the hymns used during Easter Vespers can be traced back to the fifth-sixth centuries. In Western Europe, the Church attempted to standardize liturgical chants since the eleventh century. The resulting monophonic chant, known later as Gregorian chant, was essentially an attempt to reconcile the Roman and Gallican chants. Like monophonic chants, polyphonic chant or *organum*, that is to say music consisting of several melodic voices, emerged in a religious context. Attempts to create polyphonic music are attested since the ninth century at St. Gall in Switzerland. The twelfth century witnessed the emergence of *florid organum*, which consisted of a tune in long notes doubled by an accompanying performer who would sing several notes echoing each note of the original tune. This type of music flourished under the patronage of the abbey of Saint-Martial in Limoges, France, which hosted many talented musicians known collectively as the School of Saint-Martial. Musicians working at the Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris from the mid-twelfth to the mid-thirteenth century formed another famous *organum* school known as the Notre Dame School of Polyphony. The only surviving names from this school are those of the composers Léonin and Pérotin (see Hoppin 1978; Gleason and Becker 1986; Gagnepain 1996; Gross 2008). However, polyphony in

sacred music did not enjoy universal appreciation. Polyphony was widely used in secular music, and this merging of secular and sacred music through polyphony was not to the liking of some Church officials. Certain modes were considered pagan and lascivious and were banned from church music. The Avignon Pope John XXII (1316–1334) even banned polyphony in 1322 through a papal bull. However, the fourth Avignon Pope, Clement VI (1342–1352), allowed polyphony again. The very first polyphonic mass, known as the *Messe de Notre Dame*, was composed in 1364–1365 by Guillaume de Machaut during the tenure of Pope Urban V (1362–1370).

It is also under the auspices of the Church that liturgical drama flourished, as secular (“pagan”) theater, considered dangerous and licentious, had been virtually extirpated. Like church music, liturgical drama emerged out of the mass itself. Dramatic passages such as the *Quem quaeritis?* were at first introduced during Easter or Christmas mass. In the tenth century, the *Quem quaeritis?* consisted of a short dialogue between an angel and the three Maries who had come to look for Jesus in the sepulcher. The angel would ask, “*Quem quaeritis in sepulchro, o Christicolae?*” (“Whom are you seeking in the sepulcher, o followers of Christ?”). The answer was “*Jesum Nazarenum crucifixum, o caelicolae!*” (“Jesus of Nazareth the crucified, o Heavenly Ones!”). To which the angel replied, “*Non est hic; surrexit, sicut praedixerat. Ite, nuntiate quia surrexit de sepulchro*” (“He is not here, for He has risen, just as He foretold. Go and announce that He is risen from the sepulcher,” see Petersen 2000). Later, short plays were developed out of saints’ lives or stories from the Old and the New Testaments, such as Herod’s massacre of innocent people (known as *Massacre des innocents* in France). In the twelfth century, fraternities such as the Confrérie de la Passion performed such liturgical dramas in front of churches and cathedrals. Together with the stories depicted on stained glass or on church mosaics and frescoes, theater plays helped the illiterate public become more familiar with the content of the Bible. The Church organized and sponsored such events, sometimes on its own, and other times with the help of the local community. In England, for instance, plays were sometimes patronized by both the Church and local guilds of craftsmen (Barroll et al., ed., 1999, 328).

The first French drama, written in the twelfth century by an unknown author, was the *Jeu d’Adam*. The play tells the story of mankind, beginning with the fall of man and up to the prophets who foresee Christ’s arrival and redemption of humanity through his own death. Mystery and morality plays became extremely popular during the central and late Middle Ages. Hildegard von Bingen (ca. 1098–1179), for instance, was the author of a morality play, the *Ordo virtutum* (on the patronage and writings of medieval nuns and abbesses, see Caviness 1996; Martin, ed., 2012). However, it has to be noted that in 1210, Pope Innocent III

banned the clergy from performing in public, which led not to a secularization of theater but to the transfer of the duty to perform in plays from clergy to laity. In spite of Innocent III's papal bull, miracles (plays focusing on saints' lives) and mysteries (plays which usually showed the gates of hell and the entrance to Paradise) continued to be written and performed (by laymen) near local churches and cathedrals, and the Church continued to support similar events. In fact, mysteries remained popular all throughout the Middle Ages (Petit de Julleville 1880). In fifteenth-century France, there are numerous examples of mysteries written by famous writers (Rutebeuf, Jean Bodel, Eustache Marcadé, Simon and Arnoul Gréban) and performed over several days by hundreds of actors. Such is the case, for instance, with the *Mystère de la Passion* (1420–1430), usually attributed to Eustache Marcadé, the anonymous *Mystère du siege d'Orléans*, the *Passion* by Arnoul Gréban (written in 1452, it had 400 characters and was performed over 4 days), the *Mystère des Actes des Apôtres* by the Gréban brothers (with nearly 500 characters), Jean Michel's *Passion* and *Résurrection* (late fifteenth century). Pierre Gringoire's *Mystère de Saint Louis*, written around 1514, proves that mysteries were popular even during the Renaissance. Miracles and mysteries have been played all over Europe, from Spain (the *Misteri d'Elx*) to Germany, where the Oberammergau Passion Play has been performed since 1634 (the most recent representation dates back to 2010 and the next one is scheduled for 2020).

Whereas the Church saw theater as a means to instruct the poor, works of literature, philosophy, history, and sciences were not neglected either by ecclesiastical patrons. The most important type of writings in the Middle Ages were, naturally, theological works. It is necessary to point out that the “patronage” of the church of theological works was a special type of patronage since many authors were already part of the Church establishment. However, since many of these works were written in an ecclesiastical context with resources provided by ecclesiastical establishments, one could speak of ecclesiastical patronage in such cases.

It is important to point out that writing, in the form of epistles (the Pauline epistles to Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, and so on), was an integral part of the early development of Christianity. For a while, letters and epistles such as the ones written by the early Church fathers (Clement of Rome, Ignatius of Antioch, Polycarp of Smyrna) in the first and second centuries C.E. were the early Christians' first and foremost means of conveying theological teachings. However, other early Church fathers defended their faith through more consistent treatises. Such was the case with Irenaeus (second-third centuries), bishop of Lyons and author of several books, including a treatise entitled *Adversus Haereses* which strongly condemned Gnosticism. Theological treatises became increasingly common in the first centuries of

the Christian era: Clement of Alexandria's trilogy, Origen's *Hexapla* and *De principiis*, John Chrysostom's *On Priesthood* and *Instructions to Catechumens*, Tertullian's *De baptismo*, *Apologeticus pro Christianis*, *De idolatria*, to name only a few.

It would be impossible to talk about the Church fathers without mentioning Augustine, bishop of Hippo (354–430), whose work has been considered by Henri-Irénée Marrou (1938; 1950; 1955) the last major *oeuvre* of antiquity. At the same time, it is important to point out that writers of the late antiquity such as Augustine and others were more than strictly theologians, thus providing later generations of writers with a model for encyclopedic erudition. Most of Augustine's writings are indeed religious in nature, such as polemical texts against various heresies, writings on Christian doctrine (*De doctrina christiana*), writings of both religious and philosophical import (*De libero arbitrio*), but they also include works such as the *Confessiones* and *De civitate dei* which engage with a variety of subjects. Similarly, Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea (263–339), wrote theological works (*Praeparatio evangelica*, *Demonstratio evangelica*, *Peri theopaneias*), as well as historical texts (*Historia ecclesiastica*, *Vita Constantini*). Isidore, bishop of Seville (560–636, bishop after 600/601), wrote a variety of texts ranging from theology (*De ecclesiasticis officiis*, *De differentis verborum*) to encyclopedias (*Etymologiae*), history (*Chronica maiora*, *Historia de regibus Gothorum, Vandalorum et Suevorum*), astronomy and natural history (*De natura rerum*).

This tradition of erudition has led the Catholic Church to label several scholars “doctors of the Church.” Most of the *doctores ecclesiae* are indeed theologians, but many of them have written on a wide variety of topics. The long list of doctors includes Athanasius of Alexandria (298–373, author of a *Vita Antonii*), Hilary of Poitiers (300–368, known as the “Hammer of the Arians” and author of *De synodis* and *De fide Orientalium*), Gregory of Nazianzus (329–390), Basil of Caesarea (330–379, wrote on the Holy Spirit and asceticism), Ambrosius of Milan (340–397, author of numerous theological treatises, such as *De mysteriis*, *De Spiritu Sancto*), Saint Jerome (370–420, translator of the Bible into Latin, which became known as the *Vulgata*), Leo the Great (400–461), Bede the Venerable (672–735, monk at Monkwearmouth-Jarrow, author of numerous treatises and known mostly for his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*). The doctors of the second millennium include the “Doctor Magnificus,” Anselm of Canterbury (wrote the *Monologion*, the *Proslogion*, *De grammatico*, *De veritate*, *Cur Deus homo*, among others), Bernard de Clairvaux, the “Doctor Mellifluus” (author of *De gradibus superbiae*, *De laude novae militiae*, *De amore Dei*, *De consideratione*, and other writings), Albert the Great (1193–1280), bishop of Regensburg, known as “Doctor Universalis” (wrote on a variety of topics, as suggest the titles of his works: *De unitate intellectus*, *De natura boni*, *De sacramentis*, *De incarnatione*, *De*

homine, and the unfinished *Summa theologiae de mirabilis scientia Dei*). The most notable *doctores* of the last three medieval centuries were Bonaventure (1217–1274), cardinal of Albano and surnamed “Doctor seraphicus” (author of numerous treatises, including *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*, *De reductione artium ad theologiam*, and a life of Saint Francis of Assisi) and the “Doctor Angelicus,” Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), who also wrote an impressive number of highly influential treatises, such as *De ente et essentia*, *Quaestiones disputatae de veritate*, *Summa contra Gentiles*, *De regno*, *De unitate intellectus*, numerous commentaries on Aristotle, as well as his famous *Summa theologica*.

Thus, intellectuals affiliated with the Church often wrote on topics that were not strictly theological in nature (on medieval theology and philosophy, see Gilson 1922, McInerny 1970; McGrade, ed., 2003). In parallel, monastic and cathedral schools often taught subject matters of the *trivium* and the *quadrivium* that were not directly related to theology. Later, many European universities grew out of former cathedral schools. Such was the case with the universities of Paris (it was the papal legate Robert de Courçon who approved its statutes in 1215) or Toulouse (created by a papal charter in 1229).

It is also important to point out that medieval abbeys possessed scriptoria in which scribes composed or copied different types of manuscripts, many of which did not have exclusively religious content (Shailor 1991). Such is the case with the thirteenth-century chronicle of Robert de Clari entitled *The Conquest of Constantinople*, which was most probably produced at the abbey of Corbie in northern France. Benedictine abbeys, such as Monte Cassino, were famous for their scriptoria. After the year 1000, the scriptorium of this abbey became one of the most important book production centers of southern Europe. The Benedictine scriptoria developed partly as a result of the *Rule of Saint Benedict*, which demanded that monks read for two hours daily and that they read an entire book during the Lenten period. This studious atmosphere led to a high demand for books, many of which were produced locally, in the abbey. Cistercian abbeys, too, possessed scriptoria, the most remarkable one being the scriptorium from the mother-abbey in Cîteaux. At times, the scriptoria were no more than a monachal cell in which a single monk would assiduously copy a book, whereas in other cases, the scriptoria could be better endowed. Writing and copying manuscripts also played an important part in the lives of Carthusian monks, whose duties included studying and writing. From the thirteenth century, secular scriptoria increased in number, thus providing competition for monastic scriptoria.

II Secular Patronage

Secular patronage is the other major facet of patronage of the arts in the Middle Ages. Secular patrons were usually political potentates and rich patrons who could afford to finance their favorite artists (see, for example, Vale 2001, and Sleiderink 2003).

Once again, when discussing secular patronage, we should not envisage it as the polar opposite of ecclesiastical patronage. Very often in the Middle Ages, secular patrons helped where Church patrons could not. In other cases, the border between secular and religious patronage was somewhat blurred. For instance, the construction of the old Saint Peter's basilica began in the fourth century under the aegis of Emperor Constantine I. Of course, Constantine had a secular position as fifty-seventh emperor of the Roman Empire but he was also the first emperor to convert to Christianity. As a Christian emperor, Constantine granted privileges to clergy (Gerberding and Cruz 2004, 55–56), attempted to undo the damage done to the early Church by Diocletian's persecution, and built the old Saint Peter's Basilica and the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. As far as the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre, it should be reminded here that Hadrian had built a temple to Aphrodite on the site where Jesus is said to have been crucified. Around 325, Constantine ordered that the temple be demolished and replaced with a Christian basilica. Constantine's mother, Helena, is believed to have commissioned the churches in Bethlehem and on the Mount of Olives. The blurred nature of the line separating the secular from the ecclesiastical in the Middle Ages is also apparent from the uses given to the old Saint Peter's Basilica, which hosted both religious events, such as papal coronations, and political events, such as the coronation of Charlemagne in 800.

Architectural patronage continued to be popular among secular patrons throughout the Middle Ages. The wife of Theodosius II, Aelia Eudocia Augusta (ca. 401–460) commissioned the construction of several churches (Saint Polyeuktos, Saint Stephen, Saint Peter) and hospices in Constantinople (McClanan 1996, 51–52). We mentioned earlier several churches erected in Ravenna under the aegis of the Church. In contrast, the Basilica of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo was built by Theoderic (454–526), King of the Ostrogoths, as his personal chapel. This building, consecrated in 504, was initially an Arian church. Interestingly enough, the basilica was later dedicated by another secular ruler, the Byzantine emperor Justinian I, to Saint Martin of Tours, who had been a strong opponent of Arianism. Royal chapels became a tradition for a great many monarchic dynasties. The sixth-century historian Procopius writes that Theodora (ca. 500–548), the wife of emperor Justinian I, rebuilt the church of Saint Irene and two hospices next to it, as well as the Convent of Repentance for reformed prostitutes (McClanan 1996,

56). In France, Blanche of Castile (1188–1252) founded the Cistercian monastery for nuns in Maubuisson, to which she retired toward the end of her life (Caviness 1996, 136). The Sainte Chapelle in Paris was commissioned by King Louis IX (the future Saint Louis, 1214–1270), the son of Blanche of Castile (Weiss 1998). The building of this remarkable Gothic chapel began in 1239 and it was consecrated in 1248. It was meant to house the Crown of Thorns (or what was believed to be the Crown of Thorns), the Image of Edessa (a piece of cloth on which the image of Jesus's face was allegedly imprinted), as well as other relics. It is also important to point out that before having the Parisian Sainte Chapelle built, Louis IX had already asked Pierre de Montreuil to plan and build a Gothic “holy chapel” at his castle in Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Pierre de Montreuil later used the plan of the Saint-Germain-en-Laye chapel and adapted it to the Parisian setting of the royal palace on the Île de la Cité. Later, the tradition of royal chapels continued. Charles V of France (1338–1380), for instance, commissioned architects Raymond du Temple and Pierre de Montereau to plan and build another Sainte Chapelle in his castle in Vincennes. Construction began in 1379 and continued for over a century—the façade was only completed in 1480 under the rule of Louis XI. Most of the time, such chapels were part of secular building complexes, such as royal palaces and castles.

Naturally, royal, princely or ducal palaces and castles were the primary object of secular patronage in the Middle Ages. In this case, one can speak of patronage out of necessity, since kings, princes, dukes and their court needed a residence anyway. However, the need for aristocratic residences created a market for architectural and artistic talent in which gifted architects could see their skills remunerated. With the emergence of feudalism, there was an increasing need for castles, palaces, and private buildings for the aristocracy. Palaces were usually residences built in an urban setting, whereas castles were generally fortified and built in rural areas, and private buildings (or *hôtels particuliers*) were large town-houses. The Merovingian kings built a palace on the site now occupied by the Conciergerie in Paris, a palace that was one of the residences of the kings of France approximately since the early Middle Ages (possibly as early as the fourth-fifth centuries, Colas and Pitts 1999). The palace was enlarged during the reigns of Louis IX and Philip IV, but it became somewhat neglected after the reign of Charles V who preferred the Palace of the Louvre. The Louvre itself had been initially a tower, and in the twelfth century it was transformed into a fortress that was part of the Parisian defensive system. At that time, the Louvre had an imposing dungeon that was fortified by Philip Augustus and then later extended and transformed into a royal residence by Louis IX (Devèche 1977).

As is well known, French kings possessed an impressive number of castles and palaces such as the castles in Quierzy, Fontainebleau, Chinon, Compiègne,

Blois, Amboise, Plessis-lez-Tours, and others. Medieval castles and palaces can be found all across Europe. The first residence of the kings of Hungary, for instance, was built by King Bela IV on Castle Hill between 1247 and 1265. The castle was later rebuilt in a different location by successive dukes and kings. In the fourteenth century, Stephen, Duke of Slavonia and brother of Louis I, King of Hungary, rebuilt a part of the castle that still exists today as part of the Buda castle.

Local communities and authorities were also the patrons of imposing medieval palaces. The local commune built the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence. The decision to build an imposing palace for the city was made in 1299, and the task to draw a plan for the palazzo was entrusted to the architect Arnolfo di Cambio, who had also built the Florence Cathedral (the Duomo) and the Basilica of Santa Croce a few years earlier. The main tower of the palace is known as the Torre d'Arnolfo, in honor of its architect.

The interior of these palaces often housed various artifacts and performances, which the patrons generously funded as well. Many medieval painters worked for both ecclesiastical and lay patrons. For instance, Giotto painted a fresco cycle in the Basilica of Saint John Lateran but at the beginning of the fourteenth century, he also painted the interior of the Arena Chapel in Padua, which is also known as the Chapel of the Scrovegni because it had been commissioned by Enrico degli Scrovegni, a rich Paduan nobleman whose family had amassed a fortune as bankers. Enrico degli Scrovegni allegedly commissioned the construction and the decoration of this chapel to atone for his sins (Derbes and Sandona 2008). Maso di Banco painted a fresco depicting Gualtierio de' Bardi, a member of a famous Florentine banking family, asking for forgiveness from Jesus Christ. The fresco was painted in the fourteenth century in the Basilica of the Holy Cross in Florence. A contemporary of Giotto and Maso di Banco's, Montano d'Arezzo was a protégé of the King of Naples, Robert of Anjou (1277–1343), who even knighted the painter in 1310. Prior to this, Montano d'Arezzo had painted the chapels of the Castel Nuovo and Castel del Uovo in Naples. Another *trecento* painter, Jacopo di Cione, known primarily for his altar in the San Pier Maggiore in Florence and his work in the cathedral of Florence, also painted a chamber in the judges and notaries' guildhall. Bartolo di Fredi, a *trecento* painter hailing from the Sienese school, helped decorate the Hall of Council of Siena in 1361. In 1366, he was asked by the city council of Gimignano to paint *Two Monks of the Augustine Order* that was to be displayed in the local Palazzo Pubblico. He even became part of the local Sienese government in 1372.

Since we mentioned the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena, it should be emphasized here that most of the rooms in the palace contain frescoes and paintings (which is also the case with many public palaces in medieval Italy). In the Sala della Pace

(the Hall of Peace, also known as the Hall of the Nine), one can still admire three panels known under the title *Allegory and Effects of Good and Bad Government*, painted by the Sienese *trecento* painter Ambrogio Lorenzetti. Taddeo di Bartolo, also from the Sienese school, painted twelve panels for the Palazzo Pubblico at the turn of the fifteenth century. A few years later, in 1403, Bartolo worked for the public gallery of Perugia, for which he produced the *Descent of the Holy Ghost* and the *Virgin and Child with Two Angels and Saint Bernard*.

During the last century of the Middle Ages, lay patrons continued their support for both lesser-known and consecrated painters. The Burgundian court was a major patron of the arts in the fifteenth century and it used the services of painters such as Pierre Coustain and Jan van Eyck. Before working for the Burgundian court, van Eyck had already painted for John III, Duke of Bavaria-Straubing and count of Holland and Hainaut. According to the records of the Duke, van Eyck was a court painter with the rank of *valet de chambre* and he was paid in this quality between 1422 and 1424 (Châtelet 1980). After the death of his first patron, he moved to Lille and then to Bruges, where he was recruited at the court of Philip the Good (1396–1467). At the Burgundian court, he served as a diplomat and painter (he soon became a member of the painters' guild of Tournai, together with other famous painters such as Rogier van der Weyden, himself painter of ducal portraits). As a diplomat-cum-painter, he went to Lisbon in 1428–1429 to prepare Philip the Good's wedding to Isabella of Portugal and he was asked to paint a portrait of the latter so that the Burgundian duke could know how his future bride looked. Jan van Eyck was an exceptionally well-paid artist. In a document from 1435, the Burgundian duke accused his treasurers of not paying the painter well enough and claimed that he would not be able to find van Eyck's equal anywhere in the world. Philip the Good seems to have been the godfather of one of the painter's children and continued to support his family even after van Eyck's death.

Aside from paintings, medieval palaces and castles housed a variety of artifacts, such as statues, tapestries, objects made with precious stones, and richly decorated books. Tapestries, for instance, were both decorative and useful in so far as they helped insulate the cold walls of medieval buildings (Joubert 1995). Workshops producing tapestries existed all over Western Europe. However, unlike the highly successful workshops from Northern Europe, tapestry workshops from Siena, Mantua or Ferrara did not last very long, nor did they produce a significant amount of tapestries. The major tapestry workshops were in fact concentrated in northern France, Belgium, and the Netherlands (Arras, Tournai, Brussels, Oudenaarde, Enghien, Geraardsbergen, etc.). Toward the end of the Middle Ages, the production of tapestries declined in Arras and Tournai, whereas Brussels, increasingly favored by the Burgundian court, experienced a major

production boom. Tapestries decorated the castles or palaces of powerful politicians or well-off citizens. Legend had it that the *Bayeux Tapestry* narrating the Norman conquest of England was commissioned and created by Matilda, William the Conqueror's wife. However, Odo, Earl of Kent (1036–1097), the Conqueror's half-brother and bishop of Bayeux from 1049 on, is the more likely patron (Stenton et al., ed., 1965; see also Brown 1988; Bloch 2006). The Apocalypse Tapestry, now on display in the Museum of Tapestry in the castle of Angers, was commissioned by Louis I, Duke of Anjou in the 1370s. As its name suggests, the tapestry depicts the Apocalypse and draws its inspiration from the Book of Revelation. The drawings for the tapestry were made by a Flemish artist, Jean de Bruges (also known as Jan Baudolf) and produced in Paris by Nicholas Bataille approximately between 1377 and 1382 (Klein 1992, 191). The famous series of six tapestries known as the *Lady and the Unicorn* bears the arms of Jean Le Viste, a nobleman and courtier of Charles VII of France, which suggests that Le Viste was the commissioner and patron of these tapestries. Another series of famous tapestries, known as the Hunt of the Unicorn (late fifteenth century), were probably commissioned by Anne of Brittany (1477–1514) for her marriage to Louis XII of France. The Devonshire Hunting Tapestries are a group of four large fifteenth-century tapestries that were probably commissioned by the Duke of Devonshire.

Books, too, could decorate the houses of medieval potentates. It is a well-known fact that illuminators adorned medieval books with lavish decorations and, as a result, at a time when both paper and manuscript production were highly expensive, books served as status symbols (Avrin 1991; Alexander 1992). We mentioned earlier that a significant number of manuscripts were produced in the scriptoria of abbeys and monasteries. The twelfth century witnessed the emergence of secular book production. At that time, booksellers (*libraires*) from major European cities became increasingly involved in the actual production of the objects they were selling. For poorer urban students, the *pecia* system was an even better alternative to the actual ownership of the book. Developed in Italy and later in Paris in the thirteenth century, the *pecia* system consisted of renting sections (*peciae*) of a book and copying them in as many exemplars as possible (Rouse and Rouse 2000, 85). For customers with more generous pockets, workshops specialized in illuminations continued to produce expensive manuscripts. Toward the end of the Middle Ages, specialized scribes and illuminators set up shop in major northern European cities such as Bruges, Ghent, Valenciennes, Paris (Croenen and Ainsworth 2006), and others.

In certain areas of Europe, patronage of book production was a family tradition. Such was the case with the Valois dynasty of France. Bonne de Luxembourg (1315–1349), the wife of Jean II le Bon, asked the painter Jean Le Noir to illuminate her book of hours. Jean le Bon's son, Charles V, created a royal library at the

Louvre, which contained nearly a thousand volumes by the end of the fourteenth century (Delisle 1907), including the richly illuminated *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*. But it was one of Charles V's brothers, Jean de Berry, who became one of the most famous medieval patrons. Surrounded by artists such as the architect André Beauneveu, the painter Jean Le Noir, the miniature painter Jacquemart de Hesdin, and the illuminators known collectively as the Limbourg brothers, Jean de Berry (1340–1416) invested considerable amounts in various artistic projects and products. Many of these artifacts were in fact meant to decorate his Parisian residences as well as his castle in Mehun-sur-Yèvre. Like many medieval aristocrats, Jean de Berry had a keen interest in precious stones and objects (the beautifully decorated Saint Agnes cup and the Holy Thorn reliquary), cameos, paintings, sculptures, tapestries (he probably commissioned the tapestry of the *Nine Worthies*) and, last but not least, illuminated manuscripts (see Meiss 1967; Dückers and Roelofs, ed., 2005). The duke was the patron of the Limbourg brothers, Herman, Johan, and Paul, who illuminated the *Belles Heures* (now known as the *Très riches heures du duc de Berry*) between 1406 and 1408. In the Burgundian realm, too, manuscript illumination flourished, as well as ducal patronage of illuminators. The *Breviary of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York*, with the beautiful illumination of the holy virgins greeted by Christ, is a prime example of the Burgundian court's interest in lavishly decorated manuscripts.

Of course, writers also benefitted from secular patronage. Early medieval poets and singers (scops, scalds, and bards) were often dependent on donations from kings, chieftains or the local population (Holzknecht 1966, 19–35). As Holzknecht (1966, 23) points out, *Beowulf* is replete with references to the king as a gift giver (lines 11, 35, 168, 352, 607, etc.), while Scandinavian sagas make reference to poets being rewarded for their services (Holzknecht 1966, 24–28). The scops and the scalds were the predecessors of minstrels, troubadours, trouvères and minnesingers, who also depended on the patronage of secular rulers or local communities. Certain troubadours such as William IX of Aquitaine (1071–1126), Eble II de Ventadorn (1085–1155) or Jaufre Rudel, prince of Blaye, were aristocrats themselves and did not need anyone's patronage to support their artistic endeavors. In fact, Raimbaut d'Orange (1147–1173) was a troubadour who seems to have patronized other poets. However, other troubadours such as Guilhem Ademar, Marcabru, Peire de Maensac or Uc de Pena did come from petty noble families but they were rather poor. That is why many troubadours did seek the patronage of wealthy sponsors. Cercamon, for instance, spent some time at the court of William X of Aquitaine and perhaps also at the court of Eble III of Ventadorn. Other troubadours, such as Elias de Barjols and Elias Cairel, came from lower-class families. Perdigon, the son of a poor fisherman, had several patrons: Dalfi d'Alvernha, Peter II of Aragon, and Barral of Marseille (Aubrey 1996, 18).

The granddaughter of William IX of Aquitaine, Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122/1124–1204), was the patroness of writers such as Wace, Benoît de Sainte-Maure, and Bernard de Ventadorn (for diverging opinions on this issue, see Haskins 1925, 71–77; Lejeune 1954, 5–57; Schirmer and Broich 1962; on female patronage, see McCash, ed., 1996). Eleanor of Aquitaine was in fact part of a long tradition of medieval women who commissioned or requested various types of literary, theological, and historical texts (McCash 1996; Martin, ed., 2012). Joan Ferrante convincingly argued that women were extremely important to Latin letters in the Middle Ages (Ferrante 1996). Jerome, Augustine, and Ambrose all wrote letters to various Christian women in response to their questions (Ferrante 1996, 74–77). Alcuin corresponded with religious women as well, and he wrote his *De ratione animae* in response to Charlemagne's granddaughter, Gundrada. Rabanus Maurus, too, dedicated two commentaries to Judith of Bavaria (805–843), the second wife of the Holy Roman Emperor Louis the Pious. Moreover, Abelard's life and works would have not been the same without Héloïse (Ferrante 1996, 77–81). Paul the Deacon (ca. 720–799) dedicated his *Historia Romana* to the duchess of Benevento, Adelpurga (Ferrante 1996, 87). Other powerful women, such as Matilda of Scotland, the Plantagenet queens of England, and Isabel of Portugal, were connected to significant literary and artistic networks that they funded quite generously (see Huneycutt 1996; Parsons 1996; Jambeck 1996; Hanna III 1996; Willard 1996). Madeline Caviness suggests that the correct word for such women who supported the arts should probably be *matron* instead of patroness, the latter term being simply the feminine form of patron—a word derived from *pater* (Caviness 1996, 106).

Chroniclers and historians could also be particularly useful to patrons during these times when, as Chris Given-Wilson observes, chronicles came to be seen as “competent and creditworthy records which not only ought to be, but were consulted about matters of the highest significance” because chronicles “proved” things (Given-Wilson 2004, 73). After the year 1000, a large number of kings, princes, and aristocrats left for the Holy Land, and historians were needed to record the heroic deeds of the knights of a given family, area or country. As a result, a large number of aristocratic and royal families sponsored the production of historical texts (both original writings and translations). For example, the Flemish family of Saint-Pol sponsored the French translation of the Latin *Pseudo-Turpin* and, most probably, Richard the Pilgrim's *Chanson d'Antioche* (Woledge and Clive 1964, 25–34; Stanger 1957, 214–29), while the Flemish rulers of Béthune commissioned the historical texts written by the Anonymous of Béthune. In England, Constance Fitzgilbert was the patroness of Geoffrey Gaimar, author of the *Estoire des Engleis*. In France, a dynastic historiographic tradition was initiated with the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, written by Primat, Guillaume de

Nangis, and other scribes from the abbey of Saint-Denis. Successive French kings, such as Philip III, Louis IX, and others, supported the historiographic endeavors of the Saint-Denis monks. Lavish manuscripts of the *Grandes Chroniques* were produced for Charles V (BNF ms. fr. 2813) and Philip the Good (ms. now found in the Russian National Library of Saint Petersburg).

By the fourteenth century, most European courts had become involved in the sponsorship of historical writings (Bratu 2010a). In England, Henry de Lacy patronized Rauf de Bohun, author of a universal chronicle from Brutus to his present day, known as *Le Petit Bruit* (*Brut*), while Mary of Woodstock, Edward I's daughter, was the sponsor of Nicholas Trevet's *Cronicles*. Jean Froissart (ca. 1337–1405), too, began his career as a poet and chronicler at the court of the English queen Philippa of Hainault, while Froissart's mentor, Jean le Bel, had worked under the aegis of Jean of Hainault, Philippa's uncle. Froissart was later supported by Robert of Namur and Guy de Châtillon, the latter belonging to an Hainault family as well. The French king Charles V commissioned several translations of historical texts: Jean Golain's translation of Bernardo Gui's *Flores Chronicorum*, Simon of Hesdin's translation of Valerius Maximus, and Guido delle Collonne's translation of *Historia trojana*. In Burgundy, too, ducal patronage was essential to French-Burgundian history-writing. Christine de Pizan's *Le livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V*, although dedicated to the memory of Charles V, was written under the patronage of Philip the Bold. Later, Philip the Good institutionalized the Burgundian court's patronage of history-writing by creating the institution of *indiciaire* (historian) of the court in 1455 (Doutrepont 1909). Georges Chastelain was the very first court historian of the Burgundians, followed by his disciple, Jean Molinet.

Medieval texts are replete with flattering references to the patron or patrons of the author, praising them for their merits and generosity or asking them in a more or less direct manner to consider opening their pockets even more. Christine de Pizan's *Livre des Trois Jugemens*, for instance, addresses the good seneschal of Hainault, brave and wise, loyal, courteous in deeds (“Bon Seneschal de Haynault, preux et sage, / Vaillant en fais et gentil de lignage, / Loyal, courtois de fait et de langage”). Such references appear quite often in the form of presentations of the book to the patron, dedications, excuses, apologies and praises, in the prologues and the epilogues of medieval texts (Holzknecht 1966, 75–170).

III Audiences

Naturally, patrons and their courts, friends, vassals or superiors were the intended audience of the various artistic products made under their aegis. Paintings and tapestries decorated the walls of castles and palaces for the visual enjoyment of patrons; music delighted the patrons' ears, while books, one would be tempted to believe, were made to be read. However, in the case of written texts, the mode of reception was double, for medieval books were often read aloud (as in modern recitations), and sometimes read individually (and silently). Thus, written texts enjoyed two types of audiences—readers and listeners.

Twentieth-century criticism has shown how important orality (the oral creation and transmission of texts) and aurality (listening) were during the Middle Ages (Lord 1960; Finnegan 1977; Ong 1982; Zumthor 1987; Green 1994; Coleman 1996). It has been amply proven that medieval texts were read out loud or performed in front of courtly audiences. Of course, the prime suspects in such cases were Bible passages, moral literature, poems (often accompanied by music), *chansons de geste* and other types of epic poetry. Medieval poems in particular are replete with formulae that invite the audience to listen—not read—carefully. However, other types of texts, such as philosophical and historical writings, could also be read out loud in front of a royal or aristocratic audience. The twelfth-century historian Jordan Fantosme asks his audience, whom he addresses as “my lords,” to “listen” (*oez*) to his chronicle. Such aural formulae suggest that these texts were composed with an aristocratic audience (of listeners) in mind (Bratu 2010b). Froissart actually mentions in the Third Book of his *Chronicles* that he read out loud excerpts from his writings to the count Gaston Fébus of Foix-Béarn, while Christine de Pizan mentions that Charles V had a favorite reader, Gilles Malet, whom the king appreciated for his ability to read various texts in a very artful manner. Interestingly enough, Christine also mentions that Charles V enjoyed listening to the *Faiz des Romains* which, according to the chronicler and memoirist Olivier de la Marche, was also one of Charles the Bold's favorites (Bratu 2010b). Public readings were especially important at a time when many aristocrats, including kings and princes, were not able to read.

C Conclusion

To conclude, medieval patrons played a major part in the development of medieval art. Without their financial and moral support, many paintings, songs or books would have simply never existed. Unlike modern patronage, the line between personal and institutional patronage was in some cases rather porous

during the Middle Ages. When kings, princes, and other aristocrats decided to support a certain painter or writer, they often did so with moneys collected from the general public and of which they disposed as they pleased. More importantly, however, medieval patronage laid the bases of a system of support for the arts which, in a very different form and with different actors, persisted throughout the Renaissance, the early modern period, and is still in existence today. Benjamin Franklin, for instance, was the proud founder of the University of Pennsylvania, while Thomas Jefferson took pride in being the patron and founder of the University of Virginia. In the modern era, patrons of the arts have tended to be governments, universities, and other public and private institutions and individuals. Although the actors, circumstances, legal conditions and types of support have changed dramatically, modern sponsors, donors, supporters, and subscribers continue the work started centuries ago by ancient *maecenas* and medieval patrons.

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Francis G. Gentry

Poverty

A Introduction

Like so many other “observable facts,” poverty, especially, reveals a complex socio-economic and cultural interweaving that makes the concept impervious to a simple definition. Precisely this situation was encountered and very aptly described by the art historian, Thomas Raff who writes that at first he thought the topic was quite straightforward, but after intense reading and research, he confesses to some confusion because “ich fand bei der Lektüre die unterschiedlichsten Definitionen und Systematisierungen des Begriffes Armut” (Raff 2004, 9–11; In my readings [on the topic] I found the most varied definitions and systematizings of the concept of poverty). He then proceeds to list the various definitions which he uncovered, most of which will also be encountered in this essay. In the following pages, the concept of poverty will be traced through antiquity and the Middle Ages, viewing it primarily within the environment of Christianity’s attempt to meld both antiquity’s view of the poor with the standpoint found in the Old and New Testaments. This will be followed by an examination of the “poor” in medieval society and will culminate in a brief glance at the rise of the mendicant orders primarily in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Although the thrust of the present essay is socio-cultural, occasional medieval English and German works will be highlighted in order to illustrate better particular aspects of the topic.

In essence, the “state of poverty” signifies a perception of reality by others or the self. As Uta Lindgren notes: “Eine ganz andere Frage ist die nach der realen Armut, der Bedürftigkeit, Hilflosigkeit, Elendigkeit, Verlassenheit. Diese reale Armut ist sehr schwer faßbar, denn obwohl sie von Sozialkritikern aller Zeiten deutlich angeprangert wurde, ist sie keine ontische Größe” (Lindgren 1980, 7; A completely different question is the one about real poverty, need, helplessness, misery, forlornness. This real poverty is very elusive for although it has been clearly denounced by social critics throughout the ages, it is itself no ontic dimension). The simple, if uncouth exchange in the film Monty Python and the Holy Grail (1975) in which a peasant answers his companion’s question as to who might be the one passing them while clopping coconut halves together with: “I dunno. Must be a king” because “he ain’t covered with shit,” may be used as a good illustration of this conundrum. For, if at first glance, a man without an excremental covering could very well be king, he could also not be a king but

someone who has washed, while, on the other hand, such an odiferous covering would not necessarily make another man poor.

Although outward manifestations of poverty in the Middle Ages doubtless did not differ essentially from those of any preceding or following age, there are specificities not found later, the closer one gets to the modern era. Nonetheless, in his description of the English poor in Shakespeare's time, William Harrison provides three classes of "the poor" which would be applicable for almost any period in pre-industrial Europe (Harrison 1877, 213). He writes:

1) The poor 'by impotency' comprise: "1.1 'the fatherless child'; 1.2 'the aged, blind, and lame'; 1.3 'the diseased person that is iudged to be incurable'." 2) The poor 'by casualty' comprise: 2.1 'the wounded souldier'; 2.2 'the decaied householder'; 2.3 'the sicke persone visited with grieuous ... diseases'." 3) The poor 'thriftless', comprising: 3.1 "'the riotour that hath consumed all'; 3.2 'the vagabond that will abide no where'; 3.3 'the rog[u]e and strumpet' (quoted from Jütte 2001, 11)

In the first two classes, one can read the language of empathy, i.e., for those who are in this lamentable state through no fault of their own. In an ethical sense they could be labeled the "inculpable poor," whereas the individuals in class three would be the "culpable poor" and are mentioned with contempt and, indeed, 3.1 has a special place in Dante's (ca. 1265–1321) *Inferno* among the Hoarders and Wasters in Circle Four (ca. 1308–ca. 1314). The vagabond is a curious character, not the happy wanderer, but rather someone who is capable of work, but who will not do so—in other words slothful. As a result of his indolence he was viewed with suspicion and contempt throughout most European countries during the Middle Ages and beyond. The rogue and the strumpet probably need no further explanation regarding their inclusion in this group of the "culpable poor," although the "strumpet" or prostitute was, in many instances, a poor woman, who because of her destitute circumstances, was forced into prostitution—certainly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (see below: C 1). Thus, according to a reading of Harrison's groups, the truly "poor" stratum of society is comprised mainly of those unable to care for themselves. Not that this situation would guarantee any more empathy than absolutely necessary from those better off. Nor was it "... until the end of the eighteenth century that a clear line was drawn between poverty on the one hand and indigence on the other, between the masses of the labouring poor and those being so destitute as to be dependent on gifts or allowances for subsistence" (Jütte 2001, 10).

While the above may strike some as an overtly roundabout manner of introducing the "problem" at hand, poverty in the Middle Ages, it merely demonstrates the complexity of the matter even in the early modern period. For the purposes of this essay the definition by Harrison will be viewed as the *terminus ad quem*. The *terminus a quo* begins in antiquity.

B Historical Overview

I Attitudes toward the Poor in Antiquity

According to Hendrik Bolkestein (1939), there is a marked difference in attitude toward the needy (poor) between ancient Eastern and Western cultures. In Egypt as well as Israel, the priests cared for the needy and the temples provided asylum to the destitute. On the other hand, in ancient Greece and Rome there was no sense of obligation to “care for the needy.” Important in these societies, rather, was membership in a polis and citizenship. Thus, as Russell Meiggs (1940) phrased it in his review of Bolkestein: “Generosity in Greece has no special connexion with poverty; in the East it implies, above all, giving to the poor. This essential difference the author fully illustrates from the sayings of the wise in Egypt, from the Old Testament, and from the literature of Greece and Rome” (Meiggs 1940, 107). This thesis is echoed by Albert A. Trever’s review from 1941, “The author [Bolkestein] seeks to answer the question as to what was the status of the poor in the social ethics, politics, and religion of the ancient pre-Christian Orient (Egypt and Palestine) as compared with that in the West (Greece and Rome). His general thesis is that, in the Orient, philanthropy is emphasized with special reference to the poor, and almsgiving and poor relief are praised as supreme virtues; in pre-Christian Greece and Rome, on the other hand, the object of well-doing was not the poor but one’s fellow-citizens (*Mitbürger, Mitmenschen*)” (Trever 1941, 82).

But not only the “needy” were considered “poor,” also the workers, especially physical laborers, were socially classed with the “needy.” Paul Veyne notes: “The first key to ancient attitudes toward labor is that the source and character of a social group’s wealth determined its value. ... According to Plato, a well-organized city is one in which citizens are fed by the rural toil of their slaves and the trades are filled with people of no importance” (Veyne 1987, 119). Aristotle, too, could not fathom “how slaves, peasants, and shopkeepers could be expected to lead “happy” lives, meaning lives at once prosperous and noble” (Veyne 1987, 119). In his excellent, brief essay, “The Greek Attitude to Manual Labour,” Rodolfo Mondolfo provides a somewhat more nuanced view of ancient Greek attitudes toward manual labor than Veyne, but even so it is clear that the social esteem in which physical laborers and work itself were held was pretty much non-existent. The situation in Rome was little different, although there was more awareness of the benefits the city accrued from the work of others. But in the final analysis, poverty and work were socially *déclassé*. In other words, class interests play a decisive social role in ancient as well as later societies.

II Judaism and Early Christianity

As mentioned above, the poor, i.e., the needy, in ancient Israel were viewed as part of society and were cared for. Indeed, there are numerous biblical admonitions to this effect (see Ebach 2012): “There will not be wanting poor in the land of thy habitation: therefore I command thee to open thy hand to thy needy and poor brother, that liveth in the land” (Deut. 15:11); “Thou shalt not refuse the hire of the needy, and the poor, whether he be thy brother, or a stranger that dwelleth with thee in the land, and is within thy gates: But thou shalt pay him the price of his labour the same day, before the going down of the sun, because he is poor, and with it maintaineth his life: lest he cry against thee to the Lord, and it be reputed to thee for a sin” (Deut. 24:14f); “The Lord maketh poor and maketh rich, he humbleth and he exalteth” (1 Kgs. 2:7).

In addition to the admonitions to care for the poor and needy, there are several passages in the Old Testament that seek to expand the ethical responsibility of society with regard to rich and poor (Ebach 2012): “Despise not a just man that is poor, and do not magnify a sinful man that is rich” (Sir. 10:26); “Thou shalt not do that which is unjust, nor judge unjustly. Respect not the person of the poor, nor honour the countenance of the mighty. But judge thy neighbour according to justice” (Lev. 19:15); and “Better is the poor man, that walketh in his simplicity, than a rich man that is perverse in his lips, and unwise” (Prov. 19:1).

The deeper sense of these few passages above are not only reiterated in Christianity, which started out, after all, as a sect of Judaism, but become key to the later Christian message which successfully melds Jewish philanthropy with ancient Roman/Greek attitudes toward civic assistance.

Much like the Jews in antiquity who, more often than not, lived as a subject people or as a minority far from their home (diaspora), the early Christians, too, often constituted a despised minority in their cities. As a result, the biblical admonitions to care for the poor were also heeded by these early followers of the new religion, namely care of their own in order to help the community as well as providing help and employment to their fellow Christians. As Peter Brown writes: “The early Christian communities realized that a cohesive community—on the models of Jewish communities—could become strong. Thus, caring for their poor exhibits more a sense of community than of society, i.e., citizenry. By offering alms and the chance of employment to the poorer members of their community, Jews and Christians could protect coreligionists from impoverishment, and hence from outright vulnerability to pagan creditors or pagan employers” (Brown 1987, 262). Slowly, the Roman civic model was being changed from donating wealth in order to “nourish” the city to a sense of solidarity between rich and poor. This situation did, of course, alleviate somewhat the almost hopeless existence of the

urban poor, who happened to be Christian or Jew living in their respective communities, but, as Christ reminded his disciples, the poor will always be with them (Mt. 26,11). However, Christ also has another type of poverty in mind as is made clear in his admonition to the rich young man who wished to know what to do in order to have everlasting life. Christ said the man should keep the commandments and, further: “go, sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come, follow me” (Mk. 10, 21; also: Mt. 19, 21). The implication is that the wealthy have no place in Paradise, which became a problem as the Church progressed from a persecuted sect to a state religion under Constantine. Early Church Fathers determined that Christ is saying that the path to salvation is less encumbered if one becomes poor voluntarily and also embraces that poverty, not, however, that one must abandon wealth in order to be saved. In other words, one’s attitude toward one’s wealth is most important (Weaver 1987).

This is very similar in sentiment to the first beatitude: “Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven” (“Beati pauperes spiritu: quoniam ipsorum est regnum cælorum.” Mt 5, 3). This beatitude will prove to be especially significant during the medieval period, for in it is found the example of true “poverty,” i.e., poverty in a real and beneficial sense. “Poor in spirit” is the key to salvation and by becoming such, the believer achieves the status of an *imitatio Christi* (for a brief outline of why Christ was “poor,” see: John Chrysostom, *Homily 17 on Second Corinthians*). This figurative aspect of poverty will become central in the religious life of the Middle Ages, a point to which we shall return when discussing the mendicant orders and popular religion. Of course, the care of the needy remained a central duty of the Christian even after the religion had moved away from its very early urban roots.

Essential to the broadening ability to care for the needy was the foundation of Benedictine monasteries which, in addition to their primary functions of “ora et labora” (“pray and work”), provided refuges for travelers and places for care of the sick since the seventh century. With the slow growth of towns and the coalescing of the Empire, the needy in towns were, while still destitute, not totally without some access to medical care and some sustenance through the distribution of alms. “In the first [Christian] centuries, encounters with poverty in its most elemental forms led often enough to providing aid to members of the church. During the decline of Roman power and authority, the bishop of a city functioned increasingly as its protector. Only when society itself became Christian was *poor* relief considered a duty of society as a whole. One major factor in this development was the increasing shift of institutional care to the towns and the growing involvement of brotherhoods in this work” (Wischmeyer 2012).

By the time of the Carolingians much progress had been made, especially with the emergence of the Canons, who, according to Lindgren, apparently sometimes had to be “encouraged”: “Wenn Ludwig der Fromme die Einrichtung von Hospitälern zu dem Zweck befiehlt, daß Kanoniker Gelegenheit finden sollen, Barmherzigkeit zu üben, ohne mit einer entsprechenden Notlage im täglichen Leben konfrontiert zu sein, so liegt darin eine Art List” (Lindgren 1980, 6; “When Louis the Pious ordered the establishment of hospitals with the intent that Canons should find the opportunity to practice compassion without having to be confronted with corresponding hardship in daily life, it implied a type of ruse”). Nonetheless, structures were being put into place that offered succor to the needy and sick.

C The Middle Ages

I Urban and Rural Poverty

Urban poverty, on the whole, is better documented than rural in that records are part of the urban landscape and, aside from perhaps a baptismal certificate, not at all a component of the rural, aside, again perhaps, from bailiffs’ reports of manors and other noble holdings. The one thing that rural and urban poor have in common is that they have no voice of their own. One notable and extremely moving exception is the collection of documents from the Cairo geniza (Cohen 2005). Geniza(h) simply means a storage place, in this case in the Ezra Synagogue in Old Cairo. All documents which were no longer usable were stored in a geniza because they were written in Aramaic using Hebrew letters, the language of God, or, quite often, contained the name of God in an invocation. Among the many documents are petitions for assistance in terms of money or clothing and the like. Petitions were entertained not only from residents of Old Cairo, but also from foreigners, who found themselves impoverished in the city. Women, too, made use of appeals to charity. Most often they were widows, divorcees, or abandoned wives with or without children and, as Cohen notes, were successful in being granted charity: “the alms lists below (chapter 8) also show a huge representation of their gender in receipt of public charity” (Cohen 2005, 84). Women in European cities were not so fortunate as Sharon Farmer makes clear in her excellent study (Farmer 2002, *passim*) where many women became prostitutes in order to survive. The ubiquitousness of prostitutes in European countries has also been noted by Michel Mollat: “the low wages paid to laundresses, seamstresses, and the like encouraged the development of prostitution, as the Bourgeois of Paris observed in 1419: ‘good maids, and good, proud women ... of necessity have become

wicked.' In Paris there were brothels in every district, for example, in the rue de Macon on the Left Bank, the rue de Glatigny on the Ile de la Cité, and the rue Saint-Martin on the right Bank. Lyons's brothels were in the center of town, near Saint-Nizier. Dijon had seven of them, Avignon six, and Cologne ten. The situation was not much different in Venice, Genoa, Florence, Bologna, Rome, Antwerp, and London" (Mollat 1986, 245).

The situation in the countryside was not so structured. The needy were most often the responsibility of the family and neighbors who aided in kind or through alms to the local church which assumed the responsibility of distributing them. And although from ca. 1100–ca. 1300 towns experienced considerable growth, western European society was predominantly an agricultural one. Nonetheless, according to Janet Coleman, by 1300 forty to sixty percent of the European peasantry did not have enough land to support a family (ca. 4 hectare/family of four (Coleman 1991, 625).

During the progression of the Middle Ages to the early modern world, demographics changed mightily. As Coleman noted above, a very large percentage of the rural population could not support itself on the land and many went off to the cities where they worked as day laborers, if they were able, and many turned to begging or vagabonding, something that was very much frowned upon, as noted earlier, or in the case of many women became domestics and laundresses, who then, as already mentioned, were compelled by need to become prostitutes.

II Charity and Almsgiving

The glue which held Christian society together and which helped form Christian identity long into the modern period, was the concept of charity, which, as noted above, was assumed from Judaism into Christian practice and everyday life. Since Christ did not make the picture of a rich man very attractive, but also since the support of wealthy patrons was important to the establishment and maintenance of the Church, apologists quickly found a way to allow the rich their riches while remaining in good stead with the Church. The institutionalization of almsgiving, making it a part of every Christian's duty, was inspired. The only problem was that the giving of alms was not to be ostentatious (i.e., the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican, Luke 18, 9–14), but rather humble. The practice of almsgiving to the poor was also extended to gifts to the Church as a means of salvation. Aside from providing an opportunity for the wealthy to gain entrance into heaven, the poor played no other significant role in medieval society. Geremek writes in this regard: "The classic formulation of this doctrine may be found in the Life of St Eligius 'God could have made all men rich, but He wanted there to be poor people

in this world, that the rich might be able to redeem their sins” (Geremek 1994, 20) Nonetheless, the onus was on the wealthy man to provide for the poor according to his means. No amount is stipulated. The eleventh-century rhymed, penitential sermon, Noker’s *Memento mori* (ca. 1085), provides an insight into the medieval Christian view of appropriateness. Noker writes: “Swes er hie verleibet, taz wirt imo ubilo geteilit. habit er iet hina gegebin, tes muoz er iemer furdir lebin. er tuo iz unz er wol mac, hie noh chumit der tac. habit er is tenne niwit getan, so nemag er iz nie gebuozan” (Str. 15, 258; Whatever he neglects here will be held against him [there]. [But] if he has given anything away, he will have everlasting life. Let him do this [i. e., give alms, etc.] as long as he can, for the day [of reckoning] is coming. If, by then, he has done nothing, he will never be able to make up for it). Here, Noker is admonishing that the wealthy should properly administer their wealth while alive; otherwise things will go badly for them after death. The poet is, however, clear about the amount: he states simply “if he has given anything (*iet*)...let him give as much as he can” (Str. 15, 258). This thought is also found, as might be expected, in St. Augustine (354–430), who admonished in his sermon on Matthew in response to the question concerning “*how much one should give to the poor*,” “Ergo perdituri sunt res suas? *Communicent*, dixit: non, Totum dent. Teneant sibi quantum sufficit, teneant plus quam sufficit” (Patrologia Latina Database, caput IV, 5; Must they then lose all they have? He said, Let them communicate, not Let them give the whole. Let them keep for themselves as much as is sufficient for them, let them keep more than is sufficient). Augustine is, like Noker centuries later, basically saying “give what you can.” Interestingly enough, Augustine concludes this section by ruminating (further) on how much to give the poor and remarks that the Scribes and Pharisees gave a tenth: “Nisi abundaverit iustitia vestra plus quam Scribarum et Pharisaeorum, non intrabitis in regnum coelorum. Scribae et Phariseae decimas dabant. Quid est? Interrogate vos ipsos. Videte quid faciatis, de quanto faciatis; quid detis, quid vobis relinquantis; quid misericordiae impendatis, quid luxuriae reservetis” (Patrologia Latina Database, caput IV, 5; Unless your righteousness exceeds the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, you shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven. The Scribes and Pharisees gave the tenth. How is it with you? Ask yourselves. Consider what you do, and with what means you do it; how much you give, how much you leave for yourselves; what you spend on mercy, what you reserve for luxury). “Noteworthy in the above statement is the use of the word *iustitia* to describe the active charity being demanded. By how much one’s *iustitia* should exceed that of the Scribes and Pharisees, Augustine gives no concrete clue, for the answer must be found in the heart of each individual. The amount is, in essence, inconsequential. More important is the frame of mind of the donor, the reason for his *iustitia*” (Gentry 1981, 52).

The use of the term *justitia* (Middle High German *reht*) is frequently found in religious German writings of the eleventh and twelfth centuries—and, I suspect, not only in Germany. For it is a concept that is as old as it is new: No justice, no peace. From passages in the Old Testament, mentioned earlier, through the Beatitudes, the concept of justice as the prerequisite for and result of peace forms the cornerstone of medieval society. The one nourishes the other. The ideal king was the *rex iustus et pacificus* (just and peaceful king), guaranteeing that his subjects, poor or rich, noble or not, would be treated equally before the law. Clearly, this was an ideal that was not always attained, but it codified, in essence, the responsibility of those better off in society, for their charity to the needy and the Church is an exemplary demonstration of *justitia*, i.e., giving each his/her due according to his/her means. The needy, too, were admonished to demonstrate their sense of “what was right,” i.e., just, by not taking more than they needed in charity and alms. This, then, was their task in medieval society, helping the rich get into heaven, but not over helping themselves to the largesse of the wealthy. Of course, the needy were not the only “poor” in medieval society as the next section will illustrate.

1 Ministeriales

Among Karl Bosl’s many contributions to the discipline of medieval history, many of which are also of great value to literary researchers (Köhler 1970; Bumke 1976; Kaiser 1978), perhaps the most enduring are those studies dedicated to the ministerials and the conceptual pair *potens/pauper*. While similar groups existed in France (vavasours) and in Italy (vavassori), and also in England (later to be known generally as the “gentry”), in Germany, the ministerial phenomenon is distinctive, a unique class which came into being in the post-Carolingian period, during which the Church, not trusting the free nobility to protect its (the Church’s) interests, turned to individuals of the peasantry who were militarily trained and also served as administrators of great Church estates. Although still unfree, they did receive allods and fiefs from which they were expected to support themselves, much as a free noble would do. As the eleventh century progressed, the Salian kings relied more and more on the class of the ministerials for support in their ongoing power struggle with the free nobility. As a result of the former’s usefulness to the monarchy, they received more privileges and wealth so that by the time of the Hohenstaufen monarchs, some members of the ministerial class were among the wealthiest and most powerful in the Empire. Many of the most powerful, e.g., Markward von Annweiler, gained their freedom, as did all ministerials eventually, during the course of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. Nothing

really distinguished them from other members of the nobility except their initially unfree origin which remained, however, a real impediment to full acceptance by members of the free nobility. While intermarriage between the free nobility and the ministerials was not uncommon, it was still frowned upon by those free noble families that were not impoverished. Thus the daughter who married a ministerial would have to assume his status as would any children of the match. In this respect, the ministerials are worthy of mention because their originally unfree status put them on a level with the “poor,” something that will become even clearer in the *potens/pauper* discussion (III b.).

We can see a distinct echo of these sentiments in the Middle High German heroic epic, the *Nibelungenlied*, when Kriemhild and Brünhild quarrel as to the relative merits of their respective husbands, Siegfried and Gunther. Convinced that Siegfried, although extremely wealthy and powerful, is Gunther’s vassal, Brünhild accuses Kriemhild of being an “eigendiu” (l. 839; unfree female vassal), meaning that the latter is of an inferior noble and social status. The quarrel escalates to the point of no return and Kriemhild resolves to do everything to demonstrate that she is a member of the free-born nobility and not the wife of a ministerial. Interesting for the purposes of this essay is the word she uses to describe her own status, *adelvri* (“free-born aristocracy,” l. 828), one of the very rare if not the only occurrence of this legal terminology in classical medieval German literature. In this connection, it is worth mentioning that at the time of the writing down of the *Nibelungenlied* (ca. 1200), there were few free-born aristocratic families left in the Bavarian dialect area where the great epic had its origins. Thus what might seem to us to have the usual marginal interest of an historical footnote must actually have been of great interest to the listeners of that area at that time.

Another view into the life of a ministerial is provided by Walther von der Vogelweide (ca. 1170–ca. 1230). Walther, although a knight, was, like most medieval German poets of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, from the ministerial class and not among the wealthiest of individuals. Some of the poets were in the service of an aristocrat, i.e., Hartmann von Aue (ca. 1165–ca. 1210–1220), some had secured positions at a court and others, perhaps the majority, wandered from court to court, a sort of hand-to-mouth existence. Walther complained mightily about this state of affairs until he wrote sometime before 1220:

Ich hân mîn lêhen, al die werlt, ich hân mîn lêhen.
 nû enfürhte ich niht den hornunc an die zêhen,
 und wil alle boese hêren dester minre flêhen.
 der edel kûnec, der milte kûnec hât mich berâten,
 daz ich den sumer luft und in dem winter hitze hân.
 mîn nâhgebûren dunke ich verre baz getân:

sie sehent mich niht mên an in butzen wîs als sî wilent tâten.
 ich bin ze lange arm gewesen ân minen danc.
 ich was sô voller scheltens daz mîn âten stanc:
 daz hât der kûnec gemachet reine, und dar zuo mînen sanc.
 (Lachmann, strophe 28, line 31-strophe 29, line 3)

[“Listen everybody, listen! I have my fief; I have my fief! Now I do not fear the frost on my toes and I will have to kowtow less to cruel lords. The noble king, the generous king has seen to it that I should have cool air in the summer and heat in the winter. My neighbors, I deem, will also notice this improvement; they will no longer look down their noses at me as they have done. Through no fault of my own, I have been too poor too long. I was so full of scolding that my breath stank; the king has made that sweet again and with it also my song.”]

Using very expressive images of the frosts of February on his toes, of being looked down upon by others, of the many complaints he made about being poor so that his breath reeked, Walther expresses his joy and thanks that he (finally) received a fief from Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, an act of generosity, the poet sings that not only sweetened his breath but also his song. An amusing anecdote for modern eyes, perhaps, but clearly for Walther his existence was anything but a “song.” The lament about the poet’s own needy state can also be found in the *Parzival* of Wolfram von Eschenbach (ca. 1170–1220). In Walther’s case, however, the lament was certainly more than just a commonplace.

2 Potens/Pauper

Bosl notes: “in der begrifflichen Konfrontation *potens* und *pauper* aber bedeutete *pauper* schon in archaischer Zeit den Nichtherrschaftsfähigen und damit den Gewaltlosen, Geschützten, nicht den Minderbemittelten (Bosl 1976, 134; in the conceptual pair *potens* and *pauper*, *pauper* signified—even in ancient times—the individual who is not entitled to wield power or to rule, i.e., the powerless and the one in need of protection, not, however, one who is destitute). This is echoed by Robert C. Figueira: “We are reminded of this when reading those Carolingian authors who originally used the term *pauper* (as an adjective rather than a noun) to identify the powerless in society in contrast to the powerful, the *potentes*. Hence there were poor warriors (*pauperes milites*) and poor clerics (*pauperes clerici*) as well as poor serfs (*pauperes servi*) or poor women (*pauperes mulieres*)” (Figueira 2006, 108). During the medieval centuries, virtually everyone was a *pauper*, including workers and artisans. With the growing influence and independence of cities and the concomitant impoverishment of the nobility as well as the social policy of the Church, labor was finally recognized as being of great worth

(Gentry, 1979). The *paupers* were referred to in German as the “armen,” which is best rendered, even if somewhat clumsily, as those without power or influence, not necessarily as the needy. An excellent, if somewhat unusual, example of powerlessness is provided by Hartmann von Aue’s verse narrative, the *Arme Heinrich* (1190s)—literally “poor” Heinrich, but perhaps better translated as the “unfortunate” Heinrich. Hartmann narrates the tale of a wealthy lord who enjoys an exceedingly fortunate existence, but (apparently) neglects to thank God sufficiently. Then, suddenly, he is struck down by leprosy. He loses everything and goes to live out his days at the farm of a free peasant. He is then named the “arme Heinrich,” i.e., the unfortunate Heinrich who is no longer part of society. He is cured by Christ’s intervention only at the end after he realizes that he has not properly acknowledged God’s gifts to him and after he accepts his fate and refuses to let a young maiden die for him in order to effect a cure. It is only then that he is cured and again referred to as the Lord Heinrich. While it is a gripping and daring (Heinrich marries the daughter of the—to be sure—free peasant) story of noble fall and redemption, of the transitory nature of wealth and life, it is also an accurate depiction of the lot of the powerless and the outcasts of medieval society.

IV Poverty Movements

As Elizabeth Rapley notes in the *Encyclopedia of Christianity*, the late twelfth century witnessed an upsurge in the foundation of religious orders and groups: “demographic changes in western Europe—above all the growth of urban centers—were creating a challenge for the church: a more demanding, more informed laity on the one hand, a deficient and negligent secular clergy on the other” (Rapley, Brill Online, 2012). Indeed, Christ’s words of advice to the young man “go, sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come, follow me” (Mk 10, 21; also: Mt 19, 21) found particular resonance. And certainly no one individual better embodied the fulfillment of that command than St. Francis of Assisi (1182–1226). With the official foundation of the Franciscan Order in 1210 upon the endorsement of Pope Innocent III, a new era began in the Middle Ages. The approval by the pope was important for many reasons—the most obvious is that it prevented the Order from being deemed heretical as had happened to the Waldensians, and it also kept the Church together for another few hundred years until another monk, an Augustinian, would demand reform and did not have Francis’s patience (Martin Luther).

V Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Century

The thirteenth century saw a proliferation of mendicant orders, dedicated to preaching publicly. In addition to the Franciscans, this era witnessed the foundation and growth of the Dominicans, the Augustinians, and the Carmelites as well as a proliferation of many individual itinerant preachers. The mendicants also depended on alms to survive and were, thus in a sense, in competition with the poor themselves for resources, making the pursuit of voluntary poverty as a means to perfection somewhat questionable (Wolf 2003). A further observation in this regard is made by Geremek: “The Christian doctrine of poverty had little to do with social reality; poverty was treated as a purely spiritual value. The medieval exaltation of poverty did not alter the fact, however, that the pauper was treated not as a subject but as an object of the Christian community” (Geremek 1994, 21). That notwithstanding, there can be no dispute about the sincerity, fervor, and effectiveness of the mendicant orders in ministering to the laity, especially in the cities. However, as seems to happen with all grand ideas, within a century or two of their founding, the preaching mendicant orders, including the Franciscans, experienced decline.

The subtitle of Barbara Tuchman’s narrative history *A Distant Mirror* (1978) is *The Calamitous 14th Century*, which when taking into account all that took place, especially in the first half of that unhappy century, is almost a gross understatement. Disastrous weather and floods ushered in the Great Famine that swept through Europe between 1315 and 1322, bringing with it a death toll of over seven million people, disproportionately from among the non-noble, rural population at first, but then spread to urban areas which had grown quite large due to the flight from the countryside (see also the contribution to this *Handbook* by Ben Snook on “Threats and Disasters”). The concomitant societal decay is described in vivid tones in the multi-authored anonymous Middle English *Poem on the Evil Times of Edward II*, also known as *The Simonie* (ca. 1321–1327). The work relates that the years of the Great Famine have resulted in a time of lawlessness, greed, and societal upheaval. The sumptuary laws are no longer upheld so that one cannot tell a nobleman from a merchant. Chivalry is a thing of the past and knights have no interest in protecting the Church—not that the Church is so worthy of protection in that the clergy, both high and low are greedy and ape the customs, i.e., falconry, of the nobility. We are told that “[w]hen Truth was in the land, he was a good friend, always ready to speak for poor men, who now go down; may God avenge them! Pride and Greed judge overall and turn the laws upside down; thus are poor men destroyed, while rich men don’t have the slightest fear of God” (“The Wicked Age: Middle English Complaint Literature in Translation,” *The Simonie. The Medieval Forum*; <http://www.sfsu.edu/~medieval/>

complaintlit/simonie_trans.html). Although *The Simonie* refers to the general condition in England, it can just as easily be extended to all European lands affected by the Great Famine.

As implied in *The Simonie* the Church was in turmoil, especially during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries with the papal exile in Avignon (1309–1377) followed by the Western Schism (1378–1417). In addition, early calls for reform of the Church were made. John Wycliffe (ca. 1320–1384), scholar at Oxford, parson, and critic of the Church, was one of the very early voices, the “Morningstar of the Reformation” to come in the sixteenth century. He called for a return to the poverty of the early Church. His work inspired Jan Hus (1369–1415) and the Lollardy movement of the late thirteenth century. Wycliffe also promoted the then radical notion that the Christian should be able to read the Bible in English, a project upon which he, himself, worked assiduously until his death. Although possible reflections of his thinking can also be found in William Langland’s (ca. 1330–1387) *Piers Plowman* (three redactions: 1360s–1380s), this is almost certainly more coincidental than intentional, for the topics of the corrupt Church and the grinding, demeaning stress of poverty were quite customary in the fourteenth century. The preoccupation with Church reform continues into the fifteenth century and beyond. In this context Thomas à Kempis’ (1380–1471), *The Imitation of Christ* (ca. 1418) is worthy of mention.

In addition to the theological upheavals, the Plague, peaking 1348–1350, swept through Europe claiming millions of victims, destroying entire villages and livestock as well as decimating cities, and even isolated monasteries. There is no better contemporary description of the plague in its physical as well as spiritual and emotional effects than that found in the beginning paragraphs of the “First Day” of Boccaccio’s (1313–1375) *Decameron* (1349–1351) in which he vividly portrays the ravages of the disease and the reactions to it among the people of Florence and surroundings.

The fourteenth century also was a period of almost constant warfare; the most notable is certainly the Hundred Years’ War (1337–1453). But there were many regional conflicts among members of the nobility. Popular uprising by peasants as well as in cities were quite numerous in both the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. And who suffered disproportionately in times of conflict and war? Clearly, it was the poor. Not to be overlooked either is the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453. In the fifteenth century one looked back on a period of devastation with an incredible population decline and loss of direction both secular and religious. Theatrical portrayals of the Danse macabre from the mid-fourteenth century, together with paintings, frescoes and engravings of the same subject matter and Albrecht Dürer’s (1471–1528) *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (ca. 1497–1498) serve to illustrate the sense of pessimism and fear that

informed the spirit of these two last centuries of the Middle Ages. Intellectual, religious, and economic recovery was, to be sure, just around the corner, but for the time being, the poor remained and continued their existence as described at the beginning of this essay (see now the contributions to Scott, ed., 2012).

D Epilogue

“Let not ambition mock their useful toil,
Their homely joys, and destiny obscure;
Nor grandeur hear with a disdainful smile
The short and simple annals of the poor.”

Thomas Gray (1716–1771), *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard*

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Charles W. Connell

Public Opinion and Popular Culture

A Introduction

While the modern world is quite caught up with the measurement of public opinion and its impact, many scholars of the Middle Ages fifty years ago would have been quite reluctant to consider the possibility of its existence in medieval society, much less try to measure its impact on medieval culture (see, for example, Strayer 1957). Yet today medieval scholars in many disciplines seem to make almost the opposite assumption, namely that “public opinion” should be taken for granted and that its influence was significant in many arenas of medieval public life.

References by modern scholars to the role played by public opinion in the Middle Ages are now almost a hundred years in the making. Loren MacKinney was probably the first to note its function in the Peace Movement of the eleventh century (MacKinney 1930), T. F. Tout called attention to public opinion in relation to the English parliament (Tout 1934), and Palmer A. Throop studied its role in relation to the crusades of the thirteenth century (Throop 1940). However, it was not until the 1970s that a more thorough, ongoing, and interdisciplinary study of the role of the medieval public culture began in earnest.

For this article space limitations necessitate a narrow focus which will start with the rise of public opinion in the Peace of God movement of the tenth and eleventh centuries, then move to the use of propaganda to manipulate public opinion during the so-called Investiture Contest; and its even broader use during the Crusades. Next, we note the role of public opinion in the development and response to heresy; then, the importance of preaching as the primary medium for its dissemination and manipulation; and close with an examination of the more theoretical presentations of the role of the public found in the fourteenth century.

B Medieval Public Opinion Study and the Field of Communication

Even though they have studied it, historians have long been a bit wary of public opinion, at least as reflected in the modern focus on polling techniques to measure it. As Joseph Strayer pointed out in 1957, this was because of the nature of the sources: “Little is known about anybody’s opinion for the larger part of

recorded history and even when letters, diaries, and periodical publications become common they reveal the opinion of only a small, articulate group. Though convinced of the importance of public opinion historians could seldom study it directly. They had to deduce its existence, its weight and direction from political perturbations, much like astronomers trying to prove the existence of a new heavenly body which they have not yet seen" (Strayer 1957, 263).

Historians of the Middle Ages have also struggled with issues of definition of the most basic terms, including "public," "opinion," and the "people." For example, the Latin phrase *Vox populi, vox Dei* first appeared as a textual reference in a letter of Alcuin (ca. 740–804) to Charlemagne (742–814) dated 798 with reference to the election of bishops. Modern studies have suggested that this proverb defines both the essence and the power of medieval public opinion, that is, when the voice of the people is expressed with intention, it represents the voice of God (Peters 1990a, 92; see also Gallacher 1945; Boas 1969 for the overall history of the idea). However, as Ed Peters points out, the term *populus* itself is ambiguous and must be examined within each context of its use. In Charlemagne's world, for example, the major elements in the election of a bishop had carried over from the sixth century wherein the king, the diocesan clergy, and the aristocracy controlled the election, but "Just over the horizon would be found the *populus* ... who might on occasion be excited to play a role in a disputed succession. The possible titrations of this volatile mixture were as numerous as elections" (Geary 1988, 133). The inference that the *populus* was the laity of the diocese in this instance is made clear though not readily verifiable. Jeremy Adams was the first modern scholar to examine how the term *populus* was reshaped out of the Latin text of Scripture into a distinct Christian term by the Latin Church Fathers, but one which still "carried with it many of the older politico-juridical meanings of earlier Roman usage" (Peters 1990a, 99; see Adams 1971). Jerome (ca. 347–420) and Augustine (354–430) used the term *populus* to denote a group whose characteristic was simply "unity," a unity derived either from law or "some sort of political responsibility" (Adams 1971, 70). Apparently Augustine drew upon Scipio's (ca. 236–183 B.C.E.) view of the *populus* as a "gathering united in fellowship by a common sense of right and a community of interest" (Adams 1971, 17 n. 13). Thus, Augustine regarded the *populus* as a body that embraced various social classes, and he hardly ever used the term to refer to the "common people" (Adams 1971, 28). In the eighth century, however, Alcuin's use of the term was cynical in its questioning of the legitimacy of the voice of the people as little more than the "shout of the crowd," and not the voice of God, as did Gerbert of Aurillac (Pope Sylvester II, ca. 946–1003) later on in the context of his attack on the controversial election of an Archbishop of Rheims in 991 wherein a tumultuous mob allegedly played a role (Peters 1990a, 100–103).

In the early eleventh century, at least two views of the role of the *populus* emerged. Ademar of Chabannes (ca. 988–1034), for example, expressed the need for human beings to work together “in concert with the saints and other supernatural patrons to solve their problems” (Head 1992, 235). Andrew of Fleury (fl. 1040), did not allot such a role to the *populus*. He conceded that the people could discuss common problems, but not in order to influence any action; instead, they had to engage in “prayerful dedication of themselves to the saints which offered a solution” (Head 1992, 234–35). By the late eleventh century, it appears that the phrase *Vox populi, vox Dei* moved in new directions and the *populus* was seen to play a more legitimate role if its voice was raised to support a program of ecclesiastical reform, or in favor of a pope or a saint’s cult. However, some would argue that it was not clearly used in a political context until 1327 when Walter Reynolds, Archbishop of Canterbury (1313–1327), preached a sermon on the occasion of the deposition of Edward II (1312–1377) (Peters 1990a, 110). In the thirteenth century, Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) and John of Paris (1255–1306) examined the authority of the *populus*, and in turn were succeeded in that pursuit by both Marsiglio of Padua (ca. 1275–ca. 1342) and Dante (ca. 1265–1321) in the fourteenth century when the phrase more clearly assumed a political sense, such as in the political poetry of John Gower (ca. 1330–1408) and Thomas Hoccleve (ca. 1368–1426) (Peters 1990a, 110–11; 115–16).

Thus, it is not surprising that modern scholars have struggled with the meaning of the term “people,” as well as the concept of “popular culture,” in the context of the Middle Ages. In 1986, John Van Engen provided an overview of some of the most prominent work of the second half of the twentieth century which focused on the spread of Church reform and the development of lay countercultural groups (Van Engen 1986a). For example, the Italians Morghen and Manselli attempted to understand high medieval urban Christian culture in terms of a distinction between a clerical and a newer “religious community of lay society” which eventually found its identity and vitality in the world of heretical reformers (Morghen 1974a; Manselli 1975). Drawing along lines of education and religion, some have tried to distinguish a “high culture” from a “low” (Delaruelle 1975; Le Goff 1980; Davis 1974; Gans 1974; Menache 1990, 12–13; Watkins 2004), but others, like Aaron Gurevich building on the studies of Peter Brown on late antiquity, have come to see more of a patchwork of interwoven threads among the elements rather than any clear demarcation (Brown 1982; Gurevich 1988, esp. 211–25; Bernstein 1998; for an alternative to the approaches of Le Goff and Gurevich to popular culture, see Bynum 1997). Norman Cohn in his *The Pursuit of the Millennium* took an even broader approach to the culture of fringe groups (Cohn 1970), while Jean-Claude Schmitt examined the spread of Christianity as an example of a native pagan culture

being exposed to the influence of Christian missionaries (Schmitt 1983; see also Davis 1974; and, Frijhoff 1979).

It was Jacques Le Goff who “first propagated the notion of a wholly distinct religious culture among the people” and tried to use structural analysis as a way of “getting at a submerged popular culture in which religion ... played a key role as a cohesive force” (Van Engen 1986a, 528–29; see Le Goff 1980). Le Goff and Schmitt argued that there were two distinct cultures, “one clerical and bookish, the other popular, oral and customary; the first accessible through traditional intellectual and spiritual categories, the second mainly through cultural anthropology and comparative religions” (Van Engen 1986a, 529). The latter mode of analysis according to Van Engen has led historians to separate the study of folk practices from that of either mere paganism or as the essence of medieval popular culture, but he also cautions that “to argue that the people had a wholly distinct religious culture, not somehow amalgamated into Christian practice, is quite another matter” (Van Engen 1986a, 530; Tentler 1985; Murray 1974; Gurevich 1988, 153–75). There are also issues of methodology which affect and separate the approach of historians and scholars of folklore in using these materials to evaluate the concept of “popular” (Schmitt 1974; 1981; Watkins 2004; Gurevich 1988, 176–210). The major evidence used by Le Goff and Schmitt to support their argument is that of the thirteenth-century *exempla*, but Van Engen remarks that studies of the sermon literature using these tales “reveal an outlook shared, more or less, between preacher and audience” (Van Engen 1986a, 531; see also Murray 1972; 1974; and, esp. D’Avray 1985). Ultimately, Van Engen concluded his overview by stating that the medieval Christian culture is best understood as a complex and diverse spectrum of elements rather than one of “two radically different religious cultures,” and this still holds true (Van Engen 1986a, 532; for an overview of the work of scholars such as Duby, Gurevich, Schmitt, and Geremek in the context of the *Annales* School approach to the study of mentalities within the context of popular culture and opinion, see Tinsley 2010, 875–79).

As early as 1972 Colin Morris had taken a broad perspective on the issue of communication among the elements of medieval society and challenged the view that cultural interchange was dictated by the clergy and did not reach the “people” for the most part (Morris 1972). Assuming that the people meant the masses of lay society, Morris noted that there were ways to reach them and used the examples of the peoples’ crusades, heresy, pilgrimage, cults, songs, stories, and preaching to make his point. He viewed the sermon as the most obvious means of “publicity,” and used two French songs to illustrate how song was the next most popular way to reach a broad audience. He called attention to broad movements such as the Truce of God, the so-called Gregorian Reform, and the

Crusades to conclude that all of them took shape and made an impact as the result of widespread persuasion (Morris 1972, 14).

In 1990 Sophia Menache picked up on the cue from Morris and extended his analysis of the role of communication in the Middle Ages (Menache 1990). Beginning with Alcuin's condemnation of the maxim *Vox populi, vox Dei*, which she underlines as the "authoritarian characteristic of ecclesiastical writers in the feudal period," Menache moved on to trace the development of communication broadly as an "integral part of the process of social, economic and political integration" in medieval society at that time. Her focus in this study is "political communication" by which she means "the deliberate passing of a *political message* by a *sender* to a *receiver*, with the *intention* of making the receiver behave in a way that otherwise he might not do" (Menache 1990, 6; emphasis hers). As part of this process, the theory for which was drawn from earlier twentieth-century communication studies, primarily in the United States, she defined three systems of interaction, including that of the opinion-making process (Menache 1990, 6; see also Kann 1969; David 1957; Feagans et al., ed., 1984). Seeing the development of communication as part of the process of socio-economic change in the central Middle Ages, she argued that the change led to the cultivation of public opinion as a result of the need for "competing voices of authority to place their claims for supremacy before the public" (Menache 1990, 5). Her study provides several examples with which to illustrate how the Church and the monarchs used various sources and media to wage propaganda campaigns to persuade the public, and the case of heresy to demonstrate how the margins of society elicited particularly strong reactions and opportunities to manipulate the media. Following the publication of Menache's study, there has been little question raised about the reality of medieval public opinion, though there is still much need to avoid the anachronistic use of the term and to further illustrate its function in various medieval public arenas over time.

A number of studies of modern public opinion which may be helpful in the further analysis of medieval public opinion have appeared since the publication of Menache's *The Vox Dei*. For example, *The Anatomy of Public Opinion* by the Shamirs, and Splichal's *Public Opinion, Developments and Controversies in the Twentieth Century* provide excellent overviews of the research as well as insight regarding some of the more interesting and controversial concepts (Shamir and Shamir 2000; Splichal 1999). In his review of the literature, Splichal takes note of the work of Noelle-Neumann and her model of the "spiral of silence," which he identified as the "first integrated model of public opinion formation in the empirical sociological tradition" (Splichal 1999, 169 n. 9; Noelle-Neumann 1993). Starting with the reality that "society threatens deviant individuals with isolation," Noelle-Neuman provides a reminder that in any society individuals fear

isolation, and thus are forced to “assess the climate of opinion,” which often leads many into silence and mass opinion to gain momentum (Splichal 1999, 171). In arguing for a broader concept of public opinion in historical context, Noelle-Neumann avers that “there are indeed good historical reasons to adopt a concept of public opinion which is based on fear of isolation and its result, the spiral of silence societies [may] differ in the degree to which its [sic] members fear isolation, but all societies contain pressures to conform, the fear of isolation makes those pressures effective” (Noelle-Neumann 1993, 88). In this model public opinion operates as a means of social control.

Noelle-Neumann’s views are similar to those published earlier by Tamotsu Shibutani, who stated that a “public” is made up of “people who regard themselves as likely to be involved in the consequences of an event and are sufficiently concerned to interest themselves in the possibility of control” (Shibutani 1966). This view is reflected later by the Shamirs who considered public opinion as part of a “social system that mediates and accommodates social integration and social change” (Shamir and Shamir 2000, 2–3).

Related to the study of public opinion, much of more recent scholarship has been devoted to the complementary concept of the “public sphere” as developed by the work of Jürgen Habermas (Habermas 1989; Calhoun, ed., 1992; see also Classen 2002; Koller 2010). Though Habermas focused on the post-medieval era of history, particularly the eighteenth century, where he argues that the public sphere first emerged as a necessary place for public deliberation of issues in developing liberal political institutions, he raised the question of the nature of the public sphere itself and when and how it might have influenced the political sector. Pincus and Lake, however, in their article on the applicability of the concept to the sixteenth century in England, decided that it is worth moving the “public sphere” backward in time so that it is useful in understanding issues from the Reformation to the eighteenth century (Lake and Pincus 2006, 1). In pushing back even further in time, James Masschaele examined the English public marketplace of the period from 1150–1300, where he argues that even though the “type of public sphere created in the marketplaces of medieval England did not lead directly to the advent of modernity ... does not mean that medieval England lacked a public sphere, or that its public sphere was socially insignificant, or that its public sphere was irrelevant to the power relations of its own day” (Masschaele 2002, 419–20).

Before moving forward to examine examples of the development of medieval public opinion, let us summarize assumptions about public opinion in modern scholarship that guide the use of the term in this essay. First, public opinion is so complex that there is still no generally accepted definition of the term. It is dynamic and not simple to measure, even in today’s world of scientific polling

techniques. Second, public opinion does exist whether we measure it or not. It is volatile and there are numerous publics, not one mass public to consider in measuring its nature and impact in any historical period. Third, in trying to track public opinion it is good practice to follow the process of communication that identifies the senders and receivers of messages that attempt to influence action by larger numbers of the *populus*.

C Public Opinion Emerges in the Peace of God Movement

Our focus in tracing the development of public opinion in the Middle Ages will be on situations and events where there is an attempt to reach broad audiences to influence actions that affect a broad cross-section of medieval society in the period from ca. 1000 to ca. 1500 C.E. Earliest in this era there occurred a struggle for power among the nobles of Frankish society which resulted in what many perceived as anarchy leading to violent seizures of property from both the laity and the Church. In response, the ecclesiastical leaders made an unprecedented move in turning to the wider population of their dioceses in an attempt to bring about greater order. This became a movement known as the Peace of God. Two major components of that movement, namely the increasing popularity of the cults of saints and the holding of Peace councils, presented opportunities for the use of propaganda, preaching, and other tools of the Church to persuade the warrior elites to take oaths to preserve the peace.

Decades of modern research on the Peace of God have been gathered by Thomas Head and Richard Landes in *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France Around the Year 1000* (Head and Landes, ed., 1992), which includes an article by Frederick Paxton on the historiography of the movement (Paxton 1992; see also Kennelly 1962). As early as 1857 the study of the Peace of God had romanticized its significance to the point that Ernest Semichon had gone so far as to claim the origin of bourgeois liberties with the activities of the movement (Semichon 1869). Subsequent studies quickly undermined this anachronistic claim as to the outcome, but recent work has more clearly established the role of the masses and the attempt to influence them during the Peace of God. As Paxton pointed out, Loren MacKinney in 1930 took note of the large number of commoners who attended the Peace councils, and that the Church learned early on the power of bringing relics to the councils to attract the crowds who would pressure the knights to take oaths to preserve the peace. Similarly, Carl Erdmann, in his first edition of his study of the origins of the Crusades in 1933, “character-

ized the Peace of God as a necessary precondition for the holy wars” (Paxton 1992, 27; see Erdmann 1977). In 1957 Bernhard Töpfer introduced the Marxist thread of interpretation of the popular aspects of the Peace movement by arguing that social conditions of that time led to widespread popular unrest which allowed the church to take advantage. According to Paxton, Töpfer argued that: “The church did not create public opinion, although it did set out to mold it to its own purposes and to gain its support” for imposing its sanctions of excommunication and interdict (Paxton 1992, 28; see Töpfer 1957, 40; 81–83; cf. Töpfer 1992).

Numerous councils in southern France, beginning as early as 989 at Charroux, followed by Limoges in 994 and then Poitiers (ca. 1000), seemed to be connected in intent and marked with similar techniques and came to be called Peace councils. Limoges in 994 is more widely known from the account of our most prominent source, Ademar of Chabannes (ca. 988–1034), who indicated that the local bishop, abbot, and duke decided to hold a three-day event in response to an epidemic. Relics from all over the region were used to attract a large crowd of people who witnessed a healing miracle connected to the body of St. Martial (according to Gregory of Tours (ca. 538–594), he was the first bishop of Limoges, date unknown), and in thanks the duke, along with his men, “swore a pact of peace and justice” (Landes 1992, 186). Councils continued well into the eleventh century, each of which seemed to combine the custom of dealing with natural disasters by holding public penitential ceremonies and the newer technique of “drawing massive crowds of inspired people to Peace councils by gathering relics in open fields” (Landes 1992, 187). In Landes’s view these large crowds “created a powerful public arena of approval for cooperative lords and warriors and of disapproval for disturbers of the peace,” and thus a public was used to influence a desired political action (Landes 1992, 194–95).

Other articles in the Head and Landes collection support the concept of the significance of collective action as it developed in the Peace movement. Thomas Head, for example, argues that the councils “allowed the *populus*—that ill-defined collection of members of the lower orders who had no independent personal voice in public affairs—to become involved in political events as a collective actor” (Head 1992, 236). Head also recognized the Janus nature of collective action—it could be “turned into a revolt against power of the hierarchy, both secular and ecclesiastic,” with the latter being more significant in the case of the rise of medieval heresy (Head 1992, 236). Christian Lauranson-Rosaz points out the increasing significance of the use of relics to attract crowds of both *rustici* and *milites* to a common purpose, such as at the council of Coler (ca. 980). The latter was not a major council, but it marked another early example of what became a pattern of the better-known Peace councils wherein “relics added the force of heaven’s approval to the decrees of the church, pronounced in their presence, on

earth,” that is *Vox populi, vox Dei* (Lauranson-Rosaz 1992, 125). Geoffrey Koziol drew attention to how the ideals proclaimed in the Peace councils came to expand beyond France, and became a part of the climate of opinion in Flanders at the local level because monks, bishops, and canons who attended the councils brought the ideas expressed home to the parishes in their own towns and villages (Koziol 1992, 258; see also Hoffmann 1964). Hans-Werner Goetz concluded his article in this volume by affirming the idea that the Peace movement was “directed against those elements that disturbed peace and order,” and that it was clearly a popular movement (Goetz 1992, 278–79).

Further study by Charles Connell led to the reaffirmation of the origins of some of the more modern aspects of public opinion in the Peace movement (Connell 2011). He argues, for example, that the movement helped to delineate better distinctions between the lay and the ecclesiastical, the rich and the poor, or the *milites* and the unarmed interests or publics. These councils and their devices also helped to “define more clearly the means by which public opinion was known, the media through which it was communicated, and the ways in which it was made effective. The Church first controlled the public opinion network, developed its symbols, its rhetoric, and its goals. Yet, by the mid-eleventh century the lay propagandists also understood the value of its manipulation and challenged the leadership role of the Church in the control of public opinion” (Connell 2011, 185–86). He concludes with several observations. First that the medieval *populus* in this era seems to have functioned in ways that correspond with the Noelle-Neumann model, namely that it was dynamic, that it “responded best in a highly-charged emotional environment,” and that it was “subject to manipulation in fear-laden situations to affect social control” (Connell 2011, 191). Even though fickle and leading to unintended consequences, as noted by Head above, we can detect a rather sophisticated understanding of the nature of public opinion beginning to emerge in medieval culture.

D Public Opinion and Propaganda in the Investiture Contest

In 2000 Maureen Miller developed a significant elaboration on how the distinctions among medieval cultures that began to emerge around the year 1000 were more individually portrayed in various ways, especially in her examination of how the forms of central public space in lay and ecclesiastical courts of Italy were used to distinguish one from the other (Miller 2000). She placed her analysis of the evolution of clerical culture within the debate among scholars about the

distinction between elite and popular culture. Her point was to argue that the debate had tended to place a stigma upon the concept of “clerical culture.” In this article Miller sought to “redeem and redefine” it as a useful category to understand in order to comprehend more fully the struggle for power that occurred in the wake of the movement toward church reform that is often labeled the Investiture Contest, or alternatively the Gregorian Reform.

Miller’s analysis presents a way to clarify better what amounts to the points of view and/or climates of opinion that one might most often find within two of the medieval publics, namely the ecclesiastical and the lay, at least with reference to their conceptions of authority based on religion, which is her focus. She argues that in the eleventh century, “European Christians displayed an increasingly intense interest in defining new differences through religion” (Miller 2000, 1098), which resulted in the increased violence against religious “others” (particularly Jews and Muslims). However, it also led to a call for distinctions within Christianity itself, namely the view that the clergy should be different from the everyday Christian lay person. Miller takes issue with those who identify the origins of this reform among the ecclesiastical leaders, even Gregory VII for whom the reform is named (see Fliche 1924–1937; Morghen 1974b; Blumenthal 1988; Fornasari 1989). Instead, she argues that the movement had “its origins in the demands of lay people that their clergy be held to higher behavioral standards” (Miller 2000, 1098; also see earlier work by Violante 1955–1956 and 1956–1959; and later examples, Moore 1980; Howe 1988; Remensnyder 1992; Miller 1993; and Leyser 1994).

The work of Miller and others has broadened the scope of earlier studies on the way in which propaganda and other means of communication helped to influence various publics in the struggle for power between the papacy and the emperors of the eleventh century. Gerd Tellenbach, for example, examined how the early attitude of the Church toward the world had been split between one of withdrawal versus one of an expanding conversion through missionary work, but was changing in the eleventh century toward a more certain embracing of the Church’s public role in the world (Tellenbach 1991). I. S. Robinson took the lead in studying the actual polemical literature to see how the polemicists focused on issues of obedience and rebellion against authority in the period from 1073 to 1095 (Robinson 1978b). His work focused on the various forms of polemic, including debates, treatises, and letters that surrounded the reigns of Emperor Henry IV (1050–1106) and Pope Gregory VII (ca. 1025–1085) to determine how they used the tools of rhetoric to reach out to their respective publics in the struggle for power. Robinson’s analysis of the struggle between the emperor and pope illustrates the development of two major “publics” within the secular and ecclesiastical hierarchies. German and Italian princes, as well as the Saxons, and the Normans in

southern Italy supported the pope, and many of them offered assistance for more than political reasons. Those, such as the Countess Matilda of Tuscany (1046–1115), had been influenced by reforming ideas as propagated in the reformers' treatises. In addition to his court and most loyal secular lords, there were many German bishops and abbots who owed their positions to Henry IV and supported him for practical reasons, but who also had been persuaded in favor of the emperor's position regarding the correct order in society. Wilbert, Archbishop of Ravenna (ca. 1029–1100) was declared anti-pope Clement III in 1080 by Henry IV, and attacked Gregory VII as a "schismatic and disturber of the peace, whose machinations threatened the most sacred bonds of Christian society" (Robinson 1978b, 7). Other scholars have studied the polemical literature as evidence of "medieval resistance theory" or as part of the debate about the "just war" prior to the start of the First Crusade (Carlyle and Carlyle 1928–1932; Erdmann 1977; for a survey of the publicists, see Mirbt 1894). Each of these studies recognized the growing development of attention paid to constituent publics, as well as the masses of the *populus*.

In cultivating constituencies there were several other options used by the Church in the Gregorian era. By the early eleventh century, Cluny had clearly become part of the papal network of influence, and its daughter houses were included throughout Europe by the time of Gregory VII. On the royal side, Henry IV similarly used the bishops he had appointed to maintain and expand his support. Each could send letters or treatises developed by the various propagandists to persuade and control the image. A model of how this worked for Gregory VII has been studied by Robinson in a separate article wherein he determined how Gregory likely used his personal influence to win converts to his side, and they in turn became his advocates to persuade others. In this case, William of Hirsau (ca. 1030–1091) traveled to Rome in 1075 to secure confirmation of the charter for his abbey that he had received from Henry IV. Although he came as a supporter of the emperor, he became ill during the trip, and while remaining in Rome he met with Gregory several times. The pope succeeded in winning William to his cause. Upon his return to Hirsau he was a "radical Gregorian," and his monks became polemicists and preachers of Gregory's reforms who were noted for "sowing the greatest discord everywhere" (Robinson 1978a, 2). In other cases, the pope used the power of a papal summons to bring those suspected of disobedience to Rome for synods, and used the occasions to administer "remedial treatment" to the erring clergy. Those successfully remediated would return and become advocates for Gregory's reforms (Robinson 1978a, 3). A variation of this story is that of Hugh, Bishop of Die (1074–1082) and Archbishop of Lyons (1082–1106), who had been raised to his original seat by a local spontaneous election, went to Rome for confirmation and became a trusted associate of Gregory. There-

after, he served as “a link between Rome and a ‘friendship circle’ of French reformers,” and often cooperated with the Abbot Hugh of Cluny (1024–1109), who was “the central figure in the most extensive monastic friendship circle in Western Christendom” (Robinson 1978a, 4).

The network of Gregory VII demonstrates the force of personality and “charismatic leadership” in the manipulation of public opinion, and it was not limited to influence over the ecclesiastical public. As Robinson notes, it also included important members of the laity, such as Duke Rudolf of Swabia (1025–1080), and Italian noblewomen such as the Countess Matilda of Tuscany (1046–1115). The evidence for this network is found in the extant letters of the pope. These letters are in the tradition of the “cult of friendship” that marks letter collections of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, including those of St. Anselm (ca. 1033–1109) and Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) (on the ‘golden age of letters’ in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, see Constable 1976). Typical of the messages exchanged in the papal correspondence are prayers for the recipients and an expression of interest in their spiritual welfare. Yet, it is also clear that these letters of Gregory VII were used to persuade important members of the network to pursue some course of action in support of the papal reform program (Robinson 1978a, 8–10). Moreover, the influence of Gregory extended beyond the high-level prelates and laity. When it was clear to him for example, that the bishops might not diligently enforce his decrees, he would address the laity in more direct fashion (e.g. in the decrees of the Roman synod of Lent 1075) “to enforce the reform of the Church by boycotting simoniac and married priests and by putting pressure on the bishops who countenanced them” (Robinson 1978a, 11). In this case, Gregory called for the people to bring the clergy “to their senses through the shame of the world and the rebuke of the people” (Ep. Vag. 6 in *Registrum* II.66 as quoted and translated in Robinson 1978a, 12). The impact of this was apparently widely felt, because the subjects of Henry IV reportedly complained that “you have armed subjects against prelates” (Robinson 1978a, 12). This call to the power of shame and rebuke by the “people” to bring about reform of the Church has been labeled “central to the history of Gregory VII’s pontificate” and was used throughout Christendom during his reign (Robinson 1978a, 12–15, 22).

Similar evidence of the use of letters in the short-lived investiture debate in England is found in the correspondence of the saintly Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury (ca. 1033–1109), who led the surge of propaganda in support of church reform (Cantor 1958, 168–70). In sum, the power of letters is defined by Menache in these words: “medieval letters were quasi-public literary documents, written to be collected and publicized in the future, and intended to be read by more than one person The papal court was a leading user of correspondence,” whether by circular letters sent to all churches of an area, or

by papal bulls that were widely diffused among the clergy and the political elite (Menache 1990, 16).

In recent years, there has been a successful challenge to what Maureen Miller labeled the “top down” trajectory interpretation of the Gregorian reform whereby a small handful of elite clergy surrounding Gregory VII “artfully channeled the discontents of the masses into a permanent reordering of western society” (Miller 2003, 26). The more prominent view now is that the local *populus* had as much to do with change as did the ecclesiastical hierarchy. She refers to examples such as the broad-based demand for a chaste clergy to perform the liturgies of the Church in order for the laity to have a better guarantee of salvation (Miller 2003, 27; see also Remensnyder 1992).

In the example of the Investiture Contest, the weapon used to enforce the pledges of support gained by the various means of persuasion outlined above, as in the case of the enforcement of vows to secure the peace in the Peace councils, was *excommunication*. This very public exclusion from the rites and sacraments of the Church for those who violated their vows or who opposed the church reform relied heavily on the “rebuke of the people.” It became even more significant as the canon lawyers began to define its range of potential use more clearly in the process of church reform and the increase of papal centralization of power. The use of excommunication had grown more widespread during the Truce of God of the early eleventh century, and Gregory VII himself used the tool against Henry IV in the Lenten synod of 1076. By 1080, he had to remind the ecclesiastical leaders that they had often deprived spiritual prelates of their offices, and that their authority over secular rulers was even greater, so they should not back down (Vodola 1986, 20; for the use of excommunication in the Truce of God, see Mirbt 1894, 131–213; Hoffmann 1964, 4–20; Bisson 1977).

The link between the deposition of a monarch and excommunication which released his subjects from allegiance to him was tenuous and had to be used carefully in light of the growing awareness of the role of the *populus*. Gregory recognized this in 1076, for example, when he separated the two actions because the German princes had agreed to withdraw their allegiance from Henry until he obtained absolution from the pope. Without the willingness of this public to rise in opposition, the deposition would be of no consequence and Gregory realized it (Vodola 1986, 22). Despite his use of it, the pope recognized the danger of too many excommunications back-firing because depriving the faithful of their spiritual nourishment might turn a large part of the public against the Church. Thus, in 1078 he issued the canon *Quoniam multos* which limited the punishment for those who associated with excommunicates (Vodola 1986, 24).

The issue of condemning those who associated with excommunicates did not go away after the death of Gregory VII in 1085. Subsequent Lateran Councils, for

example, took up the question again and again. *Si quis suadente* of Lateran II (1139) unfortunately widened the gap between the clergy and the laity on this issue by excommunicating those who laid violent hands on clerics, and by creating a new form of excommunication (*latae sententiae*) whereby a sentence of excommunication took place immediately as the violation occurred, without any trial needed (Vodola 1986, 28–29). The Third Lateran Council of 1179 excommunicated all those who joined a heretical sect, or even those who hid, defended or otherwise associated with substitute heretics for them (Vodola 1986, 30). This opened up the door to wider social abuses of public shunning in the midst of growing urban populations. As Vodola states, excommunication put the sinner into the hands of the devil, and “By withdrawing its protection, the community gave the devil power to rage inside an excommunicate and disintegrate his personality” (Vodola 1986, 46). But more importantly the individual was separated from the earthly community of the faithful. In the twelfth century Gratian had developed the canon law (C. 11, q. 3 *dict. post* c. 21, 24, 26, as cited in Chodorow 1972, 89) to insure its public nature, that is, “that no separation ... was possible without a publicly read sentence of excommunication and though an unjust sentence could be appealed, the sentence was effective until overturned by a higher court” (Chodorow 1972, 89). Thus, the individual incurred *infamia* that often could not be erased in the court of public opinion even if the sentence was later overturned.

Reflective of the vagaries of public opinion and rumor in society, the term “infamy” is difficult to pin down. Beginning with its evolution in Roman law, and because, as Ed Peters relates, in medieval Europe it left a trail in both secular and canon law, “as well as to the broader concepts of shame and honor, its history and nature have exercised [a range of scholars]—most recently in terms of mechanisms of social marginalization—social historians” (Peters 1990b, 43; see also samples of related scholarly work in various disciplines in Peristiany, ed., 1966; Piers and Singer 1971; Duerr 1988; Miller 1985; Würmser 1981; Robreau 1981; Boitani 1984; Geremek 1987). The later medieval complexity surrounding the term derived in large part from the re-emergence of the *Corpus iuris civilis* and its study in Bologna, where “the powerful roots of canon law in conscience and community opinion as well as in the legal arena produced Gratian’s awareness of two types of infamy,” which were equivalent to Roman legal infamy on the one hand, and “the other reflective of general reputation, popular opinion, the doctrines of *scandalum* and notoriety” (Peters 1990b, 67; see also, Migliorino 1985). By the time of the canonist Stephen of Tournai (1128–1203) in his writings around 1165, the two had become *infamia iuris* and *infamia facti*.

The Church understood that it was taking a different road from Roman legal precedents in its attempts to control sin through its definitions of *infamia*. As Peters tells us, “*Infamia facti* is, in a sense, the canonistic development of earlier

Carolingian *mal fama*” (Peters 1990b, 68; see also Migliorino 1985, chpt. 5). In Gratian’s characterization of *infamia facti*, “infamy occurred not through a statutory offense, the declaration of a judge, or the performance of an infamous act, but *infamia* created by certain public knowledge that is widespread” (Peters 1990b, 69). In the latter sense then Gratian was recognizing the community practice where *fama* was used to mean “common knowledge.” According to Chris Wickham: “*Fama*, most often *publica fama* (public fame), sometimes *vulgaris et frequens fama* (common and frequent fame), *communis fama* (common fame), or *consentiens fama* (accepted *fama*), was one form of knowledge in twelfth-century Tuscany” (Wickham 2003, 16). Testimony from case witnesses, for example, when asked what “*publica fama*” meant, elicited the response that it is “what all say publicly,” and this idea that the views of a lot of people (a public) carried a lot of weight is significant for our understanding of the growing power of public opinion in the medieval world (Wickham 2003, 17). It not only reflected community norms, but it became the enforcer of those norms, and in the case of *infamia* or *mal fama*, shaped the nature of the penalty of exclusion and the loss of a good reputation.

E Public Opinion and the Crusades

Perhaps the greatest and longest lasting stimulus to the development and manipulation of public opinion in the Middle Ages began in November 1095 with the call for the First Crusade by Pope Urban II (1042–1099). Pope Urban’s speech at Clermont that year has long been the subject of much debate regarding its intention and the nature of its reporting. However, there has been little question about its impact or that of the subsequent preaching of a crusade by the pope himself in south-central France in the spring of 1096 which resulted in the launching of a crusade army numbering around 100,000 participants (Cowdrey 1970; 1976; 1995; Erdmann 1977; Riley-Smith 1986; Asbridge 2004; the scholarship on the crusades in general, and the first in particular, is enormous; see the bibliographical overviews, for example, in Purcell 1975, Cole 1991, and most recently, Constable 2001 and Housley 2006). What has been more difficult to determine is the rationale for such a widespread response among the laity.

According to Marcus Bull, who has studied “The Roots of Lay Enthusiasm for the First Crusade” (Bull 1993b), and the nature of the lay response to the crusades perhaps more than any recent modern scholar, it is a complex matter which cannot be easily understood on the basis of either medieval culture or modern theory (Bull 2003). Early on, for example, Bull concluded that the key to the success of the First Crusade is that it “was a happy marriage between what were

conceived of as the interests of the church as a single entity and the mundane preoccupations of thousands of discrete individuals,” namely the “pious instincts” that were “perfectly capable of motivating a long absence from home on a dangerous and arduous undertaking” (Bull 1993b, 372). More recently, taking another look at the issue of motivation for crusading to account for the widespread positive response from the *populus*, Bull examined the evidence of miracle stories to understand more clearly what might have been the climate of opinion underlying the popular response. In this article, Bull concluded that the persistence of an interest in Jerusalem and the Holy Land as an ongoing attempt to locate the saints in a broader historical context reflected a broad-based interest, or, in his words, developed the “evocative power of Jerusalem as a motif in the crusade message,” which Urban and others understood as they set forth to preach the crusades (Bull 2003, 34). In this regard, he argued further that similar images and metaphors in the evidence provided by charters “suggests a close correspondence with the terms of reference being used in 1095–1096 as the crusade message criss-crossed Europe. One noteworthy feature of this group of ideas is the skillful manner in which it elides perils to the individual body with the hazards faced by the corporate body of believers” (Bull 2003, 24). Thus, the message in the account of the speech of Urban by Robert the Monk (d. 1122) that individual Christians are circumcised or decapitated is set beside the image of the Holy Places in Jerusalem being dishonored and polluted. In Bull’s view, “Clermont became an encapsulation of informed contemporary impressions of what made western European society respond to the crusade message” (Bull 2003, 22).

Reaching the medieval *populus* to persuade it to crusade meant the launching of a concentrated effort focused on one public in particular, the knights who could afford to travel and who could fight. But in reality the message was so powerful that it had unintended consequences which underlined the importance of the medium of preaching. Penny Cole has led the research on crusade preaching. She called attention to the importance of Urban, but she also reviewed the research on Peter the Hermit (d. 1115) and the debates over the effectiveness of his preaching (Cole 1991). For some scholars such as Brooke, “Peter’s crusade, with its anti-Semitism and murderous excess, was popular religious enthusiasm manifested in its darkest, most repugnant form” (Cole 1991, 34–35; Brooke and Brooke 1984). Cole noted further that Brooke found evidence for this view in the work of Peter’s contemporary, Guibert of Nogent (1055–1124), who expressed disgust over Peter’s expedition, questioned his religious status, his motives for preaching, and viewed “with dismay the rapid spread of his reputation and the remarkable influence which he had upon the people” (Cole 1991, 35). Guibert is also important because he helps us to understand a likely common perception of the layers of the *populus* in his time. In his *Gesta Dei per Francos* (1108, modified somewhat in

1121) Guibert attacked Peter's followers as an "ignorant rabble" that "acted out of unrestrained wantonness, venality, insolence and presumption" (Cole 1991, 35). Thus, we see here some of the fears generated by the rising sense of the potential power of public opinion when a charismatic personality could arouse the unlettered and the needy to inappropriate and wasteful actions.

Another, more positively regarded charismatic preacher of the crusade, was Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), who undertook the successful mission to preach the Second Crusade in 1146. His message to the *populus* was one of hope and promise, namely that the crusade was a gift from God, an "opportunity for men to restore something of the image of God within them" by imitating Christ through suffering and self-sacrifice (Cole 1991, 59). When the crusade failed, and many turned on Bernard, he defended it by arguing that the complaint against God was not justified because the fault lay with "the rejection by the crusaders of the invitation to salvation. They had lost their love for eternal things which he had preached to them" (Cole 1991, 60). Ultimately, however, even Bernard recognized his loss of credibility with the public and how important that was for effective crusade preaching.

Humbert of Romans (ca. 1200–1277) in the thirteenth century also recognized the vagaries of the public and the need for credible preaching. As head of the Dominican Order he needed to field many preachers of crusade and the inquisition, and in writing his treatise on how to preach (*De praedicatione crucis*), Humbert longed for the former days of personal charismatic preaching, with his particular hero being Urban II (Cole 2003, 171–72). He knew there were many potential objections to crusading. Thus, in attempting to find the tone and message to persuade men to sign up, he focused on the salvatory benefits of the indulgences which the crusaders would obtain, and reminded those who did not take the cross that without the indulgence they would likely find the "pit of hell open" with "demons coming to meet them and carry them off" (Cole 2003, 162). Ultimately, however, it appears that Humbert had simply to accept the fact that the fiery charisma which he deemed necessary for effective outreach to a wide cross-section of the public, especially in his time when there was ever-mounting criticism of the crusade, was no longer the norm.

The evidence of anti-crusade sentiment among the *populus* of the thirteenth century was studied early in the twentieth century by Palmer A. Throop (Throop 1940), who focused on the transformation from the age of crusade "*excitatoria*" (namely, letters, sermons, chronicles and poetry exhorting the need for the crusade to encourage participation), which lasted from the time of Urban II into the reign of Innocent III (r. 1198–1216), and to the time of a failing message which became very apparent by the pontificate of Gregory X (r. 1271–1276). According to Throop's analysis, there were many critics of papal crusade policy, including

representatives of all the literate classes and from many different regions of Europe, to the point that he concluded that it represented “widespread opinion with political and even religious implications” (Throop 1940, 27).

Throop’s view of the degree to which public opinion had turned against the crusade has been challenged over the years. Elizabeth Siberry wrote in 1985, for example, that although there was admittedly “bitter resentment of abuses, fundamental criticism of the concept [of crusade] itself was rare,” and that the evidence did not really justify the claim that the thirteenth century witnessed a “significant decline in popular enthusiasm” (Siberry 1985, 220). However, in 1274 Gregory X was trying unsuccessfully to raise another crusade army to go to the Holy Land as the Muslim forces threatened to end the last remnant of Christian occupation of territory in the Holy Land. In his efforts to find a way to persuade participation, Gregory had solicited advice from several prominent European leaders, including Humbert of Romans (ca. 1200–1277), who as head of the Dominican Order had access to information from preachers all over Europe. It is these reports, which did indicate widespread opposition to a crusade for a variety of reasons, which Throop used to judge the climate of opinion. Regardless of the interpretation of this evidence, it is clear that the role of public opinion had become a significant factor in determining the future of crusading.

In the face of crusade failures after the first, the popes of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries examined many ways to promote a successful venture. Often they turned to primary media for reaching the widest possible public, namely preaching, to see if they could find improved stimuli. Christoph Maier studied this development and concluded that “the number of different types of crusade sermons preached at various times in late medieval Europe must have been immense” (Maier 2000, 3). But crusade propaganda had become too diverse as “undertaken by individually commissioned preachers and the resident secular clergy,” so the Church turned to the newly-formed orders of preachers, the Franciscans and the Dominicans. One major thrust of the thirteenth-century Church was the attempt to use the friars as the propagators of a more clear and consistent message via the sermon. Thus, model sermons were developed to assist in the training of new preachers in the use of this mass medium (Maier 2000, 7; 9).

The obligation to take up the cross had been accepted by both the military classes and the Christian public in general in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This change in attitude had been accomplished by what Colin Morris has called the “control of opinion” (Morris 1983, 79). In his study of crusade propaganda, he concluded several things. First, that it was “one aspect of the new social forms and means of communication” that reached far beyond the boundaries of the diocese or even the new urban environment, it belonged “to the many institutions

which in the twelfth century assumed an international character” (Morris 1983, 100). Second, he noted that the propaganda originated with the papacy (see above regarding the role of the Church in the Peace movement), but the popes could not control it. It spread and was “transmuted into a form which embodied their [i.e., new social groups] own aspirations [e.g., the “poor” in the case of those who took up the cross to follow Peter the Hermit in 1096. Although it is now more evident that those who followed Peter came from a broad range of the ranks in society, they did likely represent those seeking a more public voice in the culture]” (Morris 1983, 100). Third, there was a wide range of propagandists, including popular preachers, officially sanctioned preachers, aristocratic and non-aristocratic song writers, and various papal representatives. Thus, as a corollary to this range of preachers, propaganda was successful in reaching the *populus* because it was not completely regulated by central control.

In the analysis of Sophia Menache, “The Crusades present one of the earliest examples of what has since come to be known as the use of mass media, whose impact in medieval society is hardly questionable” (Menache 1990, 98). For her, the Crusades represented an opportunity much larger than the expedition to the Holy Land; it was an opening for the “Reformer papacy to turn Western society into the *Societas Christiana*” (Menache 1990, 99), and this required “the most spectacular propaganda campaign in the Middle Ages” (Menache 1990, 98). To carry out the campaign, communication channels were established in the form of written and oral messages (preaching), as well as through the dispatching of papal legates and the calling of synods. The flexibility of these methods enabled the papacy to adapt the message to meet both “the changing needs of the Crusades and the ever-changing European public opinion as well” (Menache 1990, 103). The ability of the Church to understand the current climate of opinion was a key to success, that is, one had to “link the Crusade[sic] with deeply rooted ideas at both the popular and the intellectual levels of perception” (Menache 1990, 111). This meant, for example, by placing the crusade into the category of a “just war,” crusade propaganda could encapsulate the Germanic war ideals with those of feudal knighthood in order to gain the support of knights (the targeted public) needed to fight the battles in the Holy Land, while insinuating papal leadership into the political sector to gain longer-term hegemony in the process of controlling the *Societas Christiana* (Menache 1990, 111). Because the enemy was relatively unknown at the time of the First Crusade, the propaganda engaged biblical images and metaphors to stereotype the opponents as “heathens,” and the crusaders as the children of Israel who once again were called upon to fight upon holy ground (Menache 1990, 114). As the crusades failed, however, and the practical experience and knowledge of the enemy became more realistic, these images failed to provide an incentive for crusading for those in the West. In

response to the failures, as Humbert of Romans reported, the *populus* is “asking what is the purpose of this attack upon the Saracens... [even] When we gain their lands, we do not occupy them... [thus]there seems to be no spiritual, corporeal or temporal benefits from this sort of attack” (quoted from his *Opus Tripartitum* in Menache 1990, 121).

Once the last Christian stronghold in the Holy Land at Acre had fallen in 1291, according to the study by Sylvia Schein entitled *Fidelis Crucis*, the loss “profoundly stirred European society” as reflected in the “sheer volume of references in chronicles, in treatises tinged with apologetics, and in sources dealing with other affairs” (Schein 1991, 112). However, this stirring did not result in a unanimous agreement within or among the publics that these various sources reached. While many called for a new crusade, many others tied the event to another rise in eschatological anticipation, or to a renewal of criticism of the crusade with the citation of the loss of Acre as clear evidence of God’s disfavor toward the Christians (Schein 1991, 113; 128; 132–36). The battle for public opinion support had been lost by the papacy.

F Heresy and Public Opinion

The role played by public opinion in the development and reaction to medieval heresy was ambiguous and filled with potential dangers for the Church as it confronted the rise of dissident movements in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The modern research of medieval heresy began in the late nineteenth century with the publication of the ground-breaking work of H. C. Lea on the history of the Inquisition (Lea 1888). Since then a mountain of studies has appeared, from which using the work from up to about 1975 Malcolm Lambert first compiled a broad survey entitled *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation*, which he updated somewhat in his second edition (Lambert 1992). In addition to Lea’s early work, Lambert drew inspiration from Herbert Grundmann, with whom he agreed that one must examine the “climate of orthodoxy” in order to understand those who choose not to follow it. Grundmann was the first in the twentieth century to create a more narrowly focused synthesis of medieval heresy (Grundmann 1995; see for a bibliographical collection, Grundmann 1963; and Russell 1963; for a much more recent update on the bibliography on heresy, see Biller 2001; Peters 2009).

In the mid-twentieth century, historians moved far from the anti-ecclesiastical bias of Lea toward the more contextual approach preferred by Grundmann to analyze heresy as an aspect of Church reform and the popular movements of dissent. Studies by Richard Landes, Gordon Leff, R. I. Moore, J. H. Mundy,

I. S. Robinson, and Jeffrey Russell, for example, have attempted to relate changes in the dynamics of medieval culture owing to the growth in population after the year 1000 and the revival of cities and towns to the rapid rise and spread of heresy (Landes 1992; Leff 1967; Leyser 1994, 11; Moore 1975; 1984a; 1985; 1987; Mundy 1973, ch. 14; Robinson 1978b; and Russell 1971, 1992). Bredero, in *Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages*, argues that there were a number of social factors contributing to the rise of dissent, including the reforms and centralization by the popes, the rise of the urban monied elite, and various challenges to Church authority (Bredero 1994). Because of the link to the *populus* defined as the working class, Marxist theories have been applied to the study of heresy in the works of Werner, Norman Cohn, and Erbstösser (Erbstösser 1984; Werner 1956; Werner and Erbstösser 1986; Cohn 1970). However, despite the assumption by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels that the peasants and workers in the revival of the urban centers would be attracted to movements of dissent, the evidence suggests that it was the middle class and elite in society who were more often drawn to the Waldensians and the Cathars which were the most popular. Moreover, it would appear that the actual number of adherents was not as large as formerly thought, and declined rather rapidly after the movements were no longer so free to appeal openly through preaching to mass publics after being condemned as heresies (Kaelber 1997, 113–14; see also, Becamel 1968; Wakefield 1968, 68–71; Wakefield and Evans, ed., 1969, 337; Duvernoy 1985, 31, 51; Abels and Harrison 1979, 225; Menache 1990, 215).

Though the materialist theory per se does not continue to find favor, the evidence does indicate that many were drawn to various heretical movements because of popular preachers who attacked the clergy and the wealth of the Church, while advocating a return to the simpler life of the early Church in the form of the *vita apostolica*. Two examples from the twelfth century stand out in this regard. First, there is Henry the Monk (d. 1148), a French-speaking itinerant preacher who first appeared bearded, barefoot, and in poor clothing in Le Mans in 1116. His preaching was so eloquent that he led a revolt against the strictures of the Gregorian reforms being enforced by the local Bishop Hildebert (ca. 1055–1133). From Le Mans he continued preaching as late as 1145 in Lausanne, Poitiers, and Bordeaux with a focus on the clerical rules on marriage and a stress on poverty, but he was not an ascetic. Though a popular preacher, and one who obviously understood the climate of opinion regarding the lay discontent with aspects of Church reforms, he never founded a true heretical movement even though some of his ideas regarding marriage were condemned as heresy (Lambert 1992, 44–46; see also reg. the Cathars, Barber 2000). Second, Peter of Bruys (d. ca. 1131) was more widely known and the object of a major treatise (*Contra Petrobrusianos*) by Peter the Venerable (ca. 1092–1156), the abbot of Cluny (see Iogna-Prat

2002, ch. 4 reg. the polemic method of Peter the Venerable). As a priest who had been ejected from his parish, Peter of Bruys began around 1117 to preach heresy mostly in southern France, and helped to lay the groundwork for the success of the Cathars who came after him in that region. Peter's teachings were radical and he encouraged the spread of his ideas using violent tactics to arouse large crowds. In at least one instance his followers dragged monks from monasteries in an attempt to force them to marry. Peter also attacked infant baptism, the doctrines of the Eucharist and the sacrifice of the mass, and the use of church buildings in an attempt to build a "church" based on the unity of a community of the faithful (Lambert 1992, 49). This approach eventually led to his own death while he was attempting to incite the people of St. Gilles to make a bonfire for their crucifixes. As the fire grew, his opponents pushed him into it (Lambert 1992, 48). Of course, as the force of the masses and the influence of public opinion increased, this illustrates one of the major fears of the elite in medieval society, namely the resorting to mob violence to achieve an objective.

Fear of the mob was particularly true in the case of the Church's attempt to root out heresy. To be declared "heresy," the views in question had to be publically proclaimed as such before any action could be taken against the alleged heretics. In some cases, as in Henry the Monk, the mob could be aroused against the orthodox bishop, or in the case of Peter of Bruys, against the heretics. Underlying this volatile surface emotion and tension, however, the Church's response to heresy points to other factors of change in the high medieval culture, namely changes in the communication system that facilitated the rise of these dissident movements. Menache called our attention to the connection between the emergence of heresy and improvements in communication, as well as to the awareness of the emergence of the new group identities to respond and challenge traditional norms. In her words, "The development of heresy depended upon the emergence of a more communication-oriented society, which integrated the ideology of its members into one wholeness Heresy often reflected a deep religious belief that could not easily be channeled into the frameworks of traditional society, thus bringing about a growing dissatisfaction with the existing order" (Menache 1990, 213). Often, this animosity focused on conditions of society generated by the growth of population and the unemployed poor. Unfortunately, beginning with the Gregorian reforms of the eleventh century, the Church's approach to the institutionalization of evangelical poverty did not truly respond to the needs of the poor who gathered at the doors of the monasteries and the churches to plead for physical and spiritual nourishment (Menache 1990, 217–18). This opened the way for itinerant preachers, the formation of the friars, and the opponents of the Church to reach out to the *populus* in their own various ways.

How did the Church respond and communicate its message? The spread of heresy presented a real challenge, to which the Church declared heresy to be “a threat to the very survival of orthodoxy,” and launched a propaganda campaign to convince the public at all levels of society that, in the words of Pope Innocent III (ca. 1160–1216) “it is necessary to regard as manifest heretics those who preach or publicly profess ideas contrary to the Catholic faith and defend their error” (Menache 1990, 226). As Menache points out, the Church was most concerned about the public nature of heresy, that is, “the heretics’ tendency to *publicize* their faith in open contradiction with the principles of the Catholic faith” (Menache 1990, 226, emphasis hers). Thus, the Church recognized the effectiveness of the communications system of the new sects as they developed from an isolated set of beliefs into a “contagious disease” which reached all levels of society, and therefore demanded the use of “more sophisticated channels of communication and the more intensive use of propaganda” to influence public opinion (Menache 1990, 228; for the widespread twelfth- and thirteenth-centuries concerns of the followers of Peter the Chanter (d. 1197) on heresy, see Bird 2003b). But it also relied on the power of excommunication to use the force of public opinion to control heresy, as was confirmed at the peak of papal power and influence under Innocent III in the canons of Lateran IV in 1215.

The origins of medieval heresy and even the time of the origins are much debated. For example, R. I. Moore suggested that it was “the return to introspection and contemplation in the eleventh century [which] brought with the stimulus for dynamic spiritual personalities to become potential antagonists to the institutional church” (according to Riggs 1998, reading Moore 1977). Jeffrey Russell said that perhaps the ninth century is a better time to look (Russell 1965). But most scholars focus on the eleventh century, because, as Peters has noted, it is the time from which there “can be traced the progressive awareness on the part of religious churchmen of religious dissent” (Peters, ed. and intro., 1980, 6). Church attention accelerated in the twelfth century with the work of Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) in his sermon on the *Song of Songs*, grew more aggressive still in the encounters with the Waldensians and the Cathars, and was fully institutionalized by the middle of the thirteenth century under Pope Innocent IV (ca. 1195–1254) with the approval of the use of torture in the process of the Inquisition. Dissidents did not go away with the Inquisition or even the Albigensian Crusade (1209–1229) against the alleged heretics of southern France. By the fourteenth century there was widespread approval for anti-clerical feeling and simplification of the doctrine among the followers of John Wyclif (ca. 1330–1384) and John Hus (1369–1415) (Spinka 1953; 1966; 1968; Leff 1967; Mudroch 1979; Somerset et al., ed., 2003; Evans 2005; Lahey 2009). In all of these cases the key to understanding the development perhaps lies in the dynamics of social change and the growing

influence of a *populus* that was more open and emotionally vulnerable to improved methods of communication which made the messages of the heretics more accessible through preaching and other forms of propaganda.

Ultimately, the Church's attempt to publically identify and redeem, punish or eliminate heretics led to the Inquisition (Russell 1965; Peters 1989; Kieckhefer 1995; Given 1997; Zerner, ed., 1998; Pegg 2001). As Christine Ames has recently reminded us, "heresy inquisitions involved the pursuit, arrest, interrogation, possible torture, and punishment (most notoriously, with the death penalty) of those who persistently, after attempts at correction, refused to 'believe as the Roman church teaches and preaches'" (Ames 2005, 11–12). Because this process cast such a shadow on the medieval Church, and as Ames indicates, one that lasts today as a blemish or a scandal, historians have turned to the question of why did the persecution of heretics and others increase so much in the High Middle Ages (Ames 2005, 12–13; also see Freedman and Spiegel 1998, 699; regarding the counter-argument to the dominant medieval reputation for intolerance and persecution, see Nederman 2000 and Lansing 1998 on examples of toleration). Moore in his *The Formation of a Persecuting Society* argues that "persecution began as a weapon in the competition for political influence, and was turned by its victors into an instrument for consolidating their power over society at large" (Moore 1987, 146; see also Moore 1996; Waugh and Diehl, ed., 1996, 1–15; Nirenberg 1996; Richards 1991). Most recently, Jennifer Deane has examined the broader question of what it meant to be a Christian in this dynamic and more public world of change and fear (Deane 2011).

Even so, there was resistance among the *populus* to the Inquisition. Using the work of Foucault on the complexity of the dialogue of power, James Given has studied the nature of the failures of the Inquisition and the resistance it encountered in Languedoc. He attempted to see how the techniques of the inquisitions were used to project the will of the inquisitors upon the population in various communities, and how those were resisted or manipulated by those same populations in the struggle for power (Given 1997; also see the thoughtful review of Given's book by Nirenberg 2000). More recently, Christine Ames included a study of a violent reaction to inquisitions in southern France in her article on the Inquisition in order to address the question whether these reactions could be dismissed as "mob violence," or better considered as a rational reaction in which careful choices were deliberated and made by a public (Ames 2005, 27–34). When considering the Inquisition and reactions to it by the public, she offers the possibility that: "It may blur an often sharp dichotomy formed in historiography between ecclesiastics and laity hopelessly divided by the different 'cultural logics' that shaped and informed their respective religious mentalities" (Ames 2005, 33). Perhaps this dichotomy is most visible in the treatment of the twelfth- and

thirteenth-century German mystics, mostly women, “who followed a mysticism of union-of-natures that brought their ideas close to pantheism” (Riggs 1998, 158). Ultimately the Church began to fear the spread of these ideas so much that the Beguine Marguerite Porete (d. 1310) was condemned as a heretic and burned at the stake, because her ideas “suggested that individuals could achieve a sinless state through mysticism” (Riggs 1998, 162).

The intersection of heresy, the Church and the *populus* bears witness to what Freedman and Spiegel observed from their reading of Foucault’s “attack on normalizing mechanisms of modern epistemological regimes,” which opened scholars to “ways in which knowledge power systems marginalize and exclude—silence, in effect—some while valorizing others” (Freedman and Spiegel 1998, 698; see also Bisson, ed., 1995). This certainly appears true in the way the Church variously responded to the Humiliati, the Waldensians, the Cathars, and the Franciscans and Dominicans. This is complicated in Foucault’s own analysis and use of the concept and chronology of “normalization.” Friedman and Spiegel suggest that “the Middle Ages seems to escape the fate of those knowledge-power-systems so characteristic of the ‘modern’ world. Instead, Foucault tends to present the Middle Ages as a free, untrammelled period, a time when reason speaks to unreason, when torture is writ upon the body rather than the soul” (Freedman and Spiegel 1998, 698). Using Foucault’s views of normalizing tendencies wherein all “discursive formations” need to be undermined to reduce their impact, this has the effect of transforming the thirteenth century from being the center of “a modern, rational progressive movement” into a time when the Church was bent upon taming and punishing those of the *populus* who were perceived as dissenting. Freedman and Spiegel see this happening in the move among medieval scholars to follow R. I. Moore in examining the “rise of a persecuting society” (Freedman and Spiegel 1998, 698; Moore 1987; Russell 1992; Richards 1991; Boswell 1989; Kieckhefer 1976; 1979; Peters 1985; 1988; 2006; Nirenberg 1996). Similarly, various essays in Bisson’s *Cultures of Power* illuminate how the non-elite of medieval society, including the *ministeriales* and those of servile origins, were able to exercise power and influence public opinion through satires sung by jongleurs, and even use the law to contain the power of the elites. Anne Brenon has explored the reasons why Catharism might even have appeared to represent “a relatively egalitarian Christian counter-church” because of the active involvement of women (Brenon 1998, 115). In agreement with Moore’s study of the origins of dissent and its spread among the medieval publics, however, one thing seems to remain constant in the studies of heresy as a socio-cultural phenomenon, namely that “heresy might appeal to members of every social group, and that none of them predominated sufficiently to allow an interpretation of it as an ideology of any class” (Moore 1997, 267).

G Preaching as the Major Medium of Public Opinion

With the events surrounding the Peace of God, the Church reform of the eleventh century, the crusades, and the confrontation with heresy, the role of preaching was greatly enhanced, as well as its ever-widening spectrum of “publicness” (Gecser 2010; Althof 1993; Löther 1998). The twelfth-century preacher and author of treatises on preaching, Alain of Lille (ca. 1116–1203), for example, took care to define preaching in this manner: “Preaching is an *open and public* instruction in faith and behavior, whose purpose is the forming of men; it derives from the path of reason and from the fountainhead of the ‘authorities’” (Evans 1981, 16–17, as quoted in Muessig 1998, 152, emphasis mine; regarding the sermon as “the central literary genre in the lives of European Christians and Jews during the Middle Ages,” see Kienzle 2000, 143–74). Alain thus captured the newfound emphasis on the need to reach out to the *populus* in order to “form men’s behavior,” as well as their faith and trust in the Church. In the dynamics of more rapid change and a limited means to extend the word, the sermon became the main channel to connect with all types of audiences. This is perhaps most obvious in the preaching of the crusades and in the rise, spread, and subsequent response of the Church to heresy.

Penny Cole laid the pathway to a better understanding of the significance of crusade preaching with her analysis of the preaching of the First Crusade by Urban II in 1095. The pope understood both the urgency to reach a broad audience and the need to “form men’s behavior” as per Alain. As the contemporary observer Baudri (1046–1130), the Archbishop of Dol, wrote in his *History of Jerusalem*, Urban came to Clermont for the purpose of public preaching” to address an audience which was made up of “not only religious but also of powerful men from many regions who were distinguished for their prowess in war” (Baudri of Dol, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, RHC, Occ. 4:9, as quoted in Cole 1991, 16). Colin Morris had earlier called attention to the success of this model as it became necessary to extend crusade preaching into the twelfth century. By his judgment the effort to achieve changes in behavior was “a remarkably successful exercise in publicity” leading to “profound changes in spirituality which accompanied the rise in militarism” (Morris 1983, 79). Preachers paid great attention to detail in their campaigns to recruit crusaders. Public events were staged with care, such as the crusade of King Louis VII (1120–1180) of France, who summoned a large assembly to hear the charismatic Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) preach with great emotion at Vézelay in the open air in 1146, where a large platform had been prepared so Bernard could be seen and better heard. In urban settings sermons often took place in ceremonial or

liturgical settings, and reports of the forthcoming event were circulated in advance to insure an even larger turnout (Morris 1983, 89–90). Sermons to lay audiences would often be in the vernacular, and since itinerant preaching was on the rise, translators would be provided for the sermons of incoming preachers who could not preach in the native language. The sermons made great use of *exempla* and stories of everyday experiences to hold the interest of the audience (Morris 1983, 90–91).

By the thirteenth century, the popular demand for preaching had reached its height and the need to train and prepare more preachers was turned over to the friars who could move freely across Europe to recruit crusaders to the Holy Land or to challenge heretics. Humbert of Romans (ca. 1200–1277), Master General of the Dominicans, prepared model sermons to aid the effort. In his model for preaching the cross against heretics, Humbert made note of the importance of the fight against heresy since the “sin” of heresy does not concern only one individual, it “passes to other people since it is infectious. It is particularly harmful ... this one aims to destroy the whole church” (Humbert of Romans, Model Sermon III, as presented in Maier 2000, 223–25). More recent studies show the freedom to preach acted as a two-edged sword, aiding both the obstinate heretics and the zealous orthodox preachers. In the words of Jennifer Deane in her review of Caterina Bruschi’s *The Wandering Heretics*, the records of the depositions of accused heretics in Languedoc “reveal how mobility polarized orthodoxy and heresy” amongst the *populus* (Deane 2012, 851). Kienzle elaborated upon this conflict as it played out in the increased production of sermons in the late twelfth century. In her words, “The reaction of the ecclesiastical hierarchy *against the Waldensians’ evangelizing* is part of a larger context that involved ... *an upsurge in popular religious movements* parallel to the burgeoning of monasteries and schools” (Kienzle 1998, 259–60, emphasis mine). This polarity in preaching ultimately resulted in violence against the heretics, even to the point of an organized crusade against them beginning in 1209 in southern France (Russell 1992, 34–37; see also Tyerman 2006, 563–605; Pegg 2008; Patterson 2003; Barber 2000; Sumption 1978; Wakefield 1974).

In addition to the model sermons, Humbert produced a treatise revealing a number of the obstacles to successful crusade preaching (*Opus Tripartitum*) wherein Throop argued he “clearly saw that an unfavorable public opinion” was one of the greatest problems facing Pope Gregory X (1210–1276) as he asked for advice on launching a crusade at the Second Council of Lyons in 1274 (Throop 1975, 147). A related treatise of Humbert’s (*De praedicatione crucis*) had laid out a set of guidelines for Dominican preachers as they attempted to persuade the *populus* to join the crusade effort in some way (Cole 1991, 202–17; 2000; see also, Bird 2003a, 56–59, reg. the use of the *Historia Orientalis* of Jacques de Vitry [ca.

1170–1240] as part of the propaganda in crusade preaching in Humbert's work and that of other crusade preachers into the fourteenth century).

The so-called “nodal point” of the crusade preaching effort has been seen of course as the papacy (Bull 1993a, 259). In the case of Urban II, it was the pope himself who personally preached the First Crusade in his circuit of France in 1096. Later, the popes established the call in papal bulls and then mandated the preaching efforts by others, sometimes using charismatic individuals like Bernard, and other times via waves of friars, bishops, and priests in the local parishes who carried out the efforts. It took a massive effort by the Church at all levels to influence the public to crusade. Marcus Bull, in his study of the lay response to these efforts in the Limousin and in Gascony, comments on the success of these efforts at linking the papacy to the local communities by demonstrating how many crusaders (“remarkable number”) are listed in the cartulary records of Aureil following the preaching of Urban II at Nîmes in July of 1096 (Bull 1993a, 259). Menache adds to this assessment of the success of preaching the crusade in this way: “the Crusades contribute the most spectacular example of medieval political communication in actual practice. Despite the large distances, the lack of a sophisticated communication system, and the many obstacles presented by particular languages and customs, the papal message succeeded in reaching Christendom as a whole” (Menache 1990, 123; see also Classen 1993; Classen, ed., 2013; Kleinhenz and Busby, ed., 2010; Pazos, ed., 2012).

One might similarly argue the importance of preaching in the case of medieval heresy. First of all, “Despite its image of a contagious disease, heresy did not spread by itself” (Menache 1990, 229). It required several means of communication to survive, but certainly public preaching in the early stages is largely responsible for its spread. Even the mere threat of the spread of heretical ideas via preaching led the popes to take measures to prohibit unauthorized preaching in general, thus cutting at the core of the Waldensian focus on lay preaching that had been able to communicate Scripture in more simple ways to the unlettered *populus* (Kienzle 1998; Menache 1990, 239). The Church recognized, before the invention of printing, that one had to control the medium of the sermon and the itinerant preacher in order to maintain control of the public.

H The Public and Public Opinion in Fourteenth Century Political Theory

Another way to understand the degree to which the role of the *populus* and the concept of public opinion had developed by the late Middle Ages is to reflect briefly on the works of some of the best-known political thinkers.

William of Ockham (ca. 1287–1347), for example, broke with his predecessors since Gratian who had said that heresy must be confronted in the context of authority, that is, authority defines orthodoxy. Instead, Ockham defined faith as “what is *prevalently known* as catholic truth among Catholics,” and therefore, heresy does not have to depend on institutional authority to be judged heretical (Shogimen 2005, 68, emphasis mine). This assumption of the expansion of responsibility for determining what is good for the greater number, or the common good, was taken up in great detail by his contemporary Marsiglio of Padua (ca. 1275–ca. 1342), who has drawn the attention of modern scholars over whether he was “a theorist of power or of consent” (Nederman 2003, 396; 1995; 1992).

Marsiglio is of interest here because of those such as the historian Brian Tierney who regard him as more of a consent theorist, which draws him into the realm of theorists regarding the role of public opinion in reaching consent (Nederman 2003, 397; see, for example, Tierney 1982, 48). As medieval society spent more time considering what is good for life on this earth, and less awaiting the coming of next life, Marsiglio came to believe that “consent must be introduced to distinguish those applications of power that promote the common interest” (Nederman 2003, 398). In his *Defensor pacis* (1324) Marsiglio attacked the claims of papal “*plenitudo potestatis*” (plenitude of power) and denied the ability of any ecclesiastical authorities to “judge or act upon the temporal good of human beings,” which was a very extreme claim for his time, and one that if extended logically, potentially put a lot of power in the hands of the *populus*, and by extension, public opinion. As Nederman sums it up, for Marsiglio, “any determination of the public utility could only issue from the *consent of citizens*; the expression of *civic assent* formed his check against the unwarranted interference and influence of clerics” (Nederman 2003, 400–01, emphasis mine). Marsiglio was struggling for a “perfected community” wherein the individual’s natural pursuit of self-preservation could be achieved in a developed commercial society that requires “the mutual association of citizens, their intercommunication of their functions with one another, their mutual aid and assistance” (Nederman 2003, 405). This is not an ideal democratic or utopian society that he envisions, it requires the “maintenance of civil peace through the exercise of temporal political

power,” but it does argue for greater toleration of religious dissent and even heresy, thus allowing for greater differences of public opinion and belief. Peace is necessary “for the realization of stable intercourse within the community” (Nederman 2003, 406–07). As well, government is required in this model in order to maintain peace, that is, to insure that the private interests of individuals do not impose upon the common good.

Marsiglio was particularly exercised over what he saw as the unfair claims by the papacy for exemptions of clerical orders from any regulation by public authorities which was an unnecessary violation of the peace he deemed essential (Nederman 2003, 408). According to Nederman, Marsiglio avoids the danger of tyranny by the secular government by arguing that the community must be formed through a process whereby “all whose interests are served or affected by a community must be conceded full membership in it and must consent to the conditions of association (i.e., law and rulership)” (Nederman 2003, 409). Though not explicit about how the views of the *populus* are to be determined in gaining consent, this model of “consent to government” means that the “legitimacy of both law and rulers depends wholly upon their ‘voluntary’ character,” and Marsiglio is explicit that those subject to the jurisdiction of these laws and rulers must “have *publicly and overtly consented* to their authority (*Defensor pacis* I.9.5, I.12.3, in Nederman 2003, 409, emphasis mine). In arguing that “Each and every member of the community reserves to himself final judgment about all matters of public regulation (I.13.8)” a great advance has been made in asserting the potential power of public opinion. In order to reach consensus about the laws, one must achieve a sense of the climate of that opinion.

Marsiglio was not the only medieval thinker to consider the issues of “popular consent” and “common good.” Earlier, for example, Hugh of St. Victor (ca. 1096–1141) in the twelfth century discussed how the success of commerce “commutes the private good of individuals into the public benefit of all” (in his *Didascalicon* 2.23, as cited in Nederman 2003, 412 n. 32). Marsiglio’s views linked these two as well, as had the Franciscan Peter John Olivi (1248–1298) in the late thirteenth century (Nederman 2003, 412 n. 32). Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464), who later considered how one determines the common good, decided that the community must consult “right reason or natural justice” (Nederman 2003, 410; for further analysis of the common good in late medieval thinkers, see Kempshall 1999). According to Nederman’s analysis, what makes Marsiglio stand out among these late medieval thinkers, is his “systematic and comprehensive explanation of how the effective maintenance of political order can coexist with the pursuit of material self-interest on the part of individuals ... both the effective exercise of coercive power and the implementation of thorough public consent ... ensure the perpetuation of a harmonious community” (Nederman 2003, 412).

As a reflection of the dynamics of change and the evolution of the role of the public and public opinion, Marsiglio most fully and most clearly illustrates how medieval thinkers were then considering what role the *populus* should play in society moving forward. He regards “*discussion and interaction among citizens in a public forum*” to be essential for the determination of whether legislative proposals are conducive to ... the common good” (Nederman 2003, 414, emphasis mine). In his maintenance of the need for striking a balance between the individual and the common good, Marsiglio raised key questions about the nature and value of public opinion that remain with us today.

I Conclusion

This brief overview of the nature of public culture, the concept of the public, and the medieval experience of an evolving role of public opinion only touches the surface of the ways the public could find expression in the growth of the medieval public sphere. We provided some examples from some of texts that were closest to the medieval “popular” milieu, namely *exempla*, penitentials, inquisitional records, or saints’ lives (for more detailed examination of these sources, see, for example, on *exempla*, Schmitt 1983; for penitentials, Gurevich 1988, 78–103; the inquisitional records, Ginzburg 1989; or, in general, Vauchez, ed., 1981). But, we did not review the concept of the public as audience for literature, for example, and thus did not go into the realm of courtly literature (see, for example, Patterson 2003), or even the role of poems and songs in influencing public views on the crusades or heresy (see, for example, Regalado 1970). Nor did we examine the role of the arts in shaping the views of the *populus* regarding the “other” in medieval society (see, for example, Strickland 2003; Camille 1989; Seidel 1981; and, Connell, “Fear and the Foreigner,” in this *Handbook*).

Instead, this article focused primarily on the political nature of developing publics and how the medieval world came to sense the power of public opinion in influencing major ongoing political issues over considerable periods of time. In dealing with the evolution of public opinion one constant is the absolutely essential role of preaching in reflecting and shaping public views on a very large scale that cut cross all levels of society. One major theme in the work of modern scholars is that fear of the masses and mob rule is common in all of these arenas. But by the time of the fourteenth century, we see how the public sphere of medieval society is more clearly visible in the county courts and public markets, and at least one political thinker is optimistic that the public should have a positive role in achieving a more “perfect society.”

Another theme relates to the importance of organized communication in the context of the dynamics of change in a culture. The medieval culture was becoming more urban, more public, more mobile as we move from the tenth to the fourteenth century. Menache argues in her study of medieval communication, that as people moved into and/or traveled to cities, they were cut off from family and their support network and they become more vulnerable to the increasing propaganda that came from the church, the kings, and the heretics. Key to that change was the way the Church learned to embrace its public role (Tellenbach 1991). As Lisa Bitel observed in her review of Menache's work, "Churchmen were the innovators in developing the themes and methods of propaganda, particularly the use of *vox dei*—the claim to represent the authority and will of God—which kings and heretics then appropriated and adapted to their own purposes of forming public opinion" (Bitel 1992, 535). What studies since Menache reveal moreover is how sophisticated those propagandists were in understanding the climate of opinion and in developing appropriate messages that persuaded the various publics to take action in support of or in opposition to excommunication, crusade, or heresy. For example, by the time of the trial of the Templars by King Philip IV of France (1268–1314) in 1307, his advisors assessed that even though his goal might have been to ally himself with the bourgeoisie by confiscating Templar wealth, public opinion would be more favorable to a trial based on accusations of moral crimes than economic issues (Menache 1993; see also Menache 1982).

Another implied theme in this study of public opinion, but not examined thoroughly herein, is the way that propaganda was used by kings to stereotype minorities in order to weaken public opposition to their policies. This was particularly true for the kings of England and France in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. In those cases, rather ironically, it was the kings who learned to adapt the biblical tradition in their propaganda for secular purposes, particularly in their attacks on the Jews and the Saracens (Menache 1985, 372–74; see also, Strickland 2003).

In general, what these studies reveal is that there was an increasingly important role for the *populus*. The lay public, as it felt itself affected by the outcomes of the decisions of the ecclesiastical elite, for example, sought more of an active role in the process. This is clear, beginning with the Peace of God and continuing with the councils called to consider heresy, such as that of Reims in 1148, when Pope Eugenius III (r. 1145–1153) was forced to acknowledge the presence and to "account to" a "*multitudo laicorum*" that was in attendance (Moore 2008, 40–41). Laymen were involved in the communication networks of the papacy. Letters reflected and influenced opinion and decisions within a wide range of political circles. The role of the preacher and the messages from senders to receivers were more clearly perceived and acted upon as we see in the calls and responses (or

lack thereof) for crusades against the Saracens or the heretics and non-believers. In the marketplaces and courts we see developing public spheres of interchange and influence where the messages of kings were conveyed and acted upon by many levels within the changing ranks in medieval society. It is clearer now that awareness of the power of public opinion enhanced a reciprocal relationship within a system of communication wherein aspects of the elite and the popular cultures were exchanged in order to influence political decisions (Menache 1990, 5; see also Löther 1998; and, Pazos, ed., 2012).

Finally, as studies of medieval popular enthusiasm (i.e., revivalism among lay groups, sometimes led by clergy, sometimes by lay persons) in its various forms have been completed, medieval scholars are beginning to illustrate how one can even do some “counting” or surveying of medieval public opinion and gain insight into the popular culture as well. For example, Gary Dickson took a broad sampling of the regular clergy in an attempt to determine their attitudes toward various forms of popular enthusiasm itself (Dickson 1999). His study determined that three types of attitude are discernible. First, there was the negative, namely, “mockery, derision, denunciation, accusations of heresy.” Second, he noted affirmation, which includes “praise, endorsement, support or even a desire to take part.” Third, there is the case where a recognized holy person, who belonged to some branch of the regular clergy, either initiated or took charge of a popular movement (Dickson 1999, 268). Dickson cites other examples of specific medieval contemporaries or broad surveys. The Dominican inquisitor Bernard Gui (ca. 1261–1331) in his *Flores chronicorum*, for example, reported on three unauthorized movements of popular crusading zeal—the *pueri* (1212); the *pastores* (1251), and the *pastoureux* (1320) (Dickson 1999, 270). Gui’s account of the *pastores* is particularly noteworthy because the participants were “riotous, murderous, irreligious,” which was shocking to Gui and his fellow clerics. However, according to Dickson, what was more shocking was the “universal popular favor” with which they were received (Dickson 1999, 272, emphasis mine). The popular crusade by 1320 threatened the papacy at Avignon so that the pope ordered its dispersal, and labeled the *pastoureux* a “new plague” (Dickson 1999, 274). This sweeping of the public into large-scale threats against the clergy was a far cry from the fervor of the public in favor of the First Crusade against the Saracens, or even the mixed review for the Second as observed by Constable in his article on “The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries” (Constable 1953; see also Menache 1982 reg. contemporary attitudes toward the Templars).

Perhaps, as a sort of climax to its medieval evolution, the volatility of medieval public opinion in the struggle for the support of the popular culture can be noted in the fifteenth century movement known as the Observants. Dickson sees the conflict of the Franciscan Observants with both the Fraticelli within the Francis-

cans, and the Dominicans overall, as a battle for “the mendicant leadership of lay enthusiasm” wherein “urban revivalism reinforced the solidarity of the friars and the laity, while at the same time it embittered the rivalries of the orders, turning ... one brother against another” (Dickson 1999, 276). Dickson places this episode within the tradition of revivalism that includes the Crusades as an “unprecedented religious movement, which brought the clergy and laity together,” and the Peace and Truce of God movement which “Testified to the new vitality of Western revivalism” (Dickson 1999, 278). This so-called revivalist tradition also illustrates the tug of war over popular opinion and the difficult choices that the various publics had to make in the process. Should monks en masse support an “armed pilgrimage,” for example; or even knights who had been previously required to confess their sins for killing another in armed combat? As we know, the Church found a way to be persuasive of the *populus* by offering a plenary indulgence for killing in God’s war, or even a way to endorse armed monks by creating the Templars, who even received the endorsement of the saintly Bernard of Clairvaux (Dickson 1999, 279–84). A similar example was provided in the development of the cult of Mary Magdalen from the thirteenth century to the onset of the Reformation. Katherine Jansen examined how the friars transmitted ideas of Magdalen to the lay public, and notes that it is clear that the sermon literature had “the ability both to shape popular opinion and to reflect it” (Jansen 1999).

Thus, the development of medieval public opinion presents a pattern that is consistent with modern theories about how to influence public opinion. First, to deliver its message it had several components of media (letters, penitentials, saints’ lives, songs, etc.), the most pervasive and effective of which was preaching, which was flexible, capable of being tailored to specific publics quickly, and was already widely accepted within the culture. Second, there was the organization of staged events within which to provide opportunities to influence opinion. These include open-air events, such as the display of relics in conjunction with an announced sermon, processions in support of civic peace or for public prayer to end a plague or a famine or for the “burning of the vanities.” Third, Christian dramas could be staged or new devotions promoted in order to gain large support for ecclesiastical matters, or secular courts could be used to influence the opinion of the elite public through the use of *chansons* and networks of friends. Fourth, the secular side could influence opinion widely at several levels through the use of public market-places or courts of law to proclaim reforms, justify taxes for war, or punish criminals and denounce certain kinds of crime. Finally, the church and state could join together to use the reform of municipal statutes to enforce moral codes or to exile the excommunicates with the taint of *mala fama*.

It is becoming more clear through research that the medieval world understood that to be effective, one had to detect the climate of opinion of the target

audience in order to have a message appropriate to that audience, had to have an effective medium with which to deliver the message, and a means to attract and reach a large audience to hear the message. The more complete the process was followed the more likely the *vox populi* would have been regarded as the *vox dei* within the medieval culture. Most recently Leidulf Melve, beginning with the theoretical impulse from Habermas, has argued for the invention of the public sphere in the period of the Investiture Contest from 1030 to 1122 (Melve 2007).

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John Sewell

Religious Conflict

A Conflict and Religious Institutions

In the highly religious climate of medieval Europe, virtually any conflict of any sort may have a religious dimension. Therefore, undertaking a comprehensive discussion of religious conflict in medieval Europe, or any other historical milieu, is complicated by that very polysemy. Any attempt to address the topic will reflect the interests, expertise, and biases of the author and so will inevitably be incomplete. Consequently, instead of attempting to identify and discuss every example of medieval religious conflict, the following article will offer more general observations about religion and conflict in medieval Europe. Because of the significance of Christianity to all aspects of medieval European life, the article will focus on conflicts involving the Church, though it will also discuss conflicts between Christians and outsiders to that religion, particularly Jews and Muslims. Given the importance of the Church to this discussion, the article begins with the Church's own internal struggles and its increasingly centralized and hierarchical organizational structure under the leadership of the papacy. It moves on to the issue of violence and religious conflict, particularly in terms of warfare and inquisitorial procedure. Finally, the article ends by examining some of the varied ways in which scholars have sought to understand these conflicts as reflections of persecuting mentalities, cultural and social change, forms of social boundary maintenance, and even sources of cultural creativity.

The very history of Christianity is one of conflict. As Christianity spread beyond its birthplace in late antique Judaea, it came to encompass a variety of different groups with diverging and often competing interpretations of the faith. During the Middle Ages, the Church changed dramatically from a coalition of relatively equal and autonomous local communities, to an increasingly centralized institution, and then began to splinter and transform once again by the end of the period as it underwent the controversies and conflicts of the Reformation. Several things should be stressed about the processes that surrounded these transformations. First, the process was in part one of conflict between religious and temporal authorities as the Church tried to assert its autonomy from, and then superiority over, the military aristocracies that held the reins of government during the Middle Ages. Second, the agents of these changes were often reform movements motivated by a desire to purify the church from the contamination of worldly influence. Third, despite this centralizing tendency, the process was

highly contentious and characterized by internal conflict and dissent even as the power of the papacy continued to grow.

When discussing the first several centuries of Christianity, it may be better to speak of multiple Christianities than a single, unified faith. Early groups such as the much-debated Gnostics, the Nestorians, and the Arians developed interpretations of Christianity that sometimes diverged considerably from one another or what would eventually become orthodoxy. Eventually, these groups came into conflict as local leaders sought to define a more universal orthodoxy and Roman Emperors increasingly offered their patronage and oversight to the Church. The history of the Patristic period—the first five centuries of Christianity—is largely the story of these rival groups trying to capture the authority to define Christianity through various means such as promulgating specific formulations of the canon of Scripture and debating their theological claims in ecumenical councils of the Church's leaders (see for example, Brown 2013).

The bishop of Rome emerged from these struggles as the most prestigious and influential of the otherwise relatively equal bishops of the Western Church while the Eastern Church continued as a coalition of relatively more autonomous bishops. Free of the influence and protection of the Byzantine Empire, the bishops of Rome parlayed alliances with temporal leaders to assert its authority and guidance over the Latin Church. One of the most important early alliances was that forged with the Franks, which contributed to their mutual aggrandizement, allowing the Roman bishops to assert their primacy over the others and leading to the crowning of Charlemagne (d. 814), King of the Franks, as Emperor in 800 with the blessing of Pope Leo III (d. 816). But the transformation of the bishops of Rome into the medieval papacy was not a smooth one. Under some occupants of the office, like Gregory the Great (d. 604), the papacy asserted a strong hand in disciplining the church. Other popes, such as John XII (d. 964) or Benedict IX (d. 1055/56) were incompetent, disengaged, or corrupt. More than once, multiple claimants asserted the power of the papacy, diminished though it was (for an accessible account of the history of the medieval papacy, see Morris 1989).

Reform came to the papacy, partly through Imperial intervention. In 1046, Emperor Henry III (d. 1056) took an army to Rome and asserted the right to determine future popes. Henry would nominate a series of popes before his death in 1056 that included Clement II (d. 1047), Damasus II (d. 1048), Leo IX (d. 1054), and Victor II (d. 1057). Of these, Leo IX would be the most important and worked to disentangle temporal and religious authority (despite the fact that he owed his office to the influence of a Holy Roman Emperor). As with many papal reformers, two of Leo's targets were married clergy who might divert church funds and property to their heirs and the practice of selling church office. Leo's use of papal

legates given broad powers to intervene in local church activities was a major and effective assertion of papal authority and a party of papal reformers gathered around him that included Hugh, the abbot of Cluny (d. 1109), Peter Damian (d. 1072), and Hildebrand of Sovana, later Pope Gregory VII (d. 1085), would eventually bring the papacy into conflict with its imperial patrons (Cowdrey 1998).

In addition to conflict with temporal authorities, Leo's use of papal legates also precipitated a conflict within the Church itself. Leo sent Humbert, Cardinal of Silva Candida (d. 1061), as papal legate to Constantinople. The Eastern Church in Byzantine lands did not recognize papal authority and disputed a number of elements of Latin liturgy and teaching, most famously the wording of the Nicene Creed as it was used in the West. In 1054, Humbert delivered a Bull excommunicating the Patriarch of Constantinople, Michael I Cerularius (d. 1059), who in turn excommunicated the pope, effectively severing the already tenuous ties between the Eastern and Western halves of the Church (Chadwick 2003).

Leo's supporter and Humbert's aid, Hildebrand would embroil the papacy in further conflict after he was elected Pope Gregory VII in 1073. Having already wrested control of papal elections from the emperors in 1059, Gregory embarked on a campaign of reform that has come to be known by his name. The most important religious conflict of this Gregorian Reform involved the right of the Church to control appointments to ecclesiastical office. This Investiture Controversy, as it is typically known, began when Emperor Henry IV and Gregory VII quarreled over the right to appoint the Bishop of Milan. In 1075, Gregory issued the *Dictatus Papae*, asserting the supremacy of the pope over the Church and all Christendom as well as claiming that the emperor only served at the pleasure of the pope. Henry responded by calling Gregory a pretender to the papacy and Gregory excommunicated the emperor. Germany and Italy were plunged into conflict with both Emperor and Pope suffering humiliations and helping the Norman occupiers of Southern Italy to secure their legitimacy through their alliance with Gregory. A parallel conflict was brewing in England and, in the next century, provided the model for a resolution to the central European investiture controversy. The Concordat of Worms separated bishops' temporal and religious authority and recognized that their powers in each sphere derived from separate overlords. Henceforth, the pope would be responsible for naming bishops and the Emperor would then have the choice of investing them with the temporal power that customarily, but not automatically, accompanied their office (for more on the investiture controversy, see Blumenthal 1991). But popes and emperors, as well as other ecclesiastical and temporal authorities, would often be at odds throughout the Middle Ages. Notable papal-imperial conflicts also occurred between Pope Adrian IV (d. 1159) and Emperor Frederick Barbarossa as well as between Frede-

rick II (Holy Roman Emperor and King of Sicily) and several popes, including his former guardian Innocent III (d. 1216).

Over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the papacy continued to grow in power. It developed new tools to support its claims. The articulation of canon law, judicious use of councils to build and manage consensus and its continued use of papal legates to intervene in local affairs proved indispensable. The papacy showed its power to rally the laity to its causes as it mobilized several crusades within and beyond the boundaries of its greatest influence, and developed mechanisms such as the sale of indulgences to support them financially. It also leveraged control over access to the sacraments to discipline its adherents through excommunication and interdiction and developed methods of inquiry into the conformity of adherents' belief and practice through episcopal and, later, papal inquisition. Pope Innocent III is often considered the greatest example of the papacy in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century. He presided over Lateran IV, which he used to institute a number of changes to canon law with little successful opposition, and mobilized the energy of crusaders to address the perceived threat of Cathar heresy in Southern France, albeit with more limited success (Morris 1989, Moore 2009).

The relative success of the papacy through Innocent III would not go unanswered. But before turning to the challenges that popes faced in subsequent centuries, it is necessary to broaden this discussion of medieval religious conflict to other areas. The papacy was able to reshape the Church because it harnessed a reforming imperative that did not begin with the papacy itself. The perception that all was not right with the Church persuaded many to seek changes from at least the tenth century on. Among the earliest to pursue that agenda were monks and the problem that they addressed was the perception that the Church was often involved in and corrupted by worldly affairs. As members of powerful families increasingly entered the Church hierarchy and donated land to the Church, ecclesiastical authorities were encumbered with obligations to their patrons and became embroiled in dynastic conflicts. Efforts to free the Church from contamination by secular political influence and to control corruption within the hierarchy bred reform movements at the local, regional, and central levels of Church hierarchy. Monastic reform movements, such as the Cluniac movement, are one such example. Theoretically freed by its charter of any external influence other than the pope's, the Benedictine abbey at Cluny became a model of discipline that was copied throughout western Europe, partly through the spawning of daughter houses subject to the authority of the central house at Cluny. The independence of the monks at Cluny fed a vision of the Church as a whole enjoying similar freedom from worldly influence and, not surprisingly, contributed to the Gregorian vision of a strong and independent Church at the head of a

harmonious Christian society, or Christendom, all under the guidance of a sovereign pontiff. Although the monks, abbots, and admirers of Cluny were far from monolithic in their views, many aided in that same Gregorian movement including Abbot Hugh and Peter Damian, and, later, Peter the Venerable (d. 1156) (Cowdrey 1970; Iogna-Prat 2002). Ironically, the success and influence of the Cluniac movement made it the target of the same sorts of criticisms regarding its worldly entanglement that it was founded to avoid, spurring the development of other monastic reform movements such as the Cistercians and Carthusians (Constable 1996).

Conflicts over church authority revealed certain tensions within the structure of the Church itself—regular clerics of the monasteries and abbeys versus the bishops and priests of the secular clergy, the pope as bishop of Rome versus the less prestigious bishops—and paradoxes within the movements themselves. Though the monasteries were a reaction against the temporal power of the secular clergy, they also acquired land and influence. The Gregorian party found itself at odds not just with bishops who owed much of their power to monarchs and emperors, they eventually needed to rein in the zeal of other reformers whose criticism of clerical abuses were not so different from their own. In the thirteenth century these tensions would be further complicated by the development of new sorts of regular orders—the mendicant orders, named for their early occupation of begging—who explicitly rejected the withdrawal of the traditional monasteries in favor of a disciplined involvement in worldly affairs as agents of the Church's responsibility for the care of souls. They embraced an ideal of poverty that put them at odds with the aristocratic pretensions of landholding bishops while simultaneously becoming new instruments of ecclesiastical discipline and papal authority. These orders, most notably the Franciscans (authorized 1209) and Dominicans (authorized by the pope in 1216) as well as the Carmelites (authorized 1226) and Augustinians (authorized 1244), included communities of friars and nuns, committed to serving the needs of the faithful. This, along with the development of associated lay brotherhoods, gave them considerable influence over the intellectual, institutional, and temporal affairs of the Church. The mendicants would come to play important roles in the universities, missions, and inquisitions of central and late medieval Europe (Little 1978; J. Cohen 1982a; Lawrence 1994).

A further irony of the enthusiasm for reform that impelled the development of new monastic movements and the ambitions of the papacy was that it also led to conflict among reform-minded parties. Not all who sounded the call to renovate the spiritual and institutional edifice of the Church had the same designs. The very orders that withdrew from the world and rebelled against temporal influence acquired wealth and influence themselves. The papacy that once mustered the anti-clerical zeal of those who opposed the corruption of local bishops found itself

the target of similar criticism. Those who embraced the reforming spirit too tightly were often labeled as heretics. The *Humiliati* and the Spiritual Franciscans were frequently condemned by representatives of the official Church for their insistence on its need to embrace humility and poverty (Tierney 1972; Burr 2001). R. I. Moore has argued that the growth of heretical movements from the twelfth century on was in part an unintended consequence of the Gregorian reform and similar efforts to eliminate corruption from the church spilling over into more general anticlerical sentiment. But he has also cautioned against uncritically accepting the medieval Church's framing of heretics as radical opponents of ecclesiastical authority per se. Their origins among medieval reformers would suggest that they would have viewed themselves more conservatively as attempting to bring back the spirit of the apostolic Church (Moore 1977). Moore's most recent book on heresy goes even further in cautioning against easy acceptance of the Church's depiction of heretics. He argues that heresy was largely a figment of heresiologists' imaginations. Prior to the twelfth century, attacks on heretics were mostly opportunistic attempts to clarify points of orthodox doctrine and limit the appeal of platonic interpretations of Christian dogma, particularly among those without the benefit of sufficient philosophical training to understand them. Later, and consistent with Moore's earlier assessment, heresy accusations were a way of controlling the anticlerical genies that the Gregorian reformers had released in their fight for control of the Church. Moore even argues that the Cathars were a phantom of the Church's own imagination, at least early on (Moore 2012).

While technically heresy refers to the choice to accept an understanding of Christian doctrine rejected by the Church as false, it was in practice used as a broad term for religious deviance among those at least nominally under Christian teaching authority. The work of Patristic heresiologists provided the medieval Church with an extensive vocabulary with which to paint its opponents. Writers such as Irenaeus (d. ca. 202), Tertullian (d. ca. 225), Augustine (d. 430), and many more had catalogued the heresies of their day and wrote critical responses to them. Medieval writers frequently described what they saw as the mistaken positions of their opponents in terms derived from that literature (for an example of a general study of medieval heresy that privileges the doctrinal disputes implicated in these conflicts, see Lambert 2002).

Indeed, some of the fights about heresy of the early Middle Ages were, at least in part, a continuation of the heresiological disputes of the Patristic period. Despite being condemned by the Council of Nicaea in 325, the teachings of Arius (d. 336), which included the belief that Christ was not equal with God the Father but instead his first creation, remained very popular. Arian Christianity had been quite popular among Rome's soldiers and from there spread to many of the

Germanic tribes that served Rome in a military capacity. Consequently, Arianism also survived and thrived in the new Germanic kingdoms established as the Western Roman Empire declined. The Visigoths of Spain, for example, favored Arianism. But the Franks' association with the Roman Church, a product of the conversion of their King Clovis (d. 511) under the influence of his wife Clothilda (d. 544), helped to secure medieval Europe for the Nicene Christology (Fletcher 1999; Geary 2002).

But new heretical groups also emerged in the early Middle Ages, and the beliefs that rendered them suspect were still often described using the vocabulary of earlier heresies. The Bogomils that emerged in tenth century Bulgaria, for example, were accused of a number of heresies that had already been described during the Patristic era—dualism (belief in two gods), docetism (the claim that Jesus's human body was not in fact material), and adoptionism (the notion that Jesus was not the Son of God from eternity but was granted that status by God after his birth). Some scholars have suggested that the Bogomils had acquired some of these beliefs from earlier groups, such as the Paulicians. But it is also entirely possible that dissenting religious groups arrived at positions similar to earlier heresies without any direct influence from them or that medieval heresiologists simply represented their beliefs in terms of familiar heresies as they so often did with other groups (Lambert 2002).

Dualism was a frequently revived charge. In addition to the Bogomils, the Cathars of Southern France and Northern Italy were also accused of believing in two gods—a good god of the spirit and an evil god of matter and the body. Once thought to be a transplanting of Bogomil doctrines into Western European soil, the Cathars were divided socially between an elite group of ascetic *perfecti* and a large number of lay followers (Runciman 1982; Lansing 1998). Like many groups that would be labeled as heretical in the Middle Ages, the Cathars exhibited a strong anti-clerical tendency even though clerics themselves feared that they were developing a rival counter-church supported by many of the nobles of Languedoc. The threat was perceived to be so great that the Roman church turned to both crusade and inquisition to answer it. However, contemporary scholars question many of the traditional claims about the Cathars including their ties to the Bogomils, the nature of their beliefs and practices, and whether or not they actually had the sort of centralized organization that would have made them a threat to the Church itself (e.g., Pegg 2001).

The Poor of Lyons, or Waldensians as they are currently more commonly called, became active in the 1170s. Their modern name comes from that of Peter Waldo/Valdes (d. ca. 1218), a merchant from Lyons who renounced his wealth in favor of a radical endorsement of Christian humility and poverty. In addition to their call to voluntary poverty and anti-clerical sentiment, Waldensians criticized

transubstantiation as an explanation for Christ's presence in the Eucharist and called for vernacular translations of Scripture. The Waldensians managed to survive the Middle Ages, eventually aligning themselves with the Reformation during the sixteenth century (Audisio 1999; Cameron 2000).

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries also saw a number of anti-clerical groups labeled as heresies. John Wycliffe (d. 1384), a priest and doctor of divinity at Oxford, condemned papal power and the use of indulgences. Despite his own scholastic training he was also critical of many of the formal scholastic interpretations of Christian doctrine that had come to dominate medieval theology. Like the Waldensians, he called for a simpler understanding of the Church's teachings acknowledging only the Scripture—to be available in the vernacular—as one's ultimate authority. Wycliffe's followers, nicknamed Lollards, made common cause with the rebels associated with Wat Tyler (d. 1381) and so further exemplified the connection between religious and political or economic dissent (Hudson 1988). Some scholars have seen in the followers of Wycliffe an important precedent to and influence upon the Reformation (e.g., Hudson 1988), but others disagree (Rex 2002).

Wycliffe also influenced the Bohemian Hussites. Bohemian scholars studying at Oxford brought his ideas to Prague where they influenced Jan Hus (d. 1415). Hus recapitulated many of Wycliffe's criticisms of church authority and doctrine and translated a number of his works. Hus was condemned by the Council of Constance in 1415 (as was Wycliffe, posthumously) and executed under their orders. But Bohemia erupted in a series of wars as crusades meant to destroy Hus's followers failed, sparking rebellion instead (Lambert 2002; Fudge 2010).

Research into many of these groups must be conducted under the caveat that the labels applied by modern historiography were not so neatly applied during the period itself. Indeed many if not all of these labels may be the product of contemporaneous or subsequent revision by writers seeking to frame popular or ecclesiastical dissent for their own purposes (Grundmann 1995). The pursuit of heresy tended to exaggerate the size and organization of dissenting groups, such as the Waldensians and the Cathars (e.g., Audisio 1999; Pegg 2001). In fact, Robert Lerner has argued that the much discussed heresy of the Free Spirit from the fourteenth century was largely the invention of inquisitors who fabricated a heresy to organize and explain certain antinomian and mystical trends that their investigations had elicited (Lerner 1972).

In fact, many of those groups labeled as heretical questioned the way that the Church had used its authority to promulgate new doctrines or novel interpretations of old ones that departed from what they considered established teachings. But all of them from at least the Cathars on can also be understood, as Moore suggests, as protesting the Church's involvement in worldly affairs. Many other

scholars have looked for economic and social explanations for these doctrinal controversies. Euan Cameron has made such observations about the Waldensians. Initially, the Poor of Lyons objected to the Church's exercise of authority, but lacked significant doctrinal, social, or ritual disputes with the Church. It is only as the Waldensians merged with the Protestants during the sixteenth century that the teachings of this so-called heretical group began to diverge from Catholic orthodoxy in significant ways (Cameron 2000). Carol Lansing reads the Cathars in terms of the social distinctions of medieval Europe, interpreting their identification of the body with evil and the dualism typically associated with them as a form of social protest. The body was a metaphor for the body of society and its condemnation was thus a rejection of the corruption that had thoroughly contaminated it (Lansing 1998). Heresy in the Middle Ages was inevitably implicated in a variety of social and institutional conflicts that involved but exceeded "merely" religious matters.

The Church also continued to face challenges from princes and nobles. Just as the German Emperors had balked at papal claims, so did monarchs who saw their own power growing and consolidating over the course of the Middle Ages. Popes met particular challenges during the fourteenth century. For example, King Philip IV (d. 1314) of France was successful in consolidating his power and dealing effectively with the papacy. His dynasty had been the beneficiary of victories against both the English and the Counts of Toulouse and so had built French royal dominions and power to its greatest point since the Franks. Constant warfare required increased revenue and Philip turned to the church, imposing new taxes upon its properties. Pope Boniface VIII (d. 1303) resisted, issuing statements such as the *Clericis Laicos* and *Unam Sanctam* that, in the vein of Gregory's *Dictatus Papae*, asserted Papal sovereignty over an autonomous church and any temporal power. Not cowed by papal invective, Philip accused the pope of heresy, sodomy, and magic. Philip's supporters eventually assaulted the Pope in his palace at Anagni in 1303, ultimately causing his death. The church was riven into pro-French and pro-Roman camps until a French pope, Clement V (d. 1314) was elected in 1305. Clement tried to restore papal prestige and authority but also made conciliatory gestures toward the French, including the dissolution of the Templars in 1312, thus also negating some of Philip's nagging debts. In order to avoid reprisals in Rome, Clement remained in France, bringing the Papacy to Avignon in 1309 (Mollat 1965; Renouard 1970; Jordan 1989).

The papacy suffered further humiliations. The virulence of the Black Death brought with it anticlerical attitudes that affected the church at all levels. If pestilence was a punishment for sin, the Church's powerlessness before it did not speak highly of their claims to sanctity. More importantly, attempts to return the papacy to Rome ultimately failed bringing another Schism to the Church. Gregory XI

(d. 1378) returned to Rome in 1377, but died shortly thereafter. After decades of French popes, Romans wanted a Roman pope but the election produced a Neapolitan pope instead, Urban VI (d. 1389), in 1378. French cardinals adjourned to France and elected another pope, claiming that Urban's selection had occurred under duress. Reigning once again from Avignon, the French-elected pope Clement VII (d. 1394) was not able to secure Urban VI's concession. Two popes reigned in Christendom—one in France and one in Rome—and the various polities of Europe lined up behind the leader that best suited their interests. The credibility of the Papacy's claim to universal authority severely damaged, some thinkers sought to heal the breach by promoting Church councils as an important check on papal authority. A council was called in Pisa in 1409 to solve the problem but only succeeded in naming a third pope. The absurdity of the papal condition now widely acknowledged, temporal authorities such as Sigismund (d. 1437), King of Germany, Hungary, and Croatia, later to be crowned Holy Roman Emperor, threw their support behind the councils and the Council of Constance in 1414 was able to secure the retirement of the Roman pope upon the election of a new pope during the council and to marginalize the pope at Avignon. After a few years the council had managed to resolve the papal schism and so lent credibility to the desire to prioritize conciliar over papal authority. The papacy would recover during the sixteenth century, despite new challenges associated with the Reformation (Hui-zinga 1996; Tierney 1998; Oakley 2003; Rollo-Koster and Izbicki, ed., 2009).

B Violence and the Church

Pursuing the centralizing and reforming agendas of the preceding discussion reveals an important tension within the medieval Church. On the one hand, it was animated by the Christian emphasis on love and desire for peace. On the other hand, the Church also made use of force and violence to protect itself, expand its influence, and discipline those over which it asserted its authority. Crusading, popularly conceived of as holy war against Muslims, was more widely used to serve other religious agendas as well, including the eradication of heresy. The Church also made use of violence in association with its inquiries into the beliefs and practices of the faithful. The Church reconciled these tensions by employing a theory of the justified use of violence as an instrument of love in both cases.

The most well-known religious conflicts of the Middle Ages may be those known as the "Crusades." However, "crusade" is itself a poorly defined term. Although it conjures images of military expeditions by Christian knights fighting against Muslims to the East of the Byzantine Empire, the word itself did not emerge in English until the eighteenth century. Moreover, though crusading is

popularly identified with Christian-Muslim warfare in the near east, a number of additional conflicts have been called crusades or would seem to be difficult to distinguish from the Crusades in the Middle East based on anything other than geography, including the Albigensian crusades in the Languedoc, the Baltic Crusades, and the Iberian Reconquista. Scholarly usage is generally divided between defining the Crusades as conflicts against Muslims in the East and defining it as papal-directed religious warfare in general. Some in the camp favoring a broader definition include any religious warfare in defense of Christians or Christian possessions, regardless of who organized it (Constable 2001; Housely 2006; Riley-Smith 1977). Those scholars who have advocated a broader definition of crusades as papally directed religious warfare instead of Christian expeditions against Muslim polities emphasize that said tool was widely used from at least the eleventh century on. Norman Houseley, for example, has argued that when viewed in this broader perspective, crusading became an extremely important medieval institution until at least the sixteenth century that was deeply involved in the cultural, theological, and financial foundations of the medieval Church (Houseley 1992).

With regard to the Crusades in the Middle East, there is relatively high agreement about what constitutes the first four such conflicts. Scholars have traditionally identified the First Crusade as beginning with Pope Urban II (d. 1099) calling for warriors to fight in the East at Clermont in 1095 and continued until approximately 1099. That call was inspired by a request from the Byzantine Emperor Alexius I Comnenus (d. 1118), seeking aid in dealing with the expanding power of the Seljuks who had taken most of Asia Minor from the Byzantines and had taken Jerusalem from the Egyptian Fatimids. Urban's call was answered by a number of expeditions made up of Christian knights and untrained enthusiasts from England, Northern France, Germany, and Italy. The forces thus generated acted largely independently, despite oaths of fealty to the Byzantine Emperor and were able to take advantage of disunity among their Muslim opponents to carve out a number of Crusader states including the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Principality of Antioch, and the County of Edessa, among others (Runciman 1987; Asbridge 2005).

The Crusader states managed to hold their own through most of the twelfth century. But as Muslims regained territory, the call to crusade was renewed. The second major influx of Crusaders, substantial enough to be called a Second Crusade, took place from 1147–1149. Crusaders came mostly from France and Germany and had little effect in the Holy Land, though many passed through the Iberian peninsula where they aided in the fight against Muslims there, most notably aiding in the Christian conquest of Lisbon. Christian successes in the East would be sharply curtailed after 1187 when Saladin (d. 1193), who had carved out his own empire in Syria and Egypt, retook Jerusalem from the Christians. Pope

Gregory VIII (d. 1187) called for a new crusade in response. Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa (d. 1190) set off on the crusade but drowned while passing through what is now Turkey. The King of France, Philip II (d. 1223) also joined the crusade. He got as far as Acre but left the expedition after a period of illness and tensions with fellow crusader King Richard I (d. 1199) of England in order to deal with problems at home. Richard was more successful, making his way to Jerusalem, though he failed to retake the city. He too was forced to leave the crusade in order to deal with rebellion in England but was captured by Henry VI (d. 1197) of Germany on the way home. The success of subsequent crusades to the Holy Land declined precipitously. Pope Innocent III (d. 1216) called for a Fourth Crusade in 1202, but it was diverted by their Venetian creditors. The Venetians had lost Zara, a port on the Adriatic, to King Emeric (d. 1204) of Hungary a few years earlier and wanted the crusaders do retake it. Innocent excommunicated the crusaders for setting aside their mission and making war on a Christian king who also happened to be one of his vassals. The crusaders never reached the Holy Land and instead took advantage of the disputed succession of the Byzantine Emperor to attack Constantinople (Harris 2003). Innocent also made the call for a Fifth Crusade part of the agenda of the Lateran IV council. The crusade got under way in 1217 but after four years of fighting in Egypt, accomplished nothing. Holy Roman Emperor and King of Sicily Frederick II (d. 1250) was able to regain Jerusalem in 1229 through negotiation rather than war. Louis IX (d. 1270) of France also undertook crusades in 1248 and 1270, without much success. At this point, the numbering of the Eastern Crusades breakdown. Some consider Frederick II's mostly peaceful expedition to be the Sixth Crusade. Others save that number for the first crusade by Louis IX (Mayer 1988; Houseley 1992).

Modern accounts of these crusades has tended to focus on the Western European perspective, though that has changed in recent decades. In fact, historians of the Crusades have sought to understand the mentality of the Crusaders themselves. Carl Erdmann is among the most influential of those historians. During the 1930s, he argued that the Crusades should be read as an attempt to liberate and unite Christians not an attempt to recapture the holy land, *per se*. Moreover, though it coincided with the expansion of Seljuk power, it was actually the logical conclusion of the Gregorian vision of a united Church under a strong pope, and the use of warfare to bring about that end (Erdmann 1977; see also Bull 1993). Jonathan Riley-Smith disagrees in part, placing more emphasis on taking Jerusalem as the goal of the First Crusade. Whatever the significance of papal ambition in laying the groundwork for the crusading ideology, Riley-Smith also sees it as a new development informed by visionary, eschatological enthusiasm as much as papal power plays. It was particularly the success of the First Crusade in capturing Jerusalem and carving new Christian states out of the Seljuk Middle

East that allowed the crusaders to recast their efforts as the work of Providence and key points in an eschatological narrative (Riley-Smith 1986). But one should be cautious about reading the crusading mentality, if such a thing can be said to exist, as static. Benjamin Kedar has argued that, from the thirteenth century on, the crusading ideology was linked to the missionary imperative of the high Middle Ages as a necessary precursor to preaching among Muslims, perceived by Western Christians as unwilling to listen to missionaries without the threat or use of force to make them receptive (Kedar 1984). Alongside these efforts to understand the mindset of Latin crusaders, interest in Muslim and Byzantine perspectives on the Crusades has grown considerably (e.g., Gabrieli 1969; Hillenbrand 2000). Most of modern scholarship takes a neutral or critical stance to the Crusades, but that is not universally true. Rodney Stark has recently and controversially written in support of the Crusades in the Middle East as a necessary defense against new Muslim aggression (Stark 2009).

The crusades in the Middle East are not just important for understanding conflicts between Muslims and Christians, they are relevant to the changing state of Jewish-Christian relations as well. In anticipation of the First Crusade, popular preachers and untrained would-be crusaders called for conversions and threatened violence against Jews along the Rhine. In May of 1096, crusaders attacked Jews living in the communities of Worms, Mainz, Speyer, Cologne, and other nearby towns suffered violence as a result. Some Christians came to their aid, including the bishops (most effectively John of Speyer, d. 1104), many important citizens of Mainz, and, belatedly, Emperor Henry IV (d. 1106) who condemned the attacks from afar. Still, these efforts could not prevent widespread loss of life with around 2000 Jews dying in Worms and Mainz. Fear of violence and forced conversion were such that some Jews killed themselves and family members rather than face the crusaders (Chazan 1987; Abulafia 2011).

Responsibility for the violence has been much debated. The organized crusading campaigns of the upper nobility did not engage in attacks on Jews. Urban II's call to crusade generated a greater response than anticipated. Aimed at monarchs and the upper nobility, the call was answered by people from all ranks of society. The violence against Jews in the Rhineland seems to have been perpetrated by popular enthusiasts and the less well organized adventuring warriors who participated in the Crusades on a more opportunistic basis and who may have hoped to finance their expeditions through bribes or plunder. Many accounts blame all of the attacks on a certain Count Emicho (of either Flonheim or Leinigen, his precise identity is disputed; Chazan 2000). He did lead the attack on Mainz and some smaller places around Cologne in which Jews were taking refuge. But Robert Chazan has recently argued that careful study of Jewish accounts of the attacks do not name him in relation to all the assaults and

repeatedly mention the involvement of local townsmen alongside the crusaders (Chazan 2000; 2002).

However responsibility for the attacks associated with the First Crusade should be apportioned, they were not the last such incidents of violence. Similar violence occurred in connection with later crusades as well. The prominent Tosafist R. Jacob ben Meir was reportedly attacked in 1146 around the beginning of the Second Crusade and Bernard of Clairvaux was instrumental in limiting the effects of popular preachers who called for renewed violence at that time. Mobs also threatened violence against the Jews of Germany and France in the wake of the Third Crusade. Emperor Frederick I distinguished himself by his actions to prevent such violence, while Richard I of England did nothing (Abulafia 2011).

Crusading violence against the Jews has garnered attention because it was unusual. Prior to these outbreaks of violence, Jews and Christians coexisted in a tense, unequal peace in much of Western Europe. Jews enjoyed relative political safety in many parts of medieval Europe. The Franks allowed them considerable freedom, depending in part on their learning to cultivate their own scholarly abilities and so afforded Jews an important place in the so-called Carolingian Renaissance. Moreover, there is some evidence that during the eighth and ninth centuries the Jews of Francia were organized under the guidance of a Jewish prince based in Narbonne who owed fealty to the King of the Franks (Zuckerman 1972). At the same time, not all Christians were willing to afford Jews considerable privilege and recognition. Unlike the Franks, the Visigoths of Spain were more repressive in their attitudes toward the Jews. Even in France, Agobard (d. 840), bishop of Lyons complained about Jewish privilege and condemned the freedom with which Jews spoke out against Christians and Christianity (Benbassa 1999).

The relatively tolerant atmosphere of the early Middle Ages may be attributable to the influence of Augustine of Hippo (d. 430). Augustine had described Jews as unwitting witnesses to the superiority of Christianity. The political demise of the Jews coincided with the ascendancy of Christianity and so provided important evidence that Christianity superseded Judaism as the most complete revelation of God's will for humanity. The pedagogical value of small subjugated populations of Jews within Christendom was such that their extirpation could be postponed until the end of days insofar as their survival actually served a greater missionary role than their immediate conversion would (Cohen 1999; Fredriksen 2010; Abulafia 2011). But sometime around or after the turn of the millennium, things began to change for the Jews. Rumors of Jewish violence against Christians began to spread as did negative portrayals of the Jews in general (for more, see below). Christian authorities also turned to other measures that made life difficult for Jewish communities. At various times, temporal and spiritual authorities called for Jews to wear distinctive clothing, confiscated land or interfered with its

inheritance, banned Jews from specific trades, or subjugated them to additional taxes and fees. As the Middle Ages wore on, Jews were frequently expelled from their homes. In 1290, Edward I (d. 1307) expelled the Jews from England. They were expelled from France several times between 1306 and 1394. Various German and Italian cities and territories expelled them between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries. The most famous expulsion occurred in 1492 when King Ferdinand (d. 1516) and Queen Isabella (d. 1504) expelled them from their Spanish and Italian lands, followed in 1497 by their expulsion from Portugal (Jordan 1989; Stow 1992; Foa 2000).

The violence against Jews in response to the Crusades may have emerged as the rising impetus to build a unified Christendom, free of the threat of unbelievers, inspired some who answered it to turn that momentum against non-Christians living in their midst instead of fighting those at their geographical margins and so began to target Jews and other marginalized groups (the association is attested in many crusade chronicles and so widely attested in secondary scholarship, for one scholarly explanation of the link, see Riley-Smith 2002, also discussed below). Many scholars have seen a decline in Jewish-Christian relations through the central and later Middle Ages. The novelty of the violence associated with the First Crusade and the crusading mentality that seems to have inspired it has made these attacks an attractive candidate for those seeking a watershed moment after which the state of Jewish-Christian relations decisively changed (e.g., Poliakov 1974; Langmuir 1990a; 1990b).

But not all scholars agree. Robert Chazan has disputed the notion that the First Crusade was a turning point in medieval relations between Jews and Christians. The crusading mentality was an anomalous disturbance in the tense coexistence of medieval Jews and Christians that had little lasting effect in the Rhineland in terms of instigating repressive legislation against the Jews. Rather than being a decisive turning point, it was at most the first indication of a change that had not yet occurred (Chazan 1987). Similarly, Kenneth Stow has been an outspoken critic of any sort of sudden change in Jewish-Christian relations during the central Middle Ages. Stow is less enthusiastic about the state of early medieval Jews than many other scholars. Claims that Jews were generally better off before some proposed medieval turning point and then increasingly subject to hardship and exclusion afterward both exaggerate the toleration of early medieval Christians and fail to recognize that the tenor of Jewish-Christian relations always varied subject to local conditions and ongoing power-struggles (Stow 1992). But even if the pogroms of the First Crusade did not initiate a generally repressive legal climate, they certainly had a profound effect on Ashkenazi Jews. A great deal of literature has been written in an attempt to understand the chronicles of these events generated by the communities that experienced them and the narra-

tives themselves have been compiled and published several times (e.g., Eidelberg, ed., 1977; Haverkamp, ed., 2005). Jeremy Cohen, for example, argues that the messianism, anti-Christian sentiment, and tendency to interpret suicides as Kiddush ha-Shem, or “sanctification of the Name of God,” i.e., as a religious act meant to avoid blaspheming against God by accepting conversion, should be seen as indices of the profound grief, and indeed guilt, of those who survived or descended from survivors (Cohen 2006).

Crusading violence was not just directed against Muslims and Jews, either. The Church used it internally for a variety of reasons as well, most notably the extirpation of heretics. The most famous example was the thirteenth century crusade against the Cathars of Southern France. Pope Innocent III initiated the so-called Albigensian Crusade (named after the town of Albi, which was thought to be one of the Cathars’ strongholds) in 1209 when one of his legates was killed in Toulouse. The murder took place after several years of resistance from the Count of Toulouse, Raymond VI (d. 1222), who refused to participate in efforts to discipline the Cathars and those nobles who supported them. Intermittent fighting ensued for the next twenty years, resulting ultimately in King Louis IX gaining control of the County of Toulouse and expanding the power of the monarchy considerably. Research on the Albigensian Crusade and the Cathars has uncovered the influence a complex set of intertwined religious, political, and social factors involved in the conflict. Malcolm Barber has argued that the alleged alliance between Cathars and local nobles of Southern France was partly a cultural one rather than a real alliance.

The lack of strongly hierarchical feudal relations among the local nobility made the hierarchy of the international Church a bit foreign to the culture of Languedoc. In fact, many local nobles were quite orthodox Catholics as far as their beliefs went (as seen by their support for other orthodox movements in the area), just uninterested in aiding the Church in hunting down heretics. Thus the conflict between the Albigensian crusaders and their “unbelieving” opponents was as much about culturally accepted notions of authority and the personal interests of local parties, as it was a conflict over religious conflict. But Barber also acknowledges that a wider crusading ideology and the sting of having recently lost Jerusalem to the Muslims were important motivating factors on the side of the crusader (Barber 2000). Elaine Graham-Leigh has gone a little farther in this direction. She sees the Albigensian Crusade as a conflict between networks of feudal obligation operating in Southern France and its surroundings. Instead of being a war against an identifiable Cathar threat, she reads it as a war between one group of French nobles led by a Cistercian papal legate and another group of French nobles who offered little patronage to the Cistericans and saw their primary allegiance not to France or even the Count of Toulouse but to the County

of Barcelona and the King of Aragon (Graham-Leigh 2005). Malcolm Lambert links two religious struggles, understanding the power of the Cathars to survive the Church's efforts to exterminate them with the weakening of local episcopal authority during the investiture crisis (Lambert 1999).

Another series of Crusades, often called the Northern Crusades, occurred in the region of the Baltic Sea from the twelfth through the sixteenth centuries. In 1147, the same year that the Second Crusade began, Pope Eugenius III (d. 1153) acknowledged the need for a crusade against pagans in the Baltic region. German speaking crusaders, followed by Danes and Swedes, fought against Wends, Finns, Estonians, Livonians, Samogitians, and other non-Christians in the name of spreading Latin Christianity but more often converting rulers, establishing client kingdoms, and conquering territory. Much of that territory entered into the hands of ecclesiastical lords such as a number of fighting bishops and military orders, particularly the Teutonic Knights. Given that German colonialism in the area was already well underway before the Northern Crusades; that the area was important for the production of amber, timber, and fur; and was subject to considerable piracy and raiding; it is important not to overlook the desire to protect and expand trade in the region as a motivation for the Northern Crusades (Christiansen 1980; Urban 1994).

The preceding conflicts illustrate a persistent conundrum faced by the Church. Christian teachings valued peace and a sense of the universal brotherhood of the faithful. In practical terms, ecclesiastical authorities had also worked to pacify the more warlike elements of medieval society. Through the tenth and eleventh centuries, bishops and abbots had advocated the Peace and Truce of God—two movements that hedged the pursuit of war with pious limitations such as protecting non-combatants and the religious from the use of force and encouraging warriors to abstain from fighting on holy days. In the process, they not only curbed violence in Europe, they also asserted the right of the church to regulate its conduct (Head and Landes, ed., 1992). However, the Church also used that authority to encourage the use of violence to achieve certain of its own ends. Though its officers typically did not exercise force themselves (certain religious lords and the military orders notwithstanding), they certainly encouraged others to wield their arms on behalf of the Church. The most obvious example, of course, would be the Crusades. But forces loyal to the popes also fought against emperors, as in the conflict between Pope Gregory VII and Emperor Henry IV during the Investiture Controversy. The Church pointed to examples of divinely sanctioned violence in the Bible for precedent and relied on the writings of Church Fathers like Augustine of Hippo and, eventually, scholastic philosophers like Thomas Aquinas to articulate a theory of just war (Russell 1977; Syse and Reichberg 2007).

For a military engagement to be considered just, it had to be fought for the right intentions, in response to a just cause, and with the approval of a legitimate authority. That meant that violence of this sort had to be exercised out of a greater sense of love and only with sufficient provocation (Riley-Smith 2002). A war to defend the oppressed, for example, might qualify as a just war. But a just war further had to be guaranteed by the authority of a duly ordained minister of God—a ruler, whether temporal or spiritual—not on the initiative of an incensed bystander or victim—except in the face of immediate danger. The rhetoric surrounding the First Crusade, describing the military adventure as a response to Seljuk aggression in defense of pilgrims, fought at the behest of no less an authority than Pope Urban II thus justified the violence to come within a framework provided by this theory of just war. Jonathan Riley-Smith has further considered Christian violence against Jews at the outset of major Crusades within this sort of context. Purity of motive was a prerequisite for the justified exercise of force. Riley-Smith argues that outwardly directed violence conducted in the name of religion, as one sees in the Crusades, tends to involve a concomitant inward-turning search for defects that might mar such intentions. This collective social introspection, in the case of the Crusades, led some to interpret toleration of unbelieving Jews as just such an impurity. Though Jews were not aggressors against Christians, and they were protected by a theory of deferred justice also articulated by Augustine, the voluntary and decentralized nature of most crusading allowed individuals who felt impelled by the first criterion of a just war (purity of intention) to overlook the defects in their fulfillment of the second and third criteria (just cause, legitimate authority). Thus forces such as those led by Emicho, detached from the oversight of a greater military authority, were not in practice restrained from acting on the impulses aroused by the penitential crusading rhetoric of the day (Riley-Smith 2002).

The practices of medieval inquisitions are also worth consideration when discussing the use of violence in medieval religious conflicts. The medieval church used inquisition to ferret out dissenting individuals and groups for discipline, punishment, and sometimes execution. First it is important to remember that there was no single, enduring institution known as “the Inquisition” in the Middle Ages that held universal jurisdiction over all of Roman Christendom. The Roman Inquisition would not be established until 1542. Even the Spanish Inquisition would not be formed until 1478. Instead, “inquisition” refers to the procedure by which judicial authorities investigated possible misconduct. The practice derived from Roman criminal law and was normally used for matters too severe to wait for charges to be brought under the normal system of accusatory law. The principle examples of such crimes under Roman law were crimes of *lese majeste*. As religious dissent was increasingly criminalized through the twelfth and thirteenth century, heresy came

to be viewed as a crime against God—and so a crime against the divine majesty—and subject to inquisitorial prosecution (Kieckhefer 1979; Kelly 1989).

The responsibility for inquiring into cases of possible heresy at first lay principally with bishops. In 1184, Pope Lucius III urged bishops to pursue such inquisitions in the bull *Ad abolendam*. In 1215, during the Lateran IV council and engaged in the pursuit of Cathars and Waldensians, Innocent III reinforced the surveillance activities of the Church, requiring even more avid inquiries from bishops in their diocese and priests in the parishes, including the obligation that all the faithful make a yearly confession of their sins. Heretics faced excommunication and the loss of their property, though the former penalty would be lifted if they reconciled with the Church. Unrepentant heretics faced punishment by secular authority. In 1231, Pope Gregory IX affirmed the appropriateness of the death penalty for unrepentant or backsliding heretics, a punishment already legislated by some secular authorities. Gregory also reserved for the papacy the right to appoint papal inquisitors to investigate cases of “heretical depravity” in other bishops’ sees. In 1252, Innocent IV allowed secular authorities the right to torture suspects and witnesses on behalf of inquisitorial tribunals. In 1256, Alexander IV allowed clerics who made use of torture themselves, rather than merely allowing lay authorities to do so on their behalf, to absolve each other of the sin (Peters 1988).

Ironically, the efforts of inquisitors to find and eliminate heresy became a major contributor to the heretical discourse itself as their efforts built expectations regarding what heretics were like and what their heresies entailed (Pegg 2001, 2008). For example, John Arnold has framed the Albigensian inquisition’s roles in Foucauldian terms, discussing the way in which inquisitors and the subjects of their inquiry collaborated in producing a discourse of heresy that typically cohered with prevailing expectations (Arnold 2001). As a result, reading the inquisitorial records and understanding the nature of the individuals and groups that the Church opposed during these and other conflicts over claims of heresy is complicated by the degree to which the views of the institutional Church and its representatives are over represented within those records.

To be fair, even though the fact that Alexander IV allowed inquisitors to absolve each other indicates that ecclesiastical officials did perform torture and possibly other acts of violence themselves, in theory that was a responsibility reserved to the secular arm which was freer to engage in bloodshed. But regardless of whether ecclesiastical officials did it themselves or relied on their secular agents, there is no way to avoid the Church’s responsibility for committing acts of violence as part of its conflicts with various dissenting movements. The Church took pains to justify its use of violence with reference to Roman law. Innocent IV called heretics spiritual murderers and the moral equivalent of thieves, insofar as they stole the belief of the faithful from its rightful owner—God—and so also

guilty of crimes against the sovereign of the universe. Torture was hedged in with rules about its proper conduct. The inquisition could subject someone to one session of torture, though that restriction could be circumvented by suspending the session and continuing what was procedurally the same session at a later time. *Ad extirpenda* forbade the breaking of limbs or endangering the torture subject's life. The goal was identifying further suspects, obtaining confessions necessary in most cases to convict suspects, or confirming the veracity of testimony that was itself suspect. But the church was also aware of the problems with torture (Peters 1988). Aristotle had pointed out its unreliability and Pope Nicholas II had already ruled it impermissible in 866 (Bishop 2006).

Similar problems surrounded the use of the death penalty in punishing heretics. Augustine and John Chrysostom (d. 407), among the Patristic theologians, and Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153), among medieval thinkers, had called for persuasion rather than violence in correcting heretics. But the Church justified such executions on the grounds that doing so contained a pernicious public threat. Augustine, despite his statements to the contrary, conceded the possibility that such practice could be justified, as did Aquinas. The church also had biblical precedents for the use of corporal punishment and the death penalty for certain offenses and recognized the right of sovereign secular authorities to inflict such punishments for the maintenance of order. Overall, the justification for such violence is not dissimilar from that behind the use of violence in crusading or other just war—pure intentions for the greater good on the part of a legitimate authority could authorize the use of violence (Peters 1988).

C Understanding Religion and Conflict

In addition to asking how the Church justified its involvement in the sorts of religious conflicts thus far discussed, historians have asked why they arose at all. It is probably impossible to offer any comprehensive answer to the question, given the variety of religious conflicts that occurred during the Middle Ages. But again, it is possible to offer some general observations. The Church sought to enforce its authority over a number of different targets, the laity, clerics, dissenters, secular powers, members of other religions, etc. Some scholars, particularly Robert I. Moore, have asked whether this indicates a propensity toward persecution itself in medieval Europe. Noting similarities in the way the medieval church responded to a variety of marginal groups, Moore has sought to explain those similarities and look for their underlying causes, and his work has been extremely influential (for an example of the debate that Moore's work has provoked, see Frassetto, ed., 2006; and for Moore's response to such debates, see Moore 2007). His most famous

contribution, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*, argued that religious persecution proliferated in Europe from the eleventh and twelfth centuries on as heretics and Jews, but also lepers, prostitutes, and men who engaged in homosexual sex, were marginalized as deviating from this new vision of Christian society. The authors and advocates of that vision were a literate, clerical elite who benefitted from the economic expansion of the period and sought to deploy their learning to channel this productivity in an orderly fashion and eliminate any segment of society that threatened their vision or the legitimacy of their right to articulate it (Moore 2007). But the opportunity to articulate and advance this new clerical vision was a result of widespread changes to medieval society after the year 1000, which Moore discussed in *The First European Revolution*. There, Moore argued for the development of an alliance between the Church and the military aristocracy to vouchsafe their legitimacy, organize land tenure, provide for peace in rural Europe to maximize the productivity of the medieval revolution in agriculture, and direct the consequent commercial activity through the newly burgeoning urban centers of Europe (Moore 2001; cf. Robert Bartlett's somewhat similar argument that specifically stresses the colonial expansion of the military aristocracy, Bartlett 1993).

Other scholars have also tried to explain these developments in terms of underlying social and economic conditions. Lester Little has tried to understand both the Church's response to heresy and the origins of that heresy itself in the same processes of commercial expansion. He sees the growth of the commercial economy as coupled with attempts by religious leaders—popular and official alike—to either resist or accommodate those changes. Thus Little explains both the rise of certain heretical movements (e.g., the Waldensians) and persecution of the Jews (as economic rivals) as well as the development of new forms of traditional monasticism (e.g., the Cistercians) to resist these changes and other, novel forms (i.e., the mendicants) to embrace and incorporate them into the Church (Little 1978). The twelfth century, in which these changes began, and the thirteenth century, into which they continued, is often described as a pivotal moment in medieval European history when a confluence of economic expansion, intellectual flowering led to important cultural, social, and political changes (for more on the so-called "Twelfth-Century Renaissance," see Haskins 1971; Abulafia 1995; Constable 1996; Swanson 1999; and Southern 1997–2001 as well).

Scholars have also looked to the Twelfth-Century Renaissance as an important turning point in the conflict and coexistence of Jews and Christians. Ironically, Jewish-Christian relations declined precisely as Christians became more aware of the actual content of post-biblical Jewish belief and practice. Prior to about the twelfth century, Christian writers about Judaism displayed relatively little awareness of the religion as it was practiced in their own time. In their works, Jews were little more than stock characters and Judaism was more or less as it was depicted in

the Bible. This has led scholars to describe such early Christian accounts, even polemically framed ones, as using Jews and Judaism simply as rhetorical instruments for making other points, particularly about Christian doctrines. Knowledge of post-biblical Judaism only started to increase in the twelfth century. Some of this interest came from the missionary interests of monks and friars (J. Cohen 1982a). Peter the Venerable took an interest in the Talmud but was more remarkable for his polemically motivated study of Islam (Kritzeck 1964; Iogna-Prat 2002).

Christian missionaries and polemicists were aided by the conversion of Jews to Christianity who were then able to make their knowledge and experience as practicing Jews available to their new co-religionists. Many, indeed, took holy orders and joined the efforts to convert adherents of their former religion. Petrus Alfonsi, once a Spanish Jewish scholar, converted in 1106, was an early example who wrote an important polemical dialogue soon after. Jewish converts to Christianity also brought expertise on Jewish languages and learning and so opened the range of source material upon which Christian writers could draw. As exposure to more recent Jewish thought increased, some Christians perceived Jews as having strayed from the Judaism of the Bible, misled by philosophy and, more importantly, the influence of the Talmud. Christians such as Raymundus Martinus (d. ca. late thirteenth century), whose *Pugio Fidei* exemplified the new level of Talmudic learning possessed by some Christians even as his work excoriated Jews for their unbelief. The *Pugio Fidei* exhibited a double approach to the Talmud. On the one hand, certain parts of it seemed to reinforce Christian belief and so could be used as a valuable tool in disputing with Jews. On the other hand, Martinus pointed to derogatory characterizations of Jesus, Mary, and certain points of Christian doctrine included in manuscript versions of the Talmud as evidence of Jewish hatred for the faith and its adherents.

Even as missionaries used the Talmud to advance their efforts to convert Jews, copies of the Talmud were confiscated and burned and disputations held between Jews and Christians with intention of exposing Jewish errors. Notable campaigns against the Talmud began after the Paris Disputation of 1240, led by a converted from Judaism named Nicholas Donin (d. thirteenth century), and the Disputation of Barcelona, led by Pablo Christiani (d. ca. late thirteenth century) also a convert (J. Cohen 1982a; Chazan 1992). Many of these efforts, like the campaigns against heretics, were led by members of the mendicant orders. Anti-Talmud campaigns continued through the late Middle Ages and into the early modern period with Pope at Avignon, Benedict XIII (d. 1423) banning Jews from reading it in 1415.

Cohen argues that it was this focus on the Talmud beginning in the twelfth century and the anti-Talmud campaigns of the thirteenth and subsequent centuries that mark the real transformation in Jewish-Christian relations. For Cohen,

the underlying cause had to do with the rise of the mendicant orders and their convert accomplices who were responsible for reframing the Talmud as a source of blasphemy and heresy. Mendicant control over the tools of inquisition and forced conversion made the violence surrounding their efforts fundamentally different from earlier popular violence that lacked any form of ecclesiastical sanction. Moreover, the campaign against the Talmud indicated a significant shift in the way Christians saw Jews. The Talmud's unstable mix of truth and error was dangerous and misleading, according to its critics. Jews had failed to understand its more valuable elements, had their views of Christianity tainted by its blasphemous passages, and used it to justify unwarranted innovations and practices that led them away from the biblical faith upon which Augustinian toleration was predicated. In short, contemporaneous Jews had become heretics to their own faith. According to Cohen, the friars of the mendicant orders had a new rationale to combine their preaching and heresy hunting roles in extirpating Judaism from Christian lands (J. Cohen 1982a; 1999). Robert Chazan calls for more caution in evaluating the impact of the anti-Talmud campaign. Although the attack on the Talmud was indeed a novel approach, it proved too labor intensive and ineffective to mark a change in the strategies used by missionaries. So, much like his arguments regarding the violence against Jews associated with the First Crusade, Chazan argues that as dramatic and novel as the anti-Talmud campaign was, its long-term influence was not as profound as Cohen has suggested (Chazan 1989).

Instead, Chazan argues that the worsening state of Jewish-Christian relations was a result of a more complex process. Events like the attacks on Jewish communities in the Rhine or the anti-Talmud campaign of mendicant missionaries and polemicists are indicative of a larger transformation, and neither causes themselves or watershed moments. Chazan argues that the change was initially due to economic factors that were intertwined with larger social and cultural changes. In the tenth century Jews started to settle in Northern Europe to take advantage of the economic expansion going on there and they generally prospered up until the twelfth century. Chazan claims that Jews came to fulfill an important economic niche by engaging in money lending. Tensions surrounding that role, and the ties that they sometimes cultivated with elites, made them a target of popular animosity and thence accusations of usury. This animosity provided the kernel around which a perception of Jewish foreignness, as relative newcomers to the area, and Jewish-Christian enmity could form around at the same time that a stronger and more cohesive sense of a unique Christian identity was forming in Europe, fed by the Gregorian movement, the consolidation of the Church around the papacy, and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance. Negative images of Jews thus served as a foil against which this Christians could further articulate this identity and, in turn, reinforce the perception of Jewish danger. For Chazan, it was this transformation

in the perception of Jews, dominated by a snowballing accumulation of stereotypes, fueled by underlying social and economic conflicts, that was responsible for the worsening state of Jewish-Christian relations, rather than any single event or development in missionary strategies (Chazan 1997).

There has been considerable scholarship as well regarding the sorts of Jewish stereotypes and libelous tales spread about the Jews during the Middle Ages, many of which endured long past end of that era. In 1144, the body of a boy named William was discovered near Norwich, England. His death was blamed on local Jews who were accused of trying to fulfill an annual ritual meant to end their Exile by crucifying a Christian. Despite the utter lack of evidence for such a practice, belief that Jews engaged in such rituals spread, partly due to the work of popularizers such as Thomas of Monmouth (d. after 1173) who published an account of the Norwich libel in 1150. A similar account surfaced surrounding the death of another child, Hugh of Lincoln, who died under mysterious circumstances in 1255. Geoffrey Chaucer (d. 1400) refers to the story in the *Canterbury Tales* ("The Prioress's Tale"). In many of these cases, the dead children were popularly acclaimed as martyrs and in some cases became the focus of local and regional pilgrimages. The details of the ritual alleged to underlie the ritual murder accusation ballooned from a single annual ritual done by isolated communities to a widespread part of Passover observation. When such murder accusations broke out, Jews faced considerable danger at the hands of authorities or local mobs looking for perpetrators upon which to blame otherwise inexplicable deaths. On the other hand, many Christians were aware of the absurdity of such charges and both temporal and religious leaders made some efforts to contain these accusations, including Pope Innocent IV (d. 1254) and who denounced the accusations as baseless (Langmuir 1990a; Langmuir 1990b).

These and similar accusations also surfaced on the continent in relation to other deaths, most famously in connection with the death of Simon of Trent in 1475. Although the term "blood libel" and its variants has been used indiscriminately to refer to all such similar accusations that the Jews ritually murdered Christians, some scholars note call for more precision. Following earlier precedents, Gavin Langmuir has noted that the ritual use of blood only enters these accusations after a libel that occurred in Fulda in 1235 in which local Jews were accused of burning down a mill and killing the mill operator's five sons in an effort to obtain Christian blood for its curative powers. Thirty-five Jews were executed, Frederick II investigated, and declared the accusation false. Langmuir argues that the Fulda libel marks a new stage in the development of these claims, wherein Jews were accused not just of ritually killing Christians but also of some form of ritual cannibalism, typically involving the consumption of the blood of Christians, and that such distinctions are important to recognize (Langmuir 1990b).

Other accusations surfaced as well. Jews were blamed for the spread of the Black Death, believed by some contemporaries to have been caused by poisoning well water (Foa 2000). Starting in the thirteenth century, Jews were also accused of desecrating the Eucharist (Rubin 1999). The transformation of the Christian conception of the Jews from uncooperative but relatively harmless witness to Christianity into the more demonic portrayal of the later Middle Ages included a number of even more absurd flights of fantasy including claims that Jewish men menstruated and the artistic depiction of Jews with bestial characteristics (Melinkoff 1993; Strickland 2003; Cuffel 2007). The development of the “Judensau,” or the depiction of Jews suckling from a pig, further exemplifies the increasing demonization of Jews in the medieval Christian imagination (Shachar 1974; Wiedl 2010).

The rise of such accusations has called out for explanation. Many writers have noted how these claims replicate the logic of Christian doctrines and rituals in an inverted fashion. R. Po-Chia Hsia has pointed out how ritual murder accusations reflect the shedding of Christ’s blood on the Crucifix on the part of both the Christian child and the Jews accused of the child’s murder. He has also noted the late medieval fusion of ritual murder and host desecration stories into a single narrative based on Eucharistic notions of the soteriological power of blood sacrifice (Hsia 1990). Folklorists have also examined the blood libel and similar accusations, most typically in terms of the stories, ballads, and legends about them that have entered various folklore traditions. In fact, they are common enough motifs that Stith Thompson devoted the V360 series in his comprehensive motif index to Jewish and Christian stories about each other. The series includes a number of common accusations against the Jews: V361 refers to the blood libel, V362 refers to well poisoning accusations, V363–64 describe a range of host desecration motifs (Thompson 1989). As an example of folklorists’ approach to ritual murder accusations, Alan Dundes uses them as an example for his psychological reading of folklore. He claims that ritual blood libel claims, whether dealing with historical accusations or subsequent folk narratives, reflect a process he calls “projective inversion” in which a group of people turn a discomfiting aspect of themselves around and attribute it to others. Uneasy about the fact that Christian faith requires the execution of its own savior for the benefit of the faithful, Christians project the murder of an innocent onto the Jews. In the case of blood libel accusation, the anxiety is more specifically seated in the ritual consumption of the body and blood of Christ in the form of the Eucharist which is then reimagined as Jewish consumption of the mundane blood of a Christian child (Dundes 1991).

Much more controversially, Israel Yuval brings psychological interpretation into the realm of historical accusations themselves by trying to identify an actual event that could serve as at least a partial inspiration for blood libel and ritual

murder accusations. He finds that original inspiration in the events surrounding the First Crusade. Yuval speculates that ritual murder accusations were an outgrowth of Christians' awareness of both Jewish martyrdom and suicide and a subsequent rise in Jewish messianism in the wake of the First Crusade. The perception that Jews had been willing to kill their own children and the interpretation of the act as a religious one, opened the door to fantasies of blood sacrifice and thus stimulated Christian paranoia regarding the Jews (Yuval 2003). Yuval is not the first scholar to suggest that anti-Jewish libels reflect a misunderstanding of some aspect of Jewish history or culture, but pointing to an actual instance of Jewish violence, self-directed though it may have been, is not typical. Cecil Roth's interpretation of the blood libel as a confused reflection of the festival of Purim is much more typical and has been very influential. Roth argues that the Purim festival's symbolic tormenting of the oppressive figure of Haman from the Book of Esther may have given rise to the belief that Jews sought to torment their Christian oppressors as well (Roth 1991).

Alongside Chazan, other scholars have attempted to understand these accusations and stereotypes as part of the larger narrative of declining Jewish-Christian relations. Gavin Langmuir has argued that it is possible to understand Christian derision for the Jews, and indeed much inter-group rivalry in general, along a continuum of rationality. Criticism of other groups, in this case the Jews, can involve realistic assertions, xenophobic assertions, or chimerical assertions. Realistic assertions about another group, even if critical, are predicated on an understanding of the other as still essentially human. Xenophobic assertions exaggerate the real characteristics found among members of a group, no matter how infrequently, into a derogatory caricature while ignoring neutral or positive characteristics. Chimerical assertions posit entirely fantastic and irrational claims about the other (Langmuir 1990b). Langmuir argues that the story of medieval Jewish-Christian relations is one in which Christians' xenophobic assertions about the Jews (e.g., making the Jews' rejection of Jesus as the messiah their defining characteristic) into chimerical accusations (e.g., the blood libel). For Langmuir, this change marks a transformation of Christian anti-Judaism into the type of anti-Semitism that would characterize modern hostility toward the Jews. Furthermore, Langmuir argues that the conditions impelling this changing hostility were an internal development within Christian religiosity. All religions involve non-rational propositions of one form or another—claims that do not necessarily involve a rejection of reason (and hence are not inherently irrational) but simply do not appeal to reason as the basis of their truth claims (and so are just non-rational). Still, to a society that values reason, they can be difficult to reconcile. From at least the twelfth century, reason began to play an increasing role in medieval Christian theology, due in part to the influence of the scholastics.

According to Langmuir, internal conflicts generated by the need to harmonize rational and non-rational propositions were projected outward onto an already marginalized group—the Jews—who then became a kind of scapegoat for Christian anxieties and doubts. It should be noted that Langmuir's usage of the terms is idiosyncratic insofar as he defines "antisemitism" (to use his preferred spelling for a moment) by its irrationality, not by the racial basis of its rhetoric (Langmuir 1990a; 1990b). He agrees that *racial* anti-Semitism—what he calls "physiocentric antisemitism"—is a distinctly modern phenomenon (Langmuir 1990a, 318–46).

Other scholars have proposed similar claims. Hsia's and Dundes's previously described interpretations of the blood libel and ritual murder are reminiscent of Langmuir's projection of anxiety onto Jews. Anna Sapir Abulafia has argued that during the Twelfth-Century Renaissance, Christian theologians came to identify Christian truths with reason itself and so explained Jewish unbelief as a rejection of reason (Abulafia 1995). But for Abulafia, this explanation has given way to much more of a social explanation, accounting for one way in which the Augustinian perception of Jews as providing something useful to Christians, and so worthy of preservation, diminished as Christians came to view Jews as less and less willing or capable of serving Christian interests. Thus the change was much more one of eroding protections than increasing hostility (Abulafia 1995; 2011).

Hostility toward the Jews might profitably be compared with Christian-Muslim conflicts. Just as with Jews, Christians were not necessarily on a collision course with Muslims from their initial encounters. The first contacts between the two groups occurred very early in Muslim history—Christians lived in the Arabian peninsula during Muhammad's life time and were among the groups living in the lands absorbed by early Muslim expansion. But Muslim conquerors did not immediately require subjugated populations to convert to Islam, indeed by many accounts they made conversion difficult. They required recognition of the political supremacy of Islam from their subjects, but allowed other monotheists (including in their eyes Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians) to take on a dependent status as "dhimmi" (or protected) in exchange for accepting certain legal and social restrictions and payment of an annual tax called the *jizya*. Certainly these practices put religious groups into conflict, but it also provided a blueprint for a viable, if decidedly unequal, coexistence. In some areas, such as Muslim Spain, the politically dominant Muslim minority had to coexist with a non-Muslim majority. In the Iberian peninsula, as part of the numerous struggles between the *taifas* and principalities of Muslim and Christian Spain during the eleventh through thirteenth centuries, military/political allegiance and religious identity became entangled in very complicated ways with warriors of each religion fighting on both sides of any given conflict. The most famous example of this may lie in the career of "El Cid," Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar (d. 1099), who fought for and

against both Muslims and Christians and similarly counted members of both groups among his own supporters and subjects.

But despite these interactions, many Christians in Europe had a severe lack of understanding of Islam, Muhammad, and Muslims themselves or at least presented very distorted views of all three. Christians had difficulty understanding how to conceptualize Islam in relation to Christianity. It was described as a Christian heresy (or at least the product of the influence of heretical monks on Muhammad), a false prophecy, and as a separate pagan religion in its own right (Tolan 2002; 2008). Norman Daniel has shown that Christian understanding of Islam was not just characterized by lack of knowledge but a much more distorted misunderstanding of the religion. In Western Europe, that false picture of Islam largely took shape during the twelfth through fourteenth centuries after a period of relative neglect and disinterest. It was shaped by the military conflicts between the two religious communities during that time and so influenced by the perception of Muslims as the enemy other—a perception that Daniel argued has been difficult to dislodge even in the modern era (Daniel 1993). Benjamin Kedar has argued that Western Europe's lack of interest in Islam prior to the Crusades was due to the Church's essentially conservative and inward looking preoccupation with a moment of revelation that it saw as already completed, making it disinclined to take new developments outside its boundaries seriously (Kedar 1984).

All Christians viewed assertions that Muhammad was a prophet as false claims but some thought that Muslims worshipped Muhammad as divine in the same manner that Christians acknowledged their founder Jesus to be the Son of God. Whether they understood Muslim views of Muhammad or not, Christians often compared Muhammad and Jesus unfavorably, noting the former's lack of miracles and several marriages as markers of his unworthiness (Cuffel 2007). A tradition of satirical biographies of Muhammad developed, such as that written by Pedro Pascual (d. 1299), bishop of Jaen. Such "anti-biographies" described Muhammad as vulgar and excessively material, frequently attributing to him an ignominious death in which his body was devoured by dogs or swine. Christian polemicists, such as Peter the Venerable (d. 1156), and Raymundus Martinus (d. ca. 1280s) included attacks on Islam alongside their attacks on Judaism (for a discussion of how both Muslims and non-Muslims have remembered and presented the life of Muhammad, see Daniel 1993; Bennett 1998).

Christians extended their criticism of Islam and derogation of Muhammad to cover Muslims themselves as well. Christians used a variety of techniques to depict Muslims as the demonic or sinful other in art and literature. John Tolan has pointed out the eschatological elements of Christian representations of Islam, from early Byzantine associations between Muslims and the armies of the Antichrist to Innocent III's identification of Muslims with the Beast of Revelations

(Tolan 2002; 2008). Scholars such as Ruth Melinkoff and Debra Higgs Strickland have shown how this was done in visual representations of Muslims (as well as for other marginalized groups), in which ugliness, monstrosity, or physical deformity were used as markers of Muslims' and others' alleged inhumanity and sin (Melinkoff 1993; Strickland 2003). Muslims were depicted in Christian polemic as excessively materialistic, licentious, either hyper- or hypo-masculine. Although one should be cautious about attributing modern constructions like race to medieval thinkers, medieval Christians did present the darker skin color they associated with Muslims as a marker of their inferiority and/or perfidy. Alexandra Cuffel has argued that such portrayals of Muslims associated them with carnality and so distanced them from all things divine or spiritual in the medieval Christian imagination. More importantly, Cuffel argues that this technique of using highly gendered depictions of the corporeal to disparage the other was a technique that Christians, Jews, and Muslims all used against each other (Cuffel 2007). Christians also engaged in this sort of demonizing of the other against dissident Christians. Norman Cohn has described the development of a certain medieval paranoia regarding antisocial heretics given not only to false beliefs but indulging in lurid orgiastic and cannibalistic rites and notes that such fears have coexisted with Christianity since its very foundation, originally directed at Christians themselves, then internalized and aimed at any number of its enemies including Jews, heretical Christians, and, eventually, accused witches (Cohn 1993).

Discussions of medieval religious conflict can cultivate the impression that medieval Europe was a highly polarized society in which no social or economic transactions ever occurred across religious boundaries, casting the Church as an unrelenting foe of any dissent or opposition. Such a view goes several steps too far. Whatever social tensions or persecutory impulses and agendas may have existed, people adhering to varying religious ways of life interacted all the time. Joseph Shatzmiller has been particularly instrumental in reminding scholars that Jews and Christians could get along quite well at the local level, despite larger medieval trends. Shatzmiller has shown that despite their negative reputation as usurers, those Jews that did lend money were not always the subject of social stigma. First, he notes that money lending was much more common among all segments of medieval society than is generally understood. Moreover, as his study of the early fourteenth century trial of the moneylender "Bondavid" in Marseilles shows, those Jews who did lend money were sometimes respected members of the communities in which they lived (Shatzmiller 1990). Shatzmiller has shown a similar avenue for acceptance and prosperity existed through the practice of medicine, despite attacks from those who wanted to eliminate Jewish competitors in the field and who invoked religious identity to do so (Shatzmiller 1994). Similarly, even though heretics became the subject of medieval paranoia,

at the local level, individuals accused of heresy seem to have gotten along with neighbors as well or as poorly as any neighbors ever do. Emmanuel Leroy Ladurie found considerable indifference toward fine doctrinal distinctions among Cathars and Catholics in fourteenth century Montailou (Ladurie 1978). James Given has shown that in Languedoc, the charge of heresy itself was not so devastating that it destroyed all other social ties. Some accused heretics were able to use a variety of local connections and networks to escape, or at least resist, the power of inquisitors in the region (Given 2007).

For all its influence, Moore's notion of central and late medieval Europe as a persecuting society may not fully capture the subtleties of the forces driving religious conflict. It is important to reconsider the discussion of the effects of religious conflict and consider what, despite their destructiveness, such conflicts may have accomplished or whose interests they may have served. To some extent, discussions of medieval religious conflict have always paid attention to their role in larger political, social, and economic transformations, as the repeated implication of Gregorian, papal, and mendicant interests in religious conflicts already discussed suggests. For example, even though Po-Chia Hsia has interpreted ritual murder in general as a reflection of religious symbols deeply embedded in Christian culture, he has also been attentive to the political, social and economic contexts in which the events occurred (Hsia 1990). In the case of the murder of Simon of Trent and the ritual murder accusations that followed in 1475, the drama was orchestrated by the local bishop who had his own political aspirations and complicated by the political connections of the accused and the involvement of both the Archduke of the Tirol and the Pope himself, whose envoy was skeptical of the charges brought by the bishop (Hsia 1996). But over the last two or more decades, scholars have become ever more perceptive and critical in discerning subtle links between religious conflicts and other contemporaneous issues.

Among the stories told about medieval Jews were narratives in which Jews were accused of acquiring communion wafers through deceptive and surreptitious means and then desecrating them. In these stories, Jews are depicted as full of hatred for Christ and recapitulating the act of deicide attributed to them by anti-Jewish writers. The outbreak of these stories during the thirteenth century has led Miri Rubin to situate these stories in the context of the rising popularity of various sacramental devotions and the formulation of the doctrine of transubstantiation which were occurring at the same time. The act of desecrating the host to torture Christ suggests, rather incredibly, that Jews believed in the Christian doctrine of transubstantiation. Moreover, although stories of host desecration could vary considerably, they generally included miraculous consequences such as the production of blood from the tortured wafer or the sound of wailing children. Often the stories suggested the Jews who witnessed such miracles were

moved to repent or even convert. Rubin argues that host desecration should be read as providing anecdotal support for belief in transubstantiation and so provided a valuable tool for sermon writers. Although the story contributed to the ongoing marginalization of the Jews, the stories themselves served other agendas as well (Rubin 1992; 1999).

David Nirenberg has pointed to the social functions of violence among rival religious communities. He has argued that historians have been too drawn to dramatic episodes of violence between religious groups and not paid enough attention to the more conventional, lesser violence, such as that which Christians regularly committed against Jews around Easter. Nirenberg argues that, at least in Aragon, such violence paradoxically served a preventative effect, allowing the dominant community to vent building tensions at expected times of the year that minority communities could then prepare for. When larger examples of violence took place, they were anomalies, often deliberately undertaken by political actors to achieve specific goals, such as sending a monarch a message by attacking communities that were dependent upon their protection (Nirenberg 1996). Jews, Christians, and Muslims who engaged in the demonization, ridicule, and expression of disgust with regard to members of the other traditions not only attacked those “others,” they sent a clear message to members of their own group that fraternization was dangerous and conversion was foolish. Polemical exchange, derogatory commentary, and the cultivation of stereotypes thus also served as an important mechanism of boundary maintenance between religious groups (Cuffel 2007).

And yet scholarship has uncovered even more complicated and subtle relationships between members of different religious groups that were frequently in conflict. The tensions between them have themselves been a generative force behind those traditions and so an important if problematic source of religious creativity. Such research has been particularly fruitful in the study of medieval Jewish-Christian relations. Ivan Marcus, for example, discusses the history of Jewish liturgy in dialogue with Christianity. He argues that elements of Jewish ritual developed as responses to Christian practices. For example, he reads early Ashkenazi rituals of initiation into the Torah involving the consumption of cakes inscribed with Torah verses as a reflection of a child’s first communion (Marcus 1996). Israel Yuval has made similar arguments. According to Yuval, much of Jewish tradition developed in response to Christian innovations—Passover stimulated by the birth of Easter, Talmud as a counterpart to the New Testament, matzah as an answer to the Eucharist (Yuval 2003). Peter Schäfer and Arthur Green have each found evidence of such creative dialogue across religious boundaries within the history of Jewish esotericism. Both have argued that kabbalistic notions of the Shekhinah, or feminine divine presence, developed in Southern

France and Northern Spain under the influence of the growing importance of the Virgin Mary as a female intercessor figure (Schäfer 2002; Green 2002).

D Conclusion

Religious conflict in the Middle Ages was varied, diverse, and complicated. It entered into a variety of different historical and social contexts and was bound up with a host of different motivations, many of which were far removed from matters of pious belief or spiritual inclination. Thus unified or comprehensive treatments of religious conflict as a thing in itself prove elusive. It may be better to consider the role of religion in conflict or the significance of conflict for religion than to posit a unique form of religious conflict per se. That said, even this necessarily selective survey of the issues suggests that the ubiquity of religion and conflicts' intersections in medieval Europe makes it impossible to underestimate their importance for the history and culture of the period.

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Michael Sizer

Revolt and Revolution

A Revolt, Revolution, and Resistance: Theoretical Approaches and Typologies of Social Conflict and their Problems

While they varied in form, intensity, meaning, and outcomes, revolts were a major feature of politics and culture of the Middle Ages. Samuel Cohn, Jr. counts 1112 incidents of revolt in Western Europe between 1200 and 1425 alone (Cohn 2006). Because they are a recurring historical phenomenon, revolts provide an excellent basis for comparative analysis, not only between medieval societies but also between medieval forms of the phenomenon and those in other areas and chronologies (Malia 2007; Krejci 1994; Bluche and Rials, ed., 1989; Eisenstadt 1978). Furthermore, medieval revolts intersected with all forms of culture—judicial and legal culture, royal and aristocratic power, criminality and marginality, festive/ritual customs, literature, social structures and hierarchies, communication and memory, uses of space, religion, and others—and engaged people from all social ranks, making them a particularly complex but rich field of study for a deep understanding of the period's political culture.

One of the most challenging aspects of the study of medieval revolt is defining the category of analysis. Existing vocabularies, both medieval and modern, inevitably only capture partial aspects of a large and complex phenomenon. Medieval terminology for revolt was not systematic, and medieval concepts of revolt and revolution do not correspond neatly to our own (Touati 1990). Most available descriptions come from sources hostile to popular uprising or juridical sources engaged in their repression, meaning that our perspective of revolt is constructed around notions of crime, disorder, and disobedience that likely did not reflect the feelings of participants (Pearsall 1989). Both the community in resistance to authority and possibly the authorities themselves might see the taking of arms as part of a continuum of political contestation, a negotiation tactic rather than a definitive signal of a new category of political action (Boone 2010; Neveux 1997).

Medieval texts often use several terms to describe revolutionary incidents associated with a movement rather than use one single word to indicate that a revolt has happened (Gauvard 1991, vol. 2, 564–66). Medieval authors tended to make a distinction between latent plotting and the open taking of arms, and would

use different terms to describe each of these elements. Before they took arms, the people might *murmure* (French) or engage in *rumores* (Latin) (de Pisan 1958, 128–29; Quagliioni, ed., 1983, 163). Another category of words focused on conspiracy, illegal assembly or oath-taking: for example Carolingian laws referred to *conspiraciones* and *coniurationes* of tax-resisting peasants (Goldberg 1995, 470), and later French texts express fear of *monopoles* (*Ordonnances*, vol. 10, 175). When events moved to the taking of arms, a different set of words could appear. Narrative sources often describe revolt activity in terms of chaotic movement, emotion, and noise (Dumolyn 2008). Words connoting disorder or rising, for example the Latin *commotio*, *tumultus*, *motus*, *insurgere*, and *turba*, and the French *commotion* or *émeute*, the German *Zwietracht* or *Auflauf*, or the Italian expression *correre per la città* simply stand in to describe a popular uprising in some texts (Pintoin 1994, vol. 1, 52; 44; 136; Oresme 1970, 187; Borgolte 1996, 69; Heers 1977, 161). The Flemish term *wapening*, meaning the taking of arms, was originally a neutral term that was used by hostile chroniclers to signal the emotions and violence of an uprising (Lecuppre-Desjardin and Van Bruaene, ed., 2005, 70).

A more general vocabulary did exist to describe revolt, particularly in the later Middle Ages when medieval theorists, influenced by Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.) and other classical authors translated into Western languages in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, increasingly saw politics and history as an objective science. The most important term was perhaps *seditio*. Nicolas Oresme's (ca. 1320–1382) gloss in his fourteenth-century translation of Aristotle's *Politics* (1370–7) provides one definition of sedition: "Sedition, it seems to me, is conspiracy or collusion or commotion or division or hidden or open rebellion of one member or part of the city or political community against another part [...] and it is done collectively in order to change the government or policy or lordship or out of vengeance" (Oresme 1970, 203). In Thomas Aquinas's (1225–1274) definition of *seditio* in the *Summa Theologica* (1265–1274) the combination of plotting and the taking of arms is important (Aquinas 2002, 248). Oresme and Christine de Pizan (1363–ca. 1430) also discuss "mutation of lordship" as a natural process (Oresme 1970, 152; 203; de Pisan 1958, 133). Chronicler Matteo Villani's (d. 1363) description of the popular overthrow of the oligarchic government in Siena in 1355 as a "sudden revolution [*revoluzione*] made by the citizens of Siena" is striking not only for its precocious use of the word "revolution," but also for the agency it ascribes to the Sienese *popolo*. Still, according to Arthur Hatto prior to the eighteenth century this rarely-used term generally referred to a natural, cyclical process of the succession of governments rather than the installment of a new order (Hatto 1949).

Much of the medieval terminology for revolt-like activity was structured around a discourse of disobedience. *Rebellio* and its cognates signified disobedience on the part of a subordinate, and could be applied to an individual or,

particularly in the late Middle Ages, to a collective entity such as a town (Cohn 2006, 4). The concept of treason was mobilized effectively by late medieval authorities to label resistance efforts. While in earlier texts such as the *Coutumes de Beauvaisis* (1283) treason had referred to a personal offense (*The Coutumes de Beauvaisis* 1992, 303), later medieval kings extended this notion of a personal injury to apply to a violation against themselves and thus the community as a whole (Cuttler 1981; Bellamy 1970). In France whole communities, such as Languedoc after the Tuchins revolt of the 1360s–1380s, and Paris after the Maillotin Revolt of 1380–1383, could be accused of *lèse-majesté* in the aftermath of an uprising (Challet 2002; *Ordonnances*, vol. 7, 179). Sources critical of revolt can refer to it on a moral plane as a *scandalum* (Boucheron and Offenstadt, ed., 2011, 325).

Modern historians and social scientists have attempted to define objectively the various types of social conflict in ways that can be constructive as they allow for generalization and comparison, but as they have been derived mostly according to a modern standard, they cause problems for medievalists (Tilly 1978: 1993; Brinton 1965; Kimmel 1990; Parker, ed., 2000; Eisenstadt 1978; 2006; Cohan, ed., 1975; Malia 2007; Krejci 1994; Johnson 1982; Foran, ed., 1997; Foss and Larkin, 1986; Bluche and Rials, ed., 1989; Beck 2011). Synthesizing these numerous studies provides the following general categories of collective action:

- 1) Social protest is the broadest category. Charles Tilly, the foremost scholar on forms of social conflict, uses the category of “collective action,” which is defined as “people’s acting together in pursuit of common interests” (Tilly 1978, 7). What social protest, revolt, and revolution have in common is that they all involve collective participation by subordinate groups in open confrontation with a ruling authority to attempt to deny encroachments by that authority and/or to effect change. Social protest, however, does not have to involve extra-legal activities.
- 2) Revolt differs from social protest in that it employs extra-legal methods—usually violence—in the confrontation with authority and, for some scholars, must also entail the determination to seize power. Many scholars, in order to differentiate pre-modern revolt or rebellion from revolution, argue that revolt is generally conservative or backward-looking, seeking to restore an ostensibly old and lost order (Bercé 1974). Chalmers Johnson describes “rebellion” as “an act of social surgery; it is intended to cut out one of the members who are offending against [...] joint commitments to maintain a particular social structure” (Johnson 1982, 123).
- 3) An attempted seizure of power defines revolution for a few scholars, but most argue that revolution goes beyond simple revolt in that it signifies the effort

to alter fundamentally the social order. Further distinguishing revolt and revolution is that revolution is inherently progressive and future-oriented, imbued, in the words of Hannah Arendt, with the “pathos of novelty” (Arendt 1963, 27).

We certainly see the first two types in the Middle Ages, but there is some question whether we see the third. A standard scholarly argument has emerged that according to these criteria revolt belongs to the Middle Ages but revolution does not. Modernity is even defined in opposition to the medieval or pre-modern by revolution in that one of the major aspects of the modern age is to seek the possibilities for better life in the social, secular world that can be remade in the future as opposed to the traditional, religious world focused on the past as was the case in the Middle Ages (Pocock 1975; Arendt 1963; Koselleck 2004; Malia 2007; Hatto 1949; Hobsbawm 1959; Bluche and Rials, ed., 1989). Many medievalists have essentially agreed, characterizing the aims of medieval revolt participants as limited in scope, because medieval culture was tradition-bound with an entrenched social system never fundamentally questioned by the period’s social movements (Fourquin 1978; Bluche and Rials, ed., 1989; Gauvard 1989; 1991; Dumolyn and Haemers 2005, 372). Vigorous disagreement comes from Cohn, who notes the pervasiveness of medieval revolt within the source material and within medieval culture in general, the radical quality of the demands of many medieval movements drawing from a broad tradition of “liberty,” and the success of some movements to achieve their aims (Cohn 2006).

For all their utility for heuristic and comparative purposes, there are serious problems with the application of modern typologies of social conflict to the Middle Ages. Although some are careful to emphasize that these typologies of social conflict should be made without teleology or value judgments (Tilly 1993; Kimmel 1990), the result of many of these studies is to create a hierarchical scale of contestation, moving from lesser to greater degrees of aspired change in the social order, that is derived from modern Western forms of revolution. Theorists of non-Western movements have noted that the crisis-resolution structure of the concept of revolution is based solely on modern European historical models in such a way that non-Western revolutionary movements are necessarily seen as limited or hopeless in comparison (Maloba 1993; Walton 1984, 3–32). By extension this argument could apply to medieval movements which have also generally been described as precursors of modern revolutions or failures in that regard. Furthermore, evaluating revolutionary change is a subjective practice: even epochal revolutions such as the French Revolution, while they radically altered society in many ways, perpetuated some systems of social privilege (De Tocqueville 2008; Aya 1979). Revisionist historiography of the French Revolution has

tended to see concepts such as liberty and freedom as historically constructed and contingent rather than universal (Baker 1990; Chartier 1991; Hunt 2007). By implication, then, neither these values nor the modern revolutionary movements that championed them should be used as standards for comparison with other historical eras with their own cultural contexts.

A related issue in understanding medieval revolts on their own terms is the centrality of the “rise of the state” within the narrative of European political history. Because of this, when medieval revolutionary movements are incorporated into the longer narrative of European political history, they are often seen as part of the futile response of aggrieved interest groups or sub-state communities to the growth of the state, or as participating in the creation of the state through the incorporation of groups that had previously been outside the political sphere (Autrand 1986, 470–500; Chevalier 1982; Bulst and Genet, ed., 1988; Rucquoi, ed., 1991; Tilly 1990; Tilly and Blockmans, ed., 1994; Foran, ed., 1997, 14–21). A related approach sees state formation in the late medieval/early modern period as a bottom-up movement driven by the common people rather than a top-down one, where revolts are part of the assertion of a more inclusive concept of “community” or “commonwealth” against the elite political structures and culture that had dominated most of the medieval period (Rollison 2010; Blickle, ed., 1997). These approaches, though compelling, place the state at the center of the narrative and allow its development to explain even those forms of political action, such as revolt, which might run counter to it.

Alongside and against these structural models of revolt are approaches that focus on the larger political culture within which social conflict is embedded rather than focusing on revolt as an isolated and exceptional moment. The goal in these approaches is to look for the diversity of strategies and cultures of resistance within a society, and then to understand the ways in which these various local strategies and groups unite to form a more cohesive and unified bloc of opposition (Foran, ed., 1997, 203–26). The concept of resistance, a broader and more fluid concept than the social conflict models above, is instrumental here. Michel Foucault articulates his influential notion of resistance in *The History of Sexuality*, vol. I: “Where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power [...]. Points of resistance are present everywhere in the power network. Hence there is no single locus of great Refusal, no soul of revolt, source of all rebellions, or pure law of the revolutionary. Instead there is a plurality of resistances, each of them a special case [...] by definition, they can only exist in the strategic field of power relations” (Foucault 1990, 95–96). The resistance approach to political history is useful in that it corrects for the teleological narratives and over-determined models of structural methodologies, but it is less able to explain how resistance

moves from its everyday, low-level forms to exceptional, mass scale events like revolt (Freedman 1993, 39; Schulze, ed., 1983).

B Revolt in Medieval Political Theory

Although medieval society was essentially hierarchical, the social system was based on reciprocal obligations between ruler and subject which implied the active participation of the subordinate members of the political community (Foronda, ed., 2011). Public opinion, discussed elsewhere in this volume (see Charles W. Connell's contribution), has increasingly been recognized by scholars as having played a crucial role in the ordinary machinery of medieval politics (Boucheron and Offenstadt, ed., 2011). While there was no formal body of revolutionary theory in the Middle Ages as there would be in the modern period, medieval revolts drew from a robust intellectual tradition of political thought which included numerous articulations on the ways that monarchical power should be limited, and also theorized about how and when changes in government could take place. Collectively the texts of this tradition created conceptual space for resistance to be an accepted part of political life. Many of the formal expressions of this tradition were composed in the thirteenth century or later, as it was then that politics became a more abstracted, objective field of inquiry, but these texts had earlier sources of influence: Classical authors such as Aristotle and Cicero (106–43 B.C.E.), patristic writers such as St. Augustine (354–430), and medieval customs of reciprocal obligations and community consent (Burns, ed., 1988).

Mainstream political thought allowed ample space for the contestation of royal or princely authority. Political theorist Marsilius of Padua (ca. 1275–1342) in his *Defensor Pacis* (1324) placed sovereignty in the people, and the more moderate Bartolus de Sassoferrato (1314–1357) defended regimes of the *popolo* (Marsilius of Padua 2001; Quagliioni, ed., 1983, 177). Twelfth-century legal theorist Bracton (ca. 1210–1268) famously invoked the Roman maxim “*Quod omnes tangit ad omnibus approbetur*” (what touches all must be approved by all),” which expressed the representative principle of medieval politics. The programs of some revolt movements included advocacy of a role for representative bodies in government, most notably the 1215 Barons’ Revolt in England which issued the *Magna Carta*, Etienne Marcel’s (d. 1358) revolt in 1356–1358 in France in which he advanced a prominent role for the Estates-General, and Philip van Artevelde’s (ca. 1340–1382) Flemish uprising in 1380. Many other protest movements originated in more local representative community bodies (Blickle, ed., 1997). In the late Middle Ages, the concept of the Common Good, borrowed from Aristotle and Cicero, became nearly ubiquitous in medieval political texts from the refined to the mundane. A multi-

valent concept that served to advance centralized sovereign authority in most contexts, the Common Good could also be invoked to promote the interests of the community against the will of the prince, his ministers, or the municipal government (Kempshall 1999; Lecuppre-Desjardin and Van Bruaene, ed., 2010). The evocation of the Common Good in rebellious movements occurred in Flanders repeatedly, as when towns formed urban leagues in 1342, 1379, 1415–1420, 1477, and 1482 (Haemers 2009). The magnates' revolt in France under Louis XI (r. 1461–1483) organized itself as a “League of the Public Good” in 1465.

Limits on the monarch were important even for those theorists who believed in the indivisibility of royal sovereignty. The *Mirrors of Princes* genre of advice for kings reflected an effort to place moral and ethical limits on the king in a context of unlimited legal authority (Krynen 1981). Giles of Rome (ca. 1243–1316), in one of the most influential Mirrors, states that “if [the king] flourishes in prudence and in the other moral virtues [...] then he is worthy to govern, whereas if he is lacking in these, then, even though he may rule through civil power, he is nevertheless more worthy to be a subject than to rule” (McGrade et al., ed., 2001, 211). Consultation with others was not a question of rights so much as one of efficiency and moral rectitude. Pierre Salmon and Christine de Pizan both emphasize the importance of having moral and just counselors to ensure good government (Salmon 1833, 38–40; de Pisan 1958, 85). Such moral criteria could be cited in social movements: the 1381 Peasants' Revolt as well as Jack Cade's 1450 uprising criticized the English king's ministers and the 1413 Cabochien rebels employed this sort of moral terminology to justify their takeover and purge of corrupt courtiers in the French king Charles VI's (r. 1380–1422) retinue (Sizer 2008; Ross 2009).

Medieval political theory struggled to reconcile the objective perspective on politics and history borrowed from classical authors, which viewed the rise and fall of regimes and systems of government as a natural process, with notions of a moral-governed universe and the desire to perpetuate existing ideologies of power. Theories on the “useless king [*rex inutilis*]” and precedents of papal sanction of dynastic turnover (as with the Carolingians in 751), or declarations of deposition (as with Innocent IV's ruling against Frederick II in 1245) were invoked by Henry Bolingbroke (r. 1399–1413) in his overthrow of Richard II (r. 1377–1399) in 1399 (Peters 1970; Caspary 1965). The most direct consideration of failed governments and their overthrow came in theorizations of tyranny. John of Salisbury (ca. 1120–1180) states in the *Policraticus* (1159) that the tyrant is he who does not rule according to law or the concerns of the community (John of Salisbury 1990, 28). Subsequent thinkers such as Bartolus in his *Tractatus de Tyranno* (ca. 1350) and Thomas Aquinas write that the tyrant rules according to his own individual benefit rather than the public good (Aquinas 2002; Quaglion, ed.,

1983). Tyrannical rule was further characterized by excessive taxation, the use of mercenaries, and the failure to seek or heed counsel. What the appropriate response to tyranny was emerges less clearly. John of Salisbury says the killing of tyrants is licit, but also writes that “those who are oppressed should humbly resort to the protection of God’s clemency” (John of Salisbury 1990, 209). Ptolemy of Lucca (ca. 1236- ca. 1327) argues that those rising up against a tyrant should do so “with the favor of the multitude” but also insists that such an action be instigated and led only by those with public authority (Ptolemy of Lucca 1997, 74–76; 90). Aquinas and Oresme point out that resistance to a tyrant, even when called for, can create as much damage as enduring his rule (Aquinas 2002, 247–49; Oresme 1970, 203–05). In a speech given before the royal council in 1405, Jean Gerson (1363–1429) argued that in response to tyranny dissimulation (inaction) and sedition are “two monstrous vices,” with discretion and reform constituting the appropriate middle path (Gerson 1824, 19). In general, medieval intellectuals found in the discourse of tyranny a useful vehicle to limit abuses of sovereign power, but stopped short of advocating popular rebellion.

C Commune and Community in the Formation of Rebellious Groups

Because revolt is a collective activity, understanding how its participants define shared interests and create group identity is central to analyzing the cultural history of the phenomenon. Medieval persons felt loyalty to several social and cultural communities at once and each of these group identities could provide a basis for the unity of groups in rebellion. The scale of the community to which rebels claimed adherence and its degree of solidarity determined the scope and form of acts of resistance. The structural organization of the political system and legal definitions of the territory under control of a sovereign authority, in combination with culturally-based notions of self-identity, determined the arena of contestation and the tactical possibilities available to subordinate groups. The existence of robust social and cultural communities between the sovereign state or ruler and the individual subject in medieval Europe created the conditions for frequent contestations of authority and determined the shape of many revolt movements (Blickle, ed., 1997).

The most significant cultural type of these communities was the sworn association, especially the commune. Because oaths allowed for flexibility and the transcendence of status differences while providing rapid cohesion to newly-formed groups, they were a central part of medieval revolt culture. Several

scholars have argued that because communes and rights-based communities represented an extension of the oath-based collective association to include members of the popular classes, they supplied a form of civil society that would shape popular participation in politics for the rest of the medieval period and beyond (Prodi 1992; Fögen, ed., 1995; Black 1984, 44–65). The lack of communes and municipal culture in the Byzantine Empire's core cities has been cited as a major reason for the relative absence of autonomous popular rebellions in that region (Kazhdan and Epstein 1985, 54–56).

The commune movement stemmed in part from the Peace of God movement. Although directed by the clerical class, the Peace of God movement represented a significant moment in the history of popular participation in politics. In response to the disorder and arbitrary violence of secular lords plaguing most Western European societies in the late tenth and eleventh centuries, and in the absence of royal authority strong enough to protect them, clerics allied with their congregations to create a collective moral authority that would condemn aristocratic violence using excommunication and expressions of popular disapproval. This was enacted through mass public performances and spread through church councils. A template for the movement was set in Le Puy in 975, when Bishop Guy, angry at the recent pillaging of his church, assembled many members of his diocese in a field and directed them to take an oath of peace (Head 1999). The Council of Charroux in June 989 established an oath that would be echoed in subsequent gatherings, condemning “criminal activity” which included attacks on churches and clerics but also the arbitrary seizure of livestock from “peasants [*agricolae*] or from other poor people [*pauperes*]” (Head and Landes, ed., 1992, 327). Similar assemblies spread throughout Western Europe in the eleventh century, with large and festive crowds galvanized by the display of local relics (Gergen 2005). The Peace of God movement thus resembles a social movement rather than a revolt, but its revolutionary possibilities were realized in Bourges in 1038. In this year, archbishop of Bourges Aimon de Bourbon required all men above the age of fifteen in his diocese to swear on the relics of Saint Stephen to uphold peace, and created a militia made up of clerics and the “unarmed poor [*inermes pauperes*]” to enforce it. This clerical-popular army marched behind the church's banners, and crushed the forces of local lord Stephen of Beneciacum before being themselves routed by another lord, Odo of Déols. This Bourges event was atypical, but it shows the new and revolutionary possibilities unleashed by the Peace of God movement. The extension of the voluntary association cemented by oath into an impersonal form capable of mobilizing mass action constituted a significant innovation in medieval political culture. In Bourges this went so far as to appropriate the right to violence, but even in its other, less revolutionary manifestations, the Peace of God represented a claim that the right to violence

must be subordinated to a moral order created in part by the active participation of the common people (Head and Landes, ed., 1992; Fossier 1973, 49–50).

The other major form of sworn association to emerge in this period was the commune, the oaths of which were similar to those of the Peace of God. The oath and structure, for example, of the Bourges commune in 1108 seems to have much in common with Aimon de Bourbon's militia of 1038 (Vermeesch 1966, 46–48). Communes were "a sworn association of free men collectively holding some public authority" (Martines 1988, 18). Pride in local place, the rule of law (as opposed to the lord's arbitrary power) manifested in judicial autonomy, control over taxation, institutionalized delegation, and government with assemblies or elected representatives were other regular features of communes. Communes, therefore, combined affiliations of place, community, oath, and class and formed one of the most powerful forms of group identity and solidarity in the Middle Ages. The granting of commune charters proliferated in both urban and rural areas in the late eleventh and early twelfth century, although in many cases, such as in Northern Italy, it seems that the institutionalization of the commune was a formal recognition on the part of the king of a pre-existing autonomous government (Jones 1997, 134). The dates of some commune foundations (or the earliest mention in the sources) are: 1070 for Le Mans, 1077 for Cambrai, 1081 for Saint-Quentin, 1108 for Noyon, and 1111 for Laon in France; 1084 or 1085 for Pisa, 1087 or 1088 for Lucca, 1095 for Asti, 1097 for Milan, 1098 or 1099 for Genoa, 1123 for Bologna, and 1138 for Florence in Italy. Communes often represented an alliance between the interests of common people with those of kings, emperors, and other magnates. The common people sought to protect themselves and their property from arbitrary exactions and work obligations from aristocratic lords, while kings, emperors or powerful magnates saw the formation of communes as a way to create a wedge against the power of local lords (Petit-Dutaillis 1947; Vermeesch 1966; Martines 1988; Schulz 1992; Fögen, ed., 1995; Milani 2005). Rights-seeking bourgeois revolts in Leon and Castile were also directed against bishops' power in the twelfth century (Pastor de Togneri 1973). It is important to note that the development of a distinct community with a sense of identity and ownership of rights and privileges did not necessarily require the creation of a formal commune, as many communities received rights such as those above in more piecemeal fashion, but which they nevertheless guarded fiercely. This seems to be the early pattern in the Empire, for example (Haverkamp 1988, 162–69). It should also be emphasized that these changes were not democratic in the modern sense of the word, with full rights of citizenship and political participation extending to only a limited number of community residents, mostly propertied men.

If the foundation of a commune was threatened by aristocratic power, the community would often vehemently defend its privileges with violence. Genoa's

commune was founded after a series of popular insurrections unseated the dynastic marquis family of the Obertenghi in 1099 (Martines 1988, 20). In Flanders a collection of cities (Ypres, Ghent, Lille, and Bruges) won their concessions in 1127–1128 after they had favored Count William of Clito (1102–1128)’s rival, Thierry of Alsace (ca. 1099–1168), and Lille’s townsfolk had rioted against William’s tax collectors in the marketplace. When Count William died in battle, the Flemish towns were able to get a guarantee of their rights from Thierry of Alsace who was installed as the new count (Dumolyn and Haemers 2005). The most dramatic example of revolt associated with the commune movement comes perhaps from Laon. The citizens of Laon proclaimed a commune in the absence of their lord, the Bishop Gaudry in 1111, who was on a diplomatic mission. The bishop resisted this act upon his return, levied further taxes, and enlisted the help of French King Louis VI (r. 1108–1137) to deny the commune. In response, just after the king’s arrival in the region in April 1112, the Laon’s townspeople, led by a serf named Thiégaud Ysengrin (the Wolf), rose up crying “Commune! Commune!” They hunted down Bishop Gaudry who was hiding in a barrel in the cellar of his residence and hacked him to death with their hatchets (Petit-Dutaillis 1947, 86–90).

The commune movement left a lasting legacy on medieval political culture generally, and on medieval revolt culture specifically. Communities would for centuries evoke the rights and privileges they had been granted during this period, particularly during moments of revolt. As instances of collective resistance to encroachments on communal rights recurred, a historical memory of revolt developed that communities could draw on for tactics, mobilizing symbols, vocabulary, and a sense of identity. Flemish revolt participants in the 1480s, for example, evoked Galbert of Bruges (d. 1134)’s account of the successful commune uprising of 1127–1128 as a source of inspiration (Boone 2010, 11–12). In some places, such as late medieval Switzerland and Flanders, several communes could band together to create federated units to combat aristocratic enemies (Dumolyn and Haemers 2005; Brady 1985).

Communes and Peace of God collectives were only one form of oath-based community in the Middle Ages. Some of the earliest references to organized popular resistance in the sources mention pacts sworn by subordinate groups to resist authorities. A 643 edict of Lombard king Rothari mentions violence against landlords by an allied pact of peasants and freemen, and Carolingian law codes refer to peasant conspiracies and sworn pacts to resist taxation (Hilton 2003, 65; Goldberg 1995, 470). Revolt participants used oaths to unite and forge defense groups or militias, and were often condemned for it, as in the *Stedingen* Peasants’ Revolt in Flanders (1204–1234) which was deemed heretical partly for its use of oaths, or the Tuchins uprising in Languedoc in the fourteenth century (Van Bavel

2010; Leguai 1982; Challet 2002). Some groups such as the Credenza of Saint Ambrose, a sworn military organization including men of several trades formed in twelfth-century Milan, gained greater popular representation in Milan's political structure (Martines 1988, 39). The peasant armies of the fifteenth-century Catalanian *Remensas* uprising employed a “*sacramental*” derived from peasant assemblies to solidify their bonds to one another (Hilton 2003, 121). Confraternal organizations provided a natural oath-based micro-society from which rebellion could be hatched: we see this dynamic in Flanders, for example (Dumolyn and Haemers 2005). Reflecting the sort of horizontal, associative bond that oath-based communities implied, revolt participants, characterized as disobedient subjects defying the vertical social hierarchy by most sources, often referred to one another as “companions” (or some variation of the term), as in Flanders in 1323–1328 or Languedoc during the Tuchins (TeBrake 1993; Challet 2002).

D Class and Status as a Factor in the Formation of Rebellious Groups

Many revolts included class or status antagonisms as a factor even if it is difficult to say whether these antagonisms were primary causes of unrest as they intersected with other grievances. Some forms of rebel coalition such as factions and parties transcended class or status and were defined by other political motivations. Because medieval revolt discourse generally revolved around an axis of order/disorder and obedience/disobedience, the social composition of revolt movements, which is at the center of modern revolt theory, can often be obscure in medieval sources. Designations such as *populus*, *popolo*, *peuple*, *die armen Leute*, *vulgus*, *plebs*, *rustici*, and *pauperes* were constructed in relation to the powerful and did not describe objective social groups, and so determining from sources who participated in social movements can be difficult (Boglioni et al., ed., 2002). At times the *populus* in an uprising would include wealthy bourgeois or even noblemen; at other times this term describes only lower groups. The participation of social groups outside those accepted to wield public power is often remarked upon to signal condemnation of the movement or because in moralizing narratives the discontent of an oppressed people could serve as commentary on the failures of an inadequate leader.

In Italy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries we see a number of social movements undertaken in the name of the *popolo*, which signified a faction in opposition to *nobiles/milites*, rather than a universal group. Operating through guild structures or neighborhood militia organizations, movements of the *popolo*

gained power or major concessions, such as inclusion on municipal councils and tax reforms, through violent uprisings in the thirteenth century, as in Vicenza in 1215, Bologna in 1228, Siena in 1233, and Florence in 1282. In the course of these events, a set of ideals of the *popolo*, including an association of peace with prosperity, fiscal policy equity, and a conviction in impersonal law and government, were stated in opposition to aristocratic violence, special tax exempt status, and self-interested politics (Martines 1988; Jones 1997; Poloni 2010). Similar values would shape urban citizens' political identity and ideology for the rest of the Middle Ages (and beyond) throughout Western Europe.

In the later Middle Ages, increasing divisions between social groups, exacerbated in many areas by restrictions of citizenship and political participation, and the consolidation of economic power and/or influential access to the crown in the hands of the families of an urban patriciate, led to new conflicts between non-aristocratic factions in cities (Bourin et al., ed., 2008). A series of uprisings in the later decades of the thirteenth century signaled this increasingly important dynamic, and texts describing the events make distinctions between social groups through use of terms such as *popolo minuto/grasso* and *menu peuple/greigneurs bourgeois*. In Bologna in 1289 a rioting crowd "of the most vile condition... the people without underpants" ejected their *podestà* in the first appearance of the *popolo minuto* in historical accounts (Cohn 2006, 91). Flemish revolts in this period such as the "Kokerulle" in Ypres in 1280 and revolts in the same year in Bruges and Douai, had a strong element of class antagonism, pitting those working in the "mechanical arts" such as fullers and weavers against merchant patrician aldermen. Although some of these Flemish revolts were suppressed, workers and artisans in many cities successfully ejected aldermen from ruling families and gained access to government either through violence or political maneuvering (Dumolyn and Haemers 2005, 374–76; Mollat and Wolff 1970, 43–44). The Paris trades were suppressed in the aftermath of fiscal riots in December 1306/January 1307 which had targeted the house of the Provost of Merchants Etienne Barbette, a member of a prominent Parisian moneychanger family, in what Raymond Cazelles refers to as a moment that "brutally marks the rupture between the people of Paris and the upper bourgeoisie" (Cazelles 1972, 273). The Ciompi rebellion of 1378 Florence displays perhaps most clearly an urban revolutionary agenda strongly influenced by social concerns, even if its participants ranged widely in terms of status and wealth. The Ciompi were mostly lower status workers predominantly from the textile trades who formed a large guild of the *popolo minuto* that took control of Florence's government from merchant guilds and enacted several reforms, including price controls and debt cancellations, ruling for several months until the movement collapsed in late summer (Screpanti 2008; Stella 1993).

Accompanying and sustaining conflicts between social groups were cultural expressions of antagonism between those of high and low status. Anti-bourgeois satire became common in the late thirteenth century. One example comes from Jehan de Douai's poem "Le Dit de la Vigne" in which he declares that "We cannot hang all thieves / because then we would hang [...] the mayors and aldermen" (Alter 1966, 103). Expressions of respect for the virtue of labor and poverty in the literature of the later Middle Ages were common, as we see in *Piers Plowman* (ca. 1360–1387) for example (Farmer 2002; Wood 2002, 42–68). The political discourse of some movements contained calls for equality of treatment of the poor and complaints about the greedy rich. The *Procureur* of the Commons of Ghent declared in 1297 that "the poor should be sustained in their rights as well as are the rich (Lecuppre-Desjardin and Van Bruaene, ed., 2010, 207)." In his speech before the gathering of the Estates-General in 1413 that instigated the Paris Cabochien Revolt, University professor Eustache de Pavilly rails against tax policies that drain the resources of the "poor" and the "plebeians" and recommends instead that 1500 "wealthy men" should be taxed 100 francs each (Pintoin 1994, vol. 4, 764). Tuchin rebels in mid-fourteenth-century southern France were said to have cried out "Let's kill all the rich!" (Gauvard 2002). Radical preacher John Ball (d. 1381)'s famous slogan questioning the primacy of social inequality during the 1381 Peasants' Revolt—"Whan Adam dalf, and Eve Span / wo was thanne a gentilman?"—was not an isolated or novel sentiment (Freedman 1993). Wace (ca. 1110–d. after 1174) claims that the *rustici* involved in the 996 Normandy peasant uprising stated, in reference to the nobility they were fighting, "we are men like them" (Hilton 2003, 71). Such ideas were not wholly divorced from the mainstream: Eike von Repgow's (ca. 1180–ca. 1235) thirteenth-century compilation of Saxon customary law, the *Sachsenspiegel* (ca. 1220), affirms that "God created man in his own likeness and saved man, each and every one, with his martyrdom. The poor man as well as the rich one was dear to him.... Bondage resulted from coercion, imprisonment, and unlawful exercise of force, which has become unjust custom since ancient times, and now people take it to be right and good custom" (Dobozy, ed., 1999, 125–26).

Other revolutionary groups cut across class lines. Factions and parties were at the heart of urban politics throughout Europe, and many conflicts were in fact feud and vendetta writ large, as powerful families vied for municipal offices (Lansing 1991; Heers 1977). Such groups coalesced around elite families or individuals, but also could include popular elements. Tension between trades within cities was mostly motivated by rivalries between merchant families for access to municipal government and/or influence on royal court, although the "outsider" families of the bourgeoisie would often find allies in the disgruntled popular classes in these disputes. The Cabochien Revolt, for example, was led in part by

prominent families of the Butcher's Guild, who, in spite of their significant wealth, had been marginalized from city government and access to positions in court by traditional Paris bourgeois powerbrokers in the money changing trades (Ross 2009). The butchers' ambitions were combined with popular hostility over tax policies and a University reform agenda to create a diverse revolutionary movement in which class antagonisms were a contributing but not principal factor (Sizer 2008). Similar uprisings against entrenched bourgeois families by rival bourgeois factions in alliance with popular classes took place in Lübeck in 1384 (once again led by butchers), Brunswick in 1386, and Metz in 1405 (Nicholas 1997, 134–36). Formal parties, such as the Guelphs and Ghibellines in Italy, or the Armagnacs and Burgundians in the civil war-era (1407–1435) France, could forge togetherness and identity with workers and artisans through the use of banners, insignia, badges, and slogans (Heers 1977).

Coups, dynastic struggles, and aristocratic conflicts could also spill out of elite class circles and bring in popular participation. When rebellion is mentioned in early medieval sources it usually signifies aristocratic feuds and palace coups rather than popular revolts. It is unclear the degree to which populations beyond the contending families and their soldiers participated in such intrigues, as sources often depict these conflicts as personal disputes and military struggles of elites. Karl Leyser refers to the conflicts in Ottonian Saxony in the ninth and tenth centuries as “gang warfare of the great,” but also suggests that the recurring civil wars and intrigues within the royal family served to channel discontent of aristocratic clans, preventing more widespread disputes (Leyser 1979, 28–31). In Byzantium, which retained a more robust state structure than most other regions, rebellions and court intrigue in the context of dynastic struggles were common, but only occasionally involved popular elements, and even if so were directed closely by elites (Cheynet, ed., 2006, 194–200). For several reasons, magnate rebellions or coup attempts involved popular elements more frequently in the later Middle Ages. As royal power was centralized, with the king's government claiming with increasing success to embody the state, opposition to the Crown from any corner was seen as treasonous, and this lumped barons in with lesser people as subjects. Recognizing the tactical and ideological potential of popular participation, magnates allied with non-elite groups and their revolts were justified by appeals to more universal rights and grievances. This pattern clearly emerges in England, where barons positioned themselves as champions for the greater good and reform against corruption in the royal administration in the revolts against King John (r. 1199–1216) in 1215, as well the Baronial Movement of 1258–1267. Although the barons may have been concerned primarily with their own interests, the reform movement as a whole reflected concern for the entirety of the realm's subjects (Maddicott 2010; Valente 2003). French magnate rebellions

of the later Middle Ages followed a similar pattern, as reflected in the Civil War from 1407–1435 and the League of the Public Good in 1465 (Sizer 2008).

As with most historical eras, revolts stemming primarily from misery or want are not common in the Middle Ages: we see few disturbances during the years of the Great Famine, for example. Even those underclass riots about grain shortages or hoarding operating according to a “moral economy” famously described by E.P. Thompson as a recurring feature of early modern politics do not seem to have been common in the medieval period, although some examples exist (Thompson 1971; Cohn 2006). Part of the revolutionary program of Cola di Rienzo (d. 1354), himself descended from Rome’s lower classes, was to instill price controls on food, and we see similar measures during the brief reign of the Ciompi (Collins 2002; Nicholas 1997, 126). Those from the margins of society may have been participants but were rarely instigators of uprisings. The riots in Paris in 1418 of 4000 persons led by the city executioner, which resulted in the massacre of around 2500 prisoners in Paris prisons accused of plotting against the city in the context of the Armagnac-Burgundian Civil War, may be an exception (Geremek 1976, 340–48). However, participants are described as coming from “the vile mechanical arts,” implying workers rather than social marginals, and the role of the executioner Capeluche may have been exaggerated by chroniclers for shocking effect (Klemettilä 2006, 268–72). Chroniclers’ frequent assertions that revolts involving the urban poor were motivated by the desire to steal the goods of the rich, as we see in Jouvenal des Ursins (1388–1473)’s account of the Cabochiens or Gino di Neri Capponi (1350–1421)’s chronicle describing the Ciompi, mostly reflect biases of hostile, elite authors—in fact other chroniclers assert that the Ciompi burned rather than looted the houses of the wealthy precisely because they did not want to be seen as thieves (Jouvenal des Ursins 1875, 478; Mollat and Wolff 1970, 144). Looting and political idealism are not mutually exclusive, of course, something that medieval observers could recognize: as Landulf the Elder remarks in his analysis of the motives behind Milan’s eleventh-century communal revolt, “[the *popolo*] were strong in poverty, very strong in their aspiration for liberty, desiring wealth but more anxious to be free” (Tobacco 1989, 184).

E Resistance to Outsiders in Revolutionary Movements

Rebellious activity often coalesced around resistance to foreign rule or to local authorities allied (or ostensibly allied) with others labeled as outside the local cultural community. As with medieval culture generally, what constituted the

foreign was a variable designation, the product of a community forging its identity through the naming of an “Other” (Classen, ed., 2002).

In the *Stellinga* Revolt of 841–842, the lower orders of the Saxons, named the *frilingi* (freemen) and *lazzi* (servile class) exploited divisions within the ruling *edhilingui* (aristocracy) to revolt against their rule, and thereby also against that of the Franks with whom the *edhilingui* were allied. The animosity toward the *edhilingui* was political, religious, and cultural. Calling themselves the *Stellinga*, a name which likely meant “companions” or “comrades,” these lower orders sought a return to the less extreme hierarchies of pre-Carolingian social structures in which all groups had a voice in annual assembly meetings held at the ritually significant pagan site of Marklo on the Weser River. The *Stellinga* revolt was thus also a pagan revival movement. The Saxon lower classes equated Christianity with the ruling classes, as the *edhilingui* had converted to Christianity in accordance with the Carolingian conversion strategy in which the upper classes of a conquered area were first incorporated into the Christian community. Although initially successful, the *Stellinga* were defeated in 842 when the *edhilingui* closed ranks and, with Frankish help, crushed the uprising (Goldberg 1995). There was a different result in the pagan uprising of the Liutizi Slavs against Ottonian rule which began in 983. In this revolt, a coalition of several Slavic groups situated near the Baltic coast ejected Saxon Christian churchmen and rulers and revived old pagan political structures and religious practices, maintaining their autonomy for generations (Barford 2001, 259).

Later medieval revolts also featured resistance to foreign rule. Flemish and Italian politics in particular were defined by local forces in alliance with, or defiance of, the powerful foreign monarchs who had territorial claims in those regions. In the case of Flanders this dynamic has been most ably described by Marc Boone, who has noted the close interconnectedness of the “big” tradition of Flemish revolt—resistance to the claims of territorial rulers such as the Count of Flanders and the Dukes of Burgundy, which often involved the intervention of the King of France—to the “little” tradition of revolt, which involved conflicts within Flemish cities for control of municipal government (Boone and Prak, 1995). Similarly, in Italy the conflict between the Holy Roman Empire and the Papacy shaped rivalries in the form of disputes between the Guelph and Ghibelline parties within city-states. Parisian popular opposition to the Armagnac party in the period of the Civil War, which manifested itself in the revolts of 1413 and 1418, was fueled by resentment of the foreign (Brabançons, Lorraines, Flemish, southern French) troops used in the party’s ranks: the *Journal of the Bourgeois of Paris* refers to them as “Saracens” and “foreign people” (*Journal d’un Bourgeois* 1990, 46; 77; 91). The revolutionary movement that included most clearly a nationalistic element was the Hussite Revolt in fifteenth-century Bohemia. Hussites conflated

Czech identity with faithfulness to their movement and against Roman papal or German influence. One Hussite pamphlet declared “ancient is the enmity and rooted deep between the Czechs and Germans,” and other Hussite texts claimed Germans were descended from Judas or Pontius Pilate (Fudge 1998, 218–19; cf. Fudge 2013, 135–253).

Violence in popular uprisings could take the form of attacks on ethnic or religious minorities who were branded as foreign elements within communities. English royal Patent Rolls describe an “insurrection” in 1395 in which a mob of Oxford townsfolk chanted “Sle sle sle the Walshe dogges!” as they hunted down Welshmen and forced them to kiss the town gate before beating them (*Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, vol. 5, 605). Flemish inhabitants of London were a target of the peasant rebels in 1381 (Dobson, ed., 1983, 188–89). Some mass violence was organized around pogroms against Jews and violence against others such as lepers, as in the Shepherd’s Crusade of 1320–1321 in France and Aragon, or the violence in Strasbourg and other areas during the time of the Black Death in 1348 (Aberth 2005, 151–54). The rioters in Paris in 1380 attacked both Jews and Italian bankers (Pintoin 1994, vol. 1, 50–52). The conviction on the part of mass groups that cleansing the community of “outsiders” such as Jews was important to the health of the community, stemming from cultural antagonisms, explains some of these riots (Moore 2007). But this violence was only partly caused by religious or ethnic chauvinism. Attacks on these groups were also economically and politically motivated. Not only could riots destroy records of the significant debts owed to Jewish moneylenders, but as these minorities were often protected by royal or ecclesiastical authorities, violence against them served also as an indirect but unmistakable challenge to these authorities’ power (Nirenberg 1996).

F Taxes and the State

Although the causes of medieval revolts are difficult to distill down to one grievance or issue, resistance to fiscal demands played a prominent role in a majority of medieval uprisings. Discontent over fiscal policies and modes of extraction necessarily intersected with other issues, such as class antagonisms, political authority, and the meaning of legal rights. Most often, resistance to taxation and rents took place on a local, individual, and everyday level (discussed in the section on peasants, below), but the scale of this resistance increased into collective forms of popular revolt when the system of authority was larger and more centralized, and when communication and solidarity created tactical possibilities that made mass revolt possible.

Recorded instances of popular revolt in the early Middle Ages are rare, but some of the earliest refer to tax uprisings. Gregory of Tours (ca. 539–594) describes several riots instigated by unpopular tax policies in the *History of the Franks*. Exploiting the death of King Theudebert in 548, a mob in the city of Trier burst into a church where a tax collector named Parthenius had sought refuge, found him hiding in a chest, dragged him out and stoned him to death. One riot in Limoges against a tax collector of King Chilperic (r. 561–584), in which the crowd destroyed account books, was brutally repressed, but the king's death in 584 gave another opportunity for a mob to attack the royal tax collector Audo, and strip him of his clothes and wealth (Gregory of Tours 1974, 192; 292; 399).

Still, we see more instances of large-scale anti-tax revolt in the late Middle Ages. This is explained in part by the growth of centralized fiscal states: as subordinate classes encountered an increasingly powerful and rapacious authority structure, especially in the form of centralized royal states such as France and England making unprecedented claims on the right to taxation, their response was of a correspondingly large scale and degree of violence (Tilly and Blockmans, ed., 1994; Kaeuper 1988). Tax policy was the primary grievance of the Etienne Marcel revolt in 1356, the Tuchins rebellion, the 1380s revolts that erupted throughout the realm of France, and the Cabochien revolt of 1413. Chronicler Michel Pintoin (1349–1421)'s assessment on the eve of the 1380 revolts encapsulates the mood in that tumultuous period: "In all the realm of France they fervently sought [...] to free themselves from the yoke of taxation" (Pintoin 1994, vol. 1, 21). The 1377 Poll Tax was cited as the primary cause of the 1381 Peasants' Revolt in England by several chroniclers (Dobson, ed., 1983, 134–37). Resistance to the encroachments of smaller states spurred tax revolts as well: fifteenth-century uprisings of the peasants of the *contado* of the expanding Florentine city-state successfully contested the city's tax regime (Cohn 1999).

These revolts were fueled by debate over tax policy in both high and low culture. Theologian Godfrey of Fontaines (ca. 1250–ca. 1306–1309) argued in 1295 that "[a king's] subjects ought to resist" if a tax was imposed without proper consultation of council (McGrade et al., ed., 2001, 320). The long-standing custom that royal taxes should only go toward the maintenance of the king's household or to specific emergencies was strained by royal demands for funds to pay for the perpetual crisis of the Hundred Years' War, resulting in widespread and continual calls for reform and tax rebellions in France (Scordia 2005). Intellectuals critiqued the crown's tax policies in works such as the *Songe du Vergier* (ca. 1378), and letters of Nicolas de Clamanges (ca. 1360–1437) reinforced the reciprocal nature of taxation in claiming that taxes made the king a debtor to his people (Lecuppre-Desjardin and Van Bruaene, ed., 2010; *Songe du Vergier* 1982). Resentment of the tax collector appears regularly in the period's literature as well. In the fifteenth-

century “New Farce of the Amazed,” in which three fools go to Justice to complain of what astonishes them, one says, “I will be amazed when comes / the time when no longer will show up / at my doorstep, a pile of shit / to ask for tax money” (*Recueil des farces* 1949, 24). Popular opinion was moved against taxation, as chronicles comment on how the people continually “murmur” against new taxes (*Journal d’un Bourgeois* 1990, 171; Pinton 1994, vol. 6, 124; 150; 292). One letter of remission from 1384 captures this sentiment from Guillaume le Juponier in Orléans: “we have no king but God; do you think they acquired what they have justly? they burden me again and again, and it weighs on them that they can’t have all of our things; what affair is it of theirs to take that which I have gained with my sewing needle?” (Douët-d’Arcq, ed., 1863, vol. 1, 59).

G Peasant Revolts

In view of the fact that medieval society was to a large extent built on the exploitation of agricultural labor, it would seem likely that peasant revolt would be a common feature of medieval history. Marc Bloch contended that this was so (Bloch 1966, 170). But in fact medieval peasant resistance took on many forms, of which large-scale revolt was just one, and was subject to varying intensities depending on the historical circumstances. Furthermore, peasant revolt is not always so easy to disentangle from other revolts. Many of the larger peasant revolts coincided or involved alliances with urban rebellions: this is certainly true of the Jacquerie in 1358 which was connected to Etienne Marcel’s Paris revolt, Flemish uprisings such as the *Stedingen* revolt in the thirteenth century and the 1323–1328 revolt, and others. Furthermore peasant society was not homogeneous, and there was a high degree of variation in social status and wealth in most rural communities. The diversity of these circumstances makes generalizing about peasants or their modes of resistance perilous; nevertheless, the domination of agricultural labor and resources by landlords was an essential quality of medieval society, and along with this came resistance and defiance.

Boris Porchnev has identified three modes of resistance available to peasants: partial resistance, flight, and revolt (Porchnev 1972). The importance of these first two forms of medieval peasant resistance cannot be over-emphasized. Rather than take the risk of open revolt, peasants were most likely to engage in the sort of everyday resistance activities famously analyzed by James Scott in his study of modern Malaysian peasants: “foot dragging, dissimulation, desertion, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, arson, sabotage” (Scott 1985, xvi). Although by their very nature such acts are scarce in the sources, historians have noted traces of them throughout the Middle Ages and have accorded them

importance (Wickham 1998; TeBrake 1993). Sources do reveal peasants vehemently fighting servile status and rent obligations in court hearings, indicating their determination to resist burdens placed upon them by dominant classes (Hilton 2003, 64–74). Unpopular lords were not infrequently struck down by assassination or small-scale collective violence in the twelfth century (Jacob 1990). Such piecemeal forms were the predominant mode of peasant resistance in decentralized political and economic systems, and in fact their prevalence may have been largely responsible for the commutation of labor obligations into money rents in the High Middle Ages, as enforcement of non-monetary obligations became too burdensome (Rösener 1992).

Larger-scale peasant resistance in the form of revolt became more common in the late Middle Ages. The increase in scale was in large part a response to the centralization of political and economic systems of authority whose representatives were often the target of revolt activity, and also due to greater economic and cultural interconnection and communication between communities. Peasants in revolt generally had a combination of fiscal and political grievances, and often expressed these grievances in the form of demands for justice and legal rights (Neveux 1997). Beyond the grievances typical of medieval revolts in general, peasant revolts frequently were concerned with servile status. Sometimes this could be symbolic, as when Wat Tyler (d. 1381) demanded an end to serfdom in his demands at Smithfield even though serfdom was rare in Kent from which the movement originated. The destruction of official records of servile status was a common feature of peasant revolts: against such testaments to their subordination which they saw as newfangled and unjust peasants would invoke older customs and traditions. That the peasants in the 1381 Rising sought to encode their demands in law showed that they were not anti-literate but could embrace legal culture if it fit their political ideology (Justice 1994). The prolonged movement of the *Remensas* in Catalonia in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, notable not only for its success but also for the alliance between the crown and the peasantry, was motivated by the desire to end servitude and arbitrary powers of the local aristocracy, and to replace novel “bad customs” with new relationships safeguarding what were seen as traditional rights (Freedman 1991; 1993). The dependence of peasants was called into question in a different way during the 1358 Jacquerie in France. In this short-lived but bloody revolt, peasants rose up out of resentment of the failures of the aristocracy to provide for community defense in spite of revenues from taxation, in the Hundred Years’ War. The failure to protect peasant communities in effect had “de-nobled” the aristocracy in the eyes of the peasants (Neveux 1997, 103–11).

H The Cultural Repertoire of Medieval Revolt Movements

In spite of the diversity of motivations and forms of solidarity involved in medieval revolt movements, some tactical and ritualized features reappear frequently in accounts of these episodes. These responses were embedded within the historical memory of communities, and could easily be drawn upon in moments of resistance. These recurring features constitute what Charles Tilly has called a cultural repertoire of revolt (Tilly 1978; 1993).

Most revolt movements were extensions of existing community customs and structures of self-defense and representation. The summoning of the community's people to participate in an armed uprising thus mirrored the customs used in other instances of rallying the community for collective endeavors. Ringing the town tocsin, or similar measures such as the passing of the *budstikke* (a stick burnt on one end passed from village to village in late medieval Norway), could call the people to arms. Local assemblies of all sorts could also be the occasion to plan or debate resistance (Neveux 1997; Blickle, ed., 1997). The many local assemblies of the dense agricultural areas of Flanders nurtured and sustained the peasants' revolt of 1323–1328, for just one example of many (TeBrake 1993). Revolt could also be incited by rumors spread at the marketplace, popular preaching, and pamphleteering. Existing evidence for this is piecemeal before the late Middle Ages, but that does not mean it was not important. Where evidence does exist, as with the 1381 Peasants' Revolt in England and the Hussite Movement, it seems that such activities were decisive in expanding the scale of resistance beyond local community structures (Justice 1994, 16–36; Fudge 1998).

Revolt movements often involved contestation or occupation of symbolically and tactically significant social spaces. Marketplaces, as they were public zones and also sites where tax collection occurred, were often arenas for revolt. The 1382 Maillotin Revolt in Paris erupted when a mob beset a tax collector who was trying to collect a sales tax from a woman selling watercress in the Halles marketplace (Pintoin 1994, vol. 1, 136). After its construction in the thirteenth century, Ghent's Friday Market was the staging ground for that city's many movements, as groups deployed speeches, banners and slogans to claim the public space (Boone 2002). Florence's Piazza della Signoria played a similar role in that city's politics, and many of the significant actions in the Ciompi rebellion involved the occupation of the Piazza's visual space with banners (Trexler 1984). Just as princes tried to express their power in organized and elaborate entry ceremonies along symbolically important routes in the city, the people in revolt would enact processions on these same routes to express their claims over urban space with their bodies (Cohn

2006; Boone 2002). The most confrontational form of occupying space was in the crowd's invasion of leaders' palaces or residences. John of Gaunt's (1340–1399) Manor of Savoy was burned down in the 1381 Peasants' Revolt (Dobson, ed., 1983, 156–58). The Paris crowd attacked the municipal residence of the Provost of Merchants in 1306, ransacked the Duke of Berry's (1340–1416) palace and destroyed some of the artwork collected by this famous patron of the arts in 1410, and penetrated the queen's chambers and arrested her ladies-in-waiting in the Cabochien Revolt of 1413 (Ross 2009). These were more than gestures of intimidation, but in fact represented the marking of these spaces, with their lavish decorations and sizeable household staffs funded by tax money, as public and thus subject to popular disposal rather than private (Sizer 2008).

Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie famously described how festive rituals could shape political and social rivalries in his account of the Carnival in sixteenth-century Romans (Le Roy Ladurie 1979). In spite of the subversive potential of festive culture analyzed by Mikhail Bakhtin, medieval scholars have debated whether festive elements in medieval culture contributed to social conflict or whether they functioned as a sort of safety valve to relieve social pressures before they could reach the level of active resistance (Bakhtin 1984; Justice 1994, 153–55). Medieval revolts could incorporate festive elements. It seems that the 1381 Peasants' Revolt drew on the rural idioms of Midsummer for inspiration. Jack Straw is named as one of the purported leaders of the rising but this may have been a festive nickname, and Geoffrey Lister, leader of the revolt in Norfolk, assumed judicial powers and created a mock royal court in a way that echoes the Lord of Misrule tradition (Prescott 1998; Justice 1994, 140–92). The Harelle revolt in 1382 Rouen took place during Lent, a time associated with renewal and reform. In this uprising, the city's laborers propped a merchant draper surnamed Le Gras (the Fat) on a throne and paraded him around the city to the main marketplace, where he made a series of decrees including freedom of the city's residents from taxation (Pintoin 1994, vol. 1, 132–34). The raid on the Queen's dwelling in Paris during the 1413 Cabochien Revolt is likely to have been a form of political charivari (Sizer 2008).

I Religion in Medieval Revolt

Some scholars suggest that the only possibilities for truly revolutionary thought and action in the Middle Ages were in the religious rather than the political sphere (Graus 1967; Hobsbawm 1959). Though this argument seems to have been overstated, it is true that medieval revolts, like medieval culture generally, almost always included religious themes. Because church figures were also entrenched

within the social hierarchy, and because ideologies of rule contained sacred elements, it was inevitable that political conflicts would combine with religious conflict, and that dissent could be expressed using religious discourse. It is not coincidental that the most radical medieval revolutionary movements—the 1381 Peasants’ Revolt and the fifteenth-century Hussite Revolution—were strongly influenced by religious dissent. Religious conflicts are covered elsewhere in this volume (see the contribution by John Sewell); what follows here is a brief discussion of the way religious discourse and culture interacted with political revolutionary movements.

Most medieval revolts were not apocalyptic or utopian in their aims, and did not draw heavily from the apocalyptic tradition in Christianity. The distinction made by Günther Franz between revolts for God’s Law, which were revolutionary in their aims, and revolts for Old Law, which sought to restore old customs, is now seen to be overstated, at least for pre-Reformation movements (Franz 1976; Freedman 1993, 43–44). However, apocalyptic discourse was by no means absent. A diverse Joachimite group which called itself “The Apostles” ignited by the preaching of the illiterate Gerard Segarelli engaged in banditry near Parma for several decades at the end of the thirteenth century (Hilton 2003, 106–09). Popular preaching during the 1381 Peasants’ Revolt included apocalyptic themes (Dobson, ed., 1983, 123–30). Hussite imagery drew heavily on eschatological themes to advance the notion that they were the Chosen People in a struggle against the corrupt church (Fudge 1998, 143–44; 148–49; 161). Hans Behem (d. 1476), the Drummer of Niklashausen, is said by a hostile clerical chronicler to have proclaimed the impending arrival of the Mother of God who “will bring us to a new age” in a brief peasant uprising in 1476 (Wunderli 1992, 99). Though not explicitly apocalyptic, the Ciompi’s declaration of themselves as the *Popolo di Dio* indicates their belief in their cause as sanctioned by God.

The resentment toward churchmen for their dominance in the social and cultural life of the Middle Ages, voiced repeatedly in anti-clerical literature of the period, also found its expression in popular revolt. Wat Tyler demanded the confiscation of church property in his demands at Smithfield in the 1381 Peasants Revolt (Hilton, ed. 2003, 227–28). Pontois provides a (likely exaggerated) description of the brutal ritualized slaughter of a priest in his account of the Tuchin Rebellion: “out of hatred and disrespect of his clerical dignity, they cut of the ends of his fingers, flayed him of the skin of his tonsure and then burned him” (Pontois 1994, vol. 1, 310). Priests were also targets of the peasant rebels in Forez from 1422–1431 (Leguai 1982). Once again the Hussite Revolution provides the most extreme examples of anti-clericalism in word and deed. The Four Articles of Prague (1420), reflecting relatively mainstream Hussite Revolutionary ideology, called for the abolition of church property (Fudge 1998).

Christian discourse often affirmed the existing order, but it could also be subversive. Sermons preached in the streets might play on popular resentment of the rich. Jacques de Vitry (d. 1240) compared the powerful (“*majores*”) to a whale which devoured the little fish, the poor (“*pauperes*”) and said that the powerful “live off of the blood and sweat of the poor” (Boglioni et al., ed., 2002, 31). A 1419 sermon by the priest Jan Zelivský preceding the popular uprising in Prague in late July, stated: “Only those who labor have the right to say, ‘this is our daily bread.’ The others who eat this bread are thieves and swindlers. [...] Without doubt, all those who work at useless endeavors eat their bread unworthily. [...] Those who commit deeds without any regard for the public good, whether they are kings, princes, judges or other idlers of the courts who avoid work and who flaunt themselves in the luxury for which others have greatly sweat and toiled, are also unworthy of the bread” (Fudge, ed., 2002, 22). The well-known rhyme of popular preacher John Ball addressed to English peasants leading up to the 1381 Rising, “Whan Adam dalf, and Eve Span / wo was thanne a gentilman?” had its analogs in France (Leguai 1982). Commentators sympathetic to revolt movements could employ discourse from the Christian pathos of suffering and martyrdom to describe the oppressed poor and crushed rebellions (Lecuppre-Desjardin and Van Bruaene, ed., 2005). Conversely, clerical authorities could use religious discourse to condemn and even call for a crusade to crush revolts, as occurred in the *Stedingen* Peasants’ Revolt in Flanders (Van Bavel, 2010).

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